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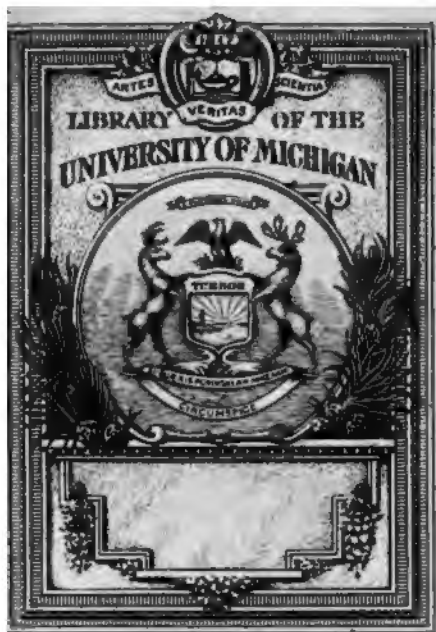
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I.—JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER AND  
E. T. A. HOFFMANN.

A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS OF JEAN PAUL TO  
ROMANTICISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Friedrich Rochlitz, who as editor of the Leipzig *Musikalische Zeitung* first introduced E. T. A. Hoffmann to the German reading public, relates an interesting interview with the author soon after the appearance of the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke in Callot's Manier*. In reviewing the work for his paper, Rochlitz had declared, "was," to quote his words, "kein Mensch verkennen konnte—er (Hoffmann) ahme im Stile und einigermaßen in der Form überhaupt, dem Jean Paul nach." Hoffman was enraged, and poured out his feelings in the vigorous and excited fashion, so well known to those who had in any way excited his ill will.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Allg. Musik. Ztg.*, Nr. 41, 9. Okt., 1822. The sketch, written immediately on receipt of the news of Hoffmann's death, was reprinted in Fr. Rochlitz, *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, Lpzg., 1825, II, 27.



Rochlitz' opinion, however, was echoed by Richter himself. In a letter to Rellstab, written many years later, Jean Paul gives Hoffmann anything but complimentary criticism, and does not hesitate to say that the best he had written was stolen goods, stolen especially from Tieck and himself.<sup>1</sup> Allowing something for Richter's thorough alienation from the Romanticists and something more for his egotism, his opinion has nevertheless been echoed by most professional historians of German literature. Goedeke sets Hoffmann directly under the ban of Jean Paul's form;<sup>2</sup> Julian Schmidt finds an inner congeniality between the two;<sup>3</sup> Gottschall calls him "den Jean Paul der Romantik," and elsewhere "den karikierten Jean Paul;"<sup>4</sup> Kirchner puts him down as a "Schüler Jean Pauls,"<sup>5</sup> and Hirsch as a "verwandter Geist."<sup>6</sup> Especially among the French literary historians, who are disposed in general to overrate Hoffmann's importance, there is a tendency to put the little *Geisterseher* and Jean Paul side by side. Heinrich calls them "les premiers des romanciers humoristes,"<sup>7</sup> and to others the influence of Richter's style on Hoffmann appears incontestable.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Ellinger, the author of the most important work on Hoffmann, although conceding Richter's influence, makes important reservations, restricting it to Hoffmann's earlier years, and emphasizing, on the other hand, the importance of the Romanticists for his development.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rellstab's "Blätter der Erinnerung." *Morgenblatt*, 1839. Nr. 258. Sp. 1030 ff. Cf. Nerrlich, *Jean Paul und seine Zeitgenossen*, B. 76 (cited below as "Ztg."), S. 256. <sup>2</sup> *Grundriss zur Geschichte d. d. Dichtung*, VIII, 472.

<sup>3</sup> "Die empfehlende Vorrede Jean Pauls spricht nichts weiter aus, als die innere Verwandtschaft." *Geschichte d. d. Nationallit. im 19. Jahrh.*, II, 373.

<sup>4</sup> *Die deutsche Nationallit. des 19. Jahrh.*, I, 482.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte d. d. Nationallit. des 19. Jahrh.*, S. 120.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte d. d. Lit.*, III, 344.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. d. d. Littérature allemande*, III, 176.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, Bossert in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, XX, 175.

<sup>9</sup> *E. T. A. Hoffmann. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. Hamburg, Lpzg., 94, P. VII, 39, and elsewhere.



Thus far no one seems to have undertaken a careful search through Hoffmann's published works and such letters and fragments of his diary as have seen the light for elements which may have been due to vivid and persistent impressions derived from the early and constant reading of Richter.<sup>1</sup> The object of the present paper is to show the results of such a search as revealing characteristics which may be safely described as "Richteresque." In the case of two authors so essentially different in character and style it is unsafe to say more.

#### PERSONAL RELATIONS AND REFERENCES.

In the first place, it should be noted that the references to Richter in Hoffmann's works are few in number. Hoffmann was almost as omnivorous in his reading as Jean Paul himself; and he conscientiously gives his sources, wherever an old chronicle of Wagenseil's or a Märchen of Gozzi's or a forgotten English novel furnishes the theme for one of his stories. References to Shakspeare and Schiller, to Tieck and Mozart abound; but for mention of really congenial and deeply related spirits, of Lawrence Sterne, of his fellow-countryman Hippel and of Richter, we must look thru his letters and diary and lay bare the tissue of his style and procedure. Such a search leads with absolute certainty to one conclusion, viz., that Richter was one of the favorite authors to whom he fled for consolation during his lonely childhood in Königsberg and amid the storm and stress of the unfortunate love affair with Cora Hatt. In the letters to Theodore von Hippel, his boyhood friend, covering the period of his university years and immediately thereafter, 1794–1798, Hoffmann's references to Richter are frequent, and are

<sup>1</sup>The paper promised two years ago by Czerny (*Sterne, Hippel und Jean Paul*. Berlin, 04, S. 38 Anm. ) has not come to my attention, if it has appeared.



such as one would make who writes without formality and quotes a favorite author from memory. Thus "Ich hätte wie Jean Paul mein Herz hervorgenommen, und gesagt 'prenez';"<sup>1</sup> or, "Eben kommt ein höchst sonderbarer Mensch Associé, Litis-Consorte (nach Jean Paul) eines Hauses."<sup>2</sup> He recalls Richter's simile illustrating the demoniacal power of music: "Es ist wahr, was Jean Paul sagt, die Musik legt sich um unser Herz, wie die Löwenzunge, welche so lange kitzelnd und juckend auf der Haut liegt, bis Blut flieszt;—so ungefähr lautet die Stelle;"<sup>3</sup> and in another connection the overcoat of a departed cousin in Glogau suggests Jean Paul's words, "der abgelegte Alltags-Kleider für das sinnlichste Andenken abwesender Freunde hält."<sup>4</sup> Here and there he adds an "Extra-Blatt," in direct imitation of the bewildering device that runs riot thru Richter's satires and earlier romances.<sup>5</sup>

There is indeed much in the sentimental outpourings of friendship in these letters which is so foreign to Hoffmann's character as it afterwards developed, that one involuntarily sees here an influence of those romances of Jean Paul thoroughly devoted to the friendship-cult, the *Unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus*. It is to *Hesperus* that we naturally ascribe the genesis of such expressions as the following, addressed to friend Hippel in 1795: "Wenn ich sage, dasz

<sup>1</sup> Hitzig, *Aus Hoffmanns Leben und Nachlass*, 3. Ausg., Stuttgart, 1839, (cited below as "Hz."), I, 74. The quotation is from the *Unsichtbare Loge*. Cf. *Jean Pauls sämtliche Werke*, B. (Reimer), 1826 ff. (cited below as "JPW."), II, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., I, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Hz., I, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Hz., I, 156. *Die unsichtbare Loge*, JPW., II, 65, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of (January 24) 1796: Extrablatt an meinem Geburtstage. Hz., I, 81. Feb. 22, 1796: "Anbei noch ein Extrablatt." Hz., I, 88. May 28, 1796: "Extrablatt zum Abschiedsrendezvous. . . . Noch einmal ergreife ich die Feder, um mit ihr in diesem Extrablatt (ein Jean Paul'scher Ausdruck) an dein Herz zu tippen. . . . im Extrablatt, so wie im Briefe, ewig, ewig der Deine!" Hz., I, 104 ff.



du mich mehr interessierest,—Bester, dasz du mir mehr am Herzen liegst, als alles Übrige in der Welt, dasz ich alles aufopfern möchte, um dir zu folgen, um, mit dir zusammen, den ganzen Umfang des beseligenden Glücks der Freundschaft genießen zu können, dann sage ich dir eine heilige, unzählbar oft empfundene, durch keine unedle Einwirkung entweihte Wahrheit.—Wir sind für einander geboren.”<sup>1</sup>

Or the following, in the same year: “Ich las deine warmen Versicherungen deiner Freundschaft,—in innige Wehmut zerfloss mein Herz, und ich versank, den Brief in der Hand, in eine stille, schwärmerische Verzückung,—ich liebe dich,—ich bete dich an. . . . Freund,—innig Geliebter,—ich sage dir feierlich und ernst.—Gern opfere ich die Geliebte und alles, wenn ich mir dich erhalten könnte.”<sup>2</sup> The same chord is struck in the earliest literary attempt that we have from Hoffmann’s pen. With this exception, his youthful efforts are all lost; but in view of his devotion to Rousseau, to Goethe’s Werther and to Richter, it is not surprising that these first efforts were in romance form. The brief specimen of the *Geheimnisvolle* referred to, written in his twenty-first year, is transmitted to Hippel as the treatment of a favorite topic, friendship. It begins, “Wie so schön ist doch Freundschaft!” and culminates as follows, “Ehe die Geburtsstunde unsrer Freundschaft schlug, hab’ ich recht erbärmlich in meiner Clause gelebt.”<sup>3</sup> In the general nature of its contents and in form, it reminds one strongly of certain portions of the *Hesperus*.

With Hoffmann’s departure for Berlin and the beginning of his career as jurist, mention of Richter in his letters practically ceases. His legal labors, the diversions of a provin-

<sup>1</sup> Hz., I, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., I, 42, 43. Cf. in the same tone, the letter of October, 1796, from Glogau. Hz., I, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Hz., I, 91–93.







caricatures made a disagreeable impression on Richter;<sup>1</sup> probably a good foundation thereto had already been laid by stories regarding loose conduct of Hoffmann's in Berlin, which Caroline Richter had heard and repeated to her husband.<sup>2</sup> The matter remains an obscure point in Hoffmann's biography; however there was much in the eccentric and ill-regulated habits of the man to make him uncongenial with one of Richter's method and dignity. Throughout the whole of their personal relations Hoffmann seems to have been much concerned regarding Jean Paul's opinion of him. In the spring of the following year, 1811, he visited Richter in Bayreuth.<sup>3</sup> That the elder author's treatment of him on this occasion may have lacked in cordiality is made probable by Hoffmann's reluctance, when two years later his publisher Kunz suggested Richter as the proper one to write an introduction to the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke*.<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann, it is true, places his hesitation on the wholesome and independent ground that every work should stand or fall on its own merits, without the intervention of a popular impresario; nevertheless, he was greatly pleased and highly flattered when he learned through Kunz that Richter's dislike had been overcome by a look into his manuscript.<sup>5</sup> Richter's introduction is a characteristic one, in the form of a review of the book for the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* ten years later. He praises Hoffmann in cordial, although hardly enthusiastic tones, and with a reference to Swift and Sterne, establishes the apostolic succession to which Jean Paul him-

<sup>1</sup> Kunz (Z. Funck), *J. P. F. Richter*, Schleusingen, 39, S. 145. Cited by Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Kunz, *Aus dem Leben zweier Dichter (Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, I)*, (cited below as "Kunz"), S. 115. Cf. Grisebach, *HW.*, I, p. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> *H.z.*, II, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *H.z.*, III, 164. Kunz, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Kunz, 115 ff, describes the scene at Jean Paul's house. Hoffmann's letter, *H.z.*, III, 175: "es ist ehrenvoll von ihm genannt zu sein."



self also belongs.<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann's egotism, a romantic attribute of which he had a large share, was ill satisfied with Richter's introduction. He had expected it, he says, "weniger von meiner Wenigkeit handelnd—kürzer, genialer gedacht."<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, both men had too large a share of self-love to become personally sympathetic, both were accustomed to demand and receive too much consideration from friends and acquaintances to make them at ease in close relations. Hoffmann seems, however, to have retained an interest and admiration for Richter's personality, and we have occasional evidences of this even after his removal to Berlin, with its absorbing circle of Romanticists.

Richter himself watched Hoffmann's development with growing distaste. He regarded him as to some extent personifying all of those extravagant and unprogressive tendencies in the later Romanticists which he most disliked. He asserts in 1820 that Hoffmann is no friend of his serious note, and with a strange perversion of judgment calls him "eine abwärts sinkende Sonne, die bei ihrem Aufgang kulminiert hat," and a "Plunderer."<sup>3</sup> In the preface to the second edition of the *Mumien*, 1821, he holds that Hoffmann's humor has reached the point of insanity, and he makes him the typical leader of the "Tollkirschenfest" of Romanticism.<sup>4</sup> It is hardly probable that Hoffmann ever saw this introduction, for in the following year, the year of his death, he sends Jean Paul a copy of the second part of *Kater Murr*, and later recommends to his good offices a Dresden bookseller.<sup>5</sup> His references to Richter in his published works are, as has been remarked, comparatively few; but, altho occasionally ironical in tone, as noted below,

<sup>1</sup> HW., I, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> HZ., III, 199.

<sup>3</sup> Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 256.

<sup>4</sup> JPW., I, p. xxxvi. Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 256.

<sup>5</sup> Nerrlich, *J. P.*, 646.



they are sufficient to show that he had lost none of his familiarity with Richter's works. After his death, if we may trust his biographers Hitzig and Kunz, Richter showed a lively interest in the accounts of his life and personality.<sup>1</sup>

### JEAN PAUL'S BIZARRE FIGURES AND HOFFMANN'S KREISLER.

In view of all that has been said, it is more than probable that from the time of his arrival in Bamberg in 1808, Hoffmann had looked forward to a personal connection with Jean Paul, and not improbable that here, under the shadow of the popular author, he renewed and deepened his acquaintance with Richter's works. The three great romances, *Siebenkäs*, *Titan*, and the *Flegeljahre*, which in progressive series show an emancipation from those eccentricities of style which mark the earlier romances and idylls, were published in the ten years preceding the battle of Jena, and although not so popular as Richter's earlier and more sentimental romances, nevertheless formed the *ne plus ultra* of a considerable part of cultured Germany. The few followers of the Weimar group, the aristocrats of culture, could make no headway against the broad flood of sentimentality with which Richter swept on the youthful and especially the feminine part of the reading public. The Romanticists in Jena and Berlin, although going their own path, recognized Jean Paul tacitly, or with grudging openness, as one with themselves in many ways.<sup>2</sup> Jean Paul's attitude toward Romanticism at

<sup>1</sup> HZ., II, 20 Anm. Kunz, "Vorwort," claims to have undertaken his Hoffmann biography at Jean Paul's suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> Kerr, *Godwi*, B. 98, S. 64 ff, shows the cordial appreciation of Jean Paul's ironical tone by the Schlegels, both in the *Athenæum* and their correspondence, and the influence of this tone on Tieck. Cf. Haym, *Romantische Schule*, 689, 791, for the difference in the attitude of the Schlegels toward



this time is that of one who gives and takes. To the younger *literati*, the Brentanos and Hoffmanns, he was the giver; from the semi-mystical physicians and natural scientists and above all from the philosophers there came to him, however, a constant stream of suggestion.

Of these philosophers, especially Fichte was of importance for Jean Paul's development. From the appearance of the *Wissenschaftslehre* in 1794 Fichte interests and irritates him, and for the next ten years the Fichtean idealism appears in one form or another in Richter's works. While he mocks and scoffs and attempts a refutation in the *Clavis Fichtiana*, in such characters as the leading persons in his three great romances the influence of Fichte is plainly visible.<sup>1</sup> In each of these three romances Richter gives us two sides of his own double personality, the idealist and the realist. This tendency toward the splitting of his own double nature is already visible to some extent in *Hesperus*, and comes sharply into view in *Siebenkäs* and still more sharply in the later romances. The sentimentalist and satirist, with their affirmation and negation of life, to use an expression of Schopenhauer's, reveal themselves in *Siebenkäs* and *Leibgeber*, in *Albano* and *Schoppe*, in *Walt* and *Vult*, even in *Theudobach* and *Katzenberger*, as clearly as in *Faust* and *Mephistopheles* or *mutatis mutandis* in *Don Quixote* and *Sancho Panza*. In all of the greater romances of Jean Paul we have on the one side the sentimental, subjective spirit, with a tendency to soar into the regions reserved for gods and titans; on the

Jean Paul. Such enthusiasm as there is comes from the side of Friedrich; August Wilhelm, as the temperate and somewhat anæmic form-artist, has little sympathy for Jean Paul's "fast gichterische Reizbarkeit der Einbildungskraft."

<sup>1</sup> For a general treatment of the intensely interesting subject of Jean Paul's double relation to Fichte, cf. Nerrlich, *Jean Paul*, 60 ff. Especially in the third volume of *Titan* and in the earlier pages of the *Flegeljahre* the idealistic philosophy is satirized and caricatured.



other hand, the acid realism of the "Geister, die verneinen," with a dash of *Weltschmerz*.

The same tendency toward the projection of the *ego* in a dual form may be found in Hoffmann's characters. The contrasts which Dr. Ellinger has pointed out in the East Prussian character, depth of feeling, paired with cold and clear intellect, were existent in Hoffmann's and were intensified by the constant struggle which went on between the cold world of fact, as represented by the dry-as-dust briefs and court records of his judicial labors, and the world of music, where his heart lay. But, unlike Richter, Hoffmann had no philosophical speculations in his head. A student at Königsberg in the early nineties, he never seems to have heard one of Kant's lectures, and in his works he refers only once to his great fellow-citizen, and then indirectly.<sup>1</sup> Fichte and Schelling are just barely mentioned, one can hardly say more.<sup>2</sup> The double personality that appears in his works, especially in *Kater Murr*, is therefore a far more objective projection of himself and his fortunes than we have in the Leibgebers and Albanos and Lindas and Schoppes of Richter, influenced and contaminated as they are by satirical side-strokes at Fichte's idealism. With Hoffmann it is always the contrast of artist and Philistine, and it cannot be too strongly emphasized—a point which most Hoffmann critics seem to have overlooked—that the Philistine is as clearly Hoffmann as the artist is.

The deep cleft in the *ego*, which finds such complete expression in *Kater Murr* in the persons of Kreisler and the

<sup>1</sup> *Kater Murr*, HW., x, 110: "mir fiel ein, irgendwo gelesen zu haben, ein jeder müsse so handeln, dasz seine Handlungsweise als allgemeines Prinzip gelten könne." The reference is of course to the "categorical imperative," here used with satirical force.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grisebach's "Verzeichnis." A close search has failed to show other instances than those there mentioned.



cat, reveals itself so far as Kreisler is concerned in the first two volumes of the *Fantasiestücke*. Here Kreisler, the musical genius, stands in hostile attitude toward the whole Philistine world. He is unconsciously the typical ironical *ego* of Romanticism. He stands far above the facts among which he lives, and he moves with mad satire through an unsympathetic world. Music is his sanctum from which every profane foot is banished. It may be true, as Robert Schumann suggests,<sup>1</sup> that a certain odd musical character of Thuringia sat for Kreisler's portrait originally; but Kreisler is Hoffmann himself, satire, grimaces, wild antics and all. It is my purpose now to point out certain characteristics of the Leibgeber-Schoppe-Vult family of pessimists which are reproduced in Kreisler. In the first place, it is not too much to claim that the idea of having one figure run through a series of fantasies as the representative of the author's satire and *Weltschmerz* was caught by Hoffmann from Jean Paul's bizarre figures. Leibgeber in *Siebenkäs* re-appears as Schoppe in *Titan*, just as Kreisler appears as the bearer of Hoffmann's satire among the fantasies of the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke* and among the *Märchen* of the second volume, and again in *Kater Murr* as the hero of the fragmentary romance which alternates with the biography of the Philistine tom-cat. Now, in addition to their personal note or background, a literary original can be shown for nearly all of Hoffmann's stories; it is more than probable, therefore, that the permanent humorous figure, at least in cellular form, owes its origin to Richter.

Schoppe-Leibgeber, for the figures are not to be separated, represents the climax of Jean Paul's *Weltschmerz*, and Schoppe, as found in *Titan*, is the figure that influenced

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Hauptmann von Fricken in Asch, Sept., 1834. Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, 2. Aufl., S. 254.



Kreisler most strongly. Thus, a striking peculiarity of Schoppe is his fear of his own second-self, which, as he conceives it, may assume an actual form. The *ego*-fear becomes with him a fixed idea. "Alles kann ich leiden," he tells Albano, "nur nicht den Mich, den reinen, intellektuellen Mich, den Gott der Götter—Wie oft hab' ich nicht schon meinen Namen verändert . . . und wurde jährlich ein Anderer, aber noch setzt mir der reine Ich merkbar nach."<sup>1</sup> The fear grows with Schoppe's growing insanity. He cannot look into a mirror; the sight of his own limbs sets him in chattering terror; occasionally he seizes his own wrist and shouts, "Wen hab' ich da, Mensch?"<sup>2</sup> The satirical hit at Fichte is apparent; but the motive borrowed earnestness and gloom from Schoppe's own horribly earnest realism and in the end Jean Paul feels obliged to compensate for it by the introduction of Schoppe's double, Siebenkäs, from the preceding romance, as an actual basis for Schoppe's fear. The motive re-appears in the *Hlegeljahre*, where Vult actually gives the *ego* corporal punishment.<sup>3</sup>

Turning to Hoffmann, we find that the illusion of a double, or second-self, was one of the most persistent dreams that tormented the nervous Geisterseher.<sup>4</sup> How fearfully fertile the "*Doppelgänger* motive" becomes in Hoffmann's works is shown by even a careless reading of the *Elixiere des Teufels* and several of the stories from the *Serapionsbrüder*. With regard to the former, Fouqué's *Zauberring* has been suggested,<sup>5</sup> merely as a literary source: in view of Hoffmann's

<sup>1</sup> JPW., xxv, 114.

<sup>2</sup> JPW., xxv, 136.

<sup>3</sup> JPW., xxvii, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Tagebuch, Hz., II, 43: "Sonderbarer Einfall auf dem Ball vom 6 ten. Ich denke mir mein Ich durch ein Vervielfältigungsglas;—alle Gestalten, die sich um mich herumbewegen, sind Ich's, und ich ärgere mich über ihr Tun und Lassen." Cf. further, Hz., III, 29, and Klinke, *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Leben und Werke vom Standpunkt eines Irrenarztes*, S. 126 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ellinger, 119, 120.



fondness for Jean Paul, there seems no reason why Schoppe may not have furnished him with an earlier suggestion, to be worked out with the logical realism that makes the *Elixiere des Teufels*, burdened tho it is with the cumbersome romance machinery of the eighteenth century, a most intense bit of reading. In the earlier Kreisler sketches we have no mention of a double; but with the development of Kreisler's character in *Kater Murr* comes the incorporation of this motive. Here Kreisler has also a *Doppelgänger*, the painter Leonhard Ettlinger, who preceded him by some years at the court of Prince Irenaeus. Ettlinger, like Richter's Schoppe, had a fondness for cutting silhouettes,<sup>1</sup> and he, like Schoppe, goes insane. After hearing of his lamentable fortunes, Kreisler is terrified by the fear of meeting him. He fancies that his own reflection in the water is his crazy double, and he makes him a half-insane address. When he sees his image again (we are left in doubt here as to how much of the supernatural Hoffmann means us to accept), he babbles in wild fear to his friend, Meister Abraham, "Erstarrt ist mein Gesang, denn der Ich hat seine weisse kalte Totenhand auf meine Brust gelegt!"<sup>2</sup>

From the first Richter's Schoppe sees himself followed by insanity. He is tormented by dreams,—“Dante und sein Kopf sind Himmel dagegen!”,<sup>3</sup> he confesses himself in the ban of a fixed idea, he hears wax figures laughing at him and shoots at them, and he finally comes into a mad-house.<sup>4</sup> We know from Hoffmann's diary and letters that he himself suffered from this common form of neurasthenia, the fear of insanity,<sup>5</sup> and that he sought the company of alienists in Bam-

<sup>1</sup> HW., x, 138.

<sup>2</sup> HW., x, 148.

<sup>3</sup> JPW., xxv, 24.

<sup>4</sup> JPW., xxiv, 18, xxv, 112, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Tagebuch, 1810: "Warum denke ich schlafend oder wachend so oft an den Wahnsinn?" Hz., II, 46. Cf. Klinke, 89, who treats the matter from the standpoint of an alienist.



berg and Berlin. It is also more than probable that the realism of some of the *Nachtstücke* and stories from the *Serapionsbrüder* and especially of the fearful scenes in the *Elixiere des Teufels* is the result of observations of patients in the insane asylum at Bamberg.<sup>1</sup> In the second volume of the *Fantasiestücke* Kreisler is said to be insane, according to common report.<sup>2</sup> He sees the fearful monster of madness following on his trail, "das bleiche Gespenst mit den rot funkelnden Augen—die krallichten Knochenfäuste aus dem zerrissenen Mantel nach dir ausstreckend—die Strohkrone auf dem kahlen glatten Schädel schüttelnd!"<sup>3</sup> Kreisler signs himself a "verrückter Musiker,"<sup>4</sup> and he promises a cycle, to be known as the "Lichte Stunden eines wahnsinnigen Musikers."<sup>5</sup> When Kreisler reappears six years later in *Kater Murr*, written in fulfilment of a plan long entertained, Hoffmann makes him the hero of a romance which, had it been completed, would certainly have brought him into a mad-house. "Von jeher," says the author, "hatte er die fixe Idee, dass der Wahnsinn auf ihn lauere."<sup>6</sup> It follows him from the court to the convent, and there "regten sich die finstern Geister, die so oft Macht hatten über ihn und griffen schonungslos mit scharfen Krallen in seine wunde Brust."<sup>7</sup> The third part of *Kater Murr* was never put on paper; but what has already been

<sup>1</sup> In the *Serapionsbrüder* Cyprian-Hoffmann says: "Ihr alle kennt ja meinen besondern Hang zum Verkehr mit Wahnsinnigen." HW., VI, 28. Dr. Klinke (108-109) shows with what a master hand H. sketched into the *Elixiere des Teufels* symptoms which he had observed directly from life: "Aus der Wahrheit und tiefen Wirkung seiner Figuren geht schon hervor, dass er Geisteskranke direkt beobachtet hat."

<sup>2</sup> HW., I, 280: "schon lange galt der arme Johannes allgemein für wahnsinnig."

<sup>3</sup> HW., I, 291.

<sup>4</sup> HW., I, 288.

<sup>5</sup> HW., I, 281. This work was taken up at a later period, but was found in H's papers only in the form of a sketch, reproduced Hz., II, 115. Cf. letter to Kunz, May 24, 1815. Kunz 162 ff.

<sup>6</sup> HW., x, 140.

<sup>7</sup> HW., x, 356.



said, together with the well-known sketch by Hoffmann of Kreisler with a bubble-pipe, dancing in wildly disheveled array, leaves no doubt that the musician, like Richter's Schoppe, would have come to the mad-house.<sup>1</sup>

#### MINOR MOTIVES COMMON TO BOTH AUTHORS.

In addition to the Kreisler figure and "*Doppelgänger* motive," we have another Richter trait in Hoffmann's *Kater Murr*. We have seen the importance of Jean Paul's *Titan* for the Kreisler figure. The scene of the greater part of the action in *Titan* has a close parallel in *Kater Murr*. It is very natural that Richter should have taken a small German court as the background for his romance and a small German *Residenz* as its stage, for his youth had been passed in close proximity to the duodecimo courts of Thuringia, and manhood years had brought him into relations with the court circles at Weimar, Meiningen and Bayreuth. Hoffmann, however, knew nothing of court life at first hand, had never been in a small *Residenz*, nor come into contact with personages more important than the judicial dignitaries of Berlin or the landed aristocracy of the East Elbian provinces. It does not surprise us, therefore, that the court picture in the *Elixiere des Teufels* has nothing sharp and realistic about it. In *Kater Murr*, however, otherwise strongly reminiscent of *Titan*, we have a *Residenz*, drawn in the same satirical manner as in Jean Paul's romance. Jean Paul's realistic descriptions of Hohenvliesz and Haarhaar<sup>2</sup> have their caricature in Hoffmann's portrayal of the court of Prince

<sup>1</sup> Hitzig expressly confirms this, although apparently without authority from Hoffmann for his statement (II, 114). The biographer adds that the "Lichte Stunden eines wahnsinnigen Musikers," cf. above, was to close the work.

<sup>2</sup> *Titan*, 2. Jobelperiode, 10. Zykel.



Irenaeus, whose land has been mediatized, who nevertheless retains all the pomp and appurtenance of a grand duchy.<sup>1</sup> The nerveless Luigi of *Titan* has a counterpart, again exaggerated, in the idiotic Prince Ignatius, and Jean Paul's Fichtean egotist Roquairol in Hoffmann's demoniacal egotist Hector. As additional evidence of the importance of *Titan* for Hoffmann, it is worth noticing that the hero of one of his early tales, the "Magnetiseur,"<sup>2</sup> bears in German form the name of Richter's hero in *Titan*, Albano; and further that the only *bon mot* which Hoffmann quotes in later years from Jean Paul is the one in *Titan* of the princess who found herself in a different condition from her country, "nämlich im gesegneten"<sup>3</sup>—all minor evidence, to be sure, but of weight in showing the persistent impression of Richter's greatest romance on Hoffmann.

Again, one of Richter's queer whims of style may have suggested the peculiar double biography in *Kater Murr*. The biography of the worthy Kater is interrupted by fragments of the Kreisler romance, the author stating in the preface that these fragments were torn from a printed book by the cat and became accidentally mixed with Murr's biography.<sup>4</sup> We think at once of the "Extra-Blätter," "Extra-Gedanken" and "Extra-Silben," and all of those intercalations and appendices with which Jean Paul interrupts the thread of the narrative and gives a serious or satirical excursus on some general subject suggested by the context. Perhaps a still more striking forerunner of this disconnected biography may be found in *Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz mit fortgehenden Noten*, where we have a number of notes printed under each page of the text, characteristic, general remarks of a humorous nature, with absolutely no bearing on the text

<sup>1</sup> HW., x, 37.<sup>2</sup> HW., i, 139 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Prinzessin Bramabilla*, HW., xi, 105.<sup>4</sup> HW., x, 10.



above. Richter blames the printer for the arrangement, the notes having been written, he says, on separate sheets, and then, thru oversight, left out of the final manuscript. The printer sets them up with their proper numbers, to be sure, but absolutely regardless of the text.<sup>1</sup>

In Richter, Hoffmann found a forerunner in enthusiastic interest in the shadow-sides of human consciousness, notably the so-called "animal magnetism," which so much engaged the attention of natural scientists during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Jean Paul's works abound in references to mesmerists, second-sight, etc.;<sup>3</sup> indeed his enthusiasm regarding hynotic phenomena and his half mystical utterances about the ethereal or intra-physical body would have done credit to the most radical of the romantic natural philosophers.<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann makes animal magnetism the subject of one of his earlier tales, the "Magnetiseur," and comes back to theme again and again in the *Serapionsbrüder*. Such things were in the air during all of those years; it is, however, noteworthy that in a conversation of the Serapion's Brethren, Cyprian-Hoffmann says, "Dieser Glauben (in animal magnetism) müsse in jedem wahrhaft poetischen Gemüt wohnen, deshalb habe auch Jean Paul solche hoch-

<sup>1</sup> JPW., L, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the chapter on "Romantische Ärzte" in Ricarda Huch's *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*, Lpzg., 02, S. 273 ff. Of contemporaries, Oehlenschläger, *Lebenserinnerungen*, III, 184, 209, gives an interesting account of mesmeric séances in Berlin and Vienna.

<sup>3</sup> As a characteristic instance, cf. the simile of the "Hell-Seherin" in a later work, "Die wenig erwogene Gefahr (1815)," JPW., XLVIII, 144. Here and elsewhere Richter shows an intimate acquaintance with the hypnotic phenomena. Cf. especially the articles from the *Museum*, reprinted in "Mutmaszungen über einige Wunder des organischen Magnetismus," etc. JPW., XLIX, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Most strikingly in the articles from the *Museum*, noted above. Richter seems to have undertaken magnetic cures himself. Nerrlich, *Deutsche Nationallit*, Bd. 130, p. lxi ff.



herrliche Worte über den Magnetismus gesprochen, dasz eine ganze Welt voll hämischer Zweifel dagegen nicht aufkomme.”<sup>1</sup>

An author of Hoffmann's musical attainments, and one who had made his way into literature thru a musical door, would naturally make some phase of music the theme of much of his work ; as a matter of fact, all of the sketches in the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke* treat more or less directly musical themes. Nevertheless, it can be pointed out that even here in one or two points he had a predecessor in Richter. First, in the relief of emotion thru improvisation on a musical instrument, making a “Klavierauszug” of the feelings, as Jean Paul in one place expresses it.<sup>2</sup> In *Hesperus* blind Julius accompanies Emanuel's death by playing the “Lied der Entzückung” on the flute.<sup>3</sup> In *Titan* Albano reproduces his emotions and tells the story of his love for the absent Liane in a fantasie on the piano ;<sup>4</sup> and on another occasion he talks with the absent maiden and improvises his love-plaint in tones.<sup>5</sup> Here again we have to do with general romantic motives : the harmony of thought and

<sup>1</sup> HW., VII, 65.

<sup>2</sup> JPW., XXI, 202.

<sup>3</sup> JPW., X, 48. Jean Paul may have borrowed the motive from Sterne (cf. Czerny, 64), altho one thinks involuntarily of Richter's own piano fantasies in the circle of super-sentimental women of the “Erotic Academy” at Schwarzenbach. The anonymous author of the *Nachtrachen des Bonaventura* (1804) has probably the scene from *Hesperus* in mind at the end of the first “Watch,” where the nightwatchman sings a passing song beneath the window of the dying freethinker : “Den Sterbenden ist die Musik verschwistert, sie ist der erste süsse Laut vom fernen Jenseits, und die Muse des Gesanges ist die mystische Schwester, die zum Himmel zeigt.” Michel's edition, B. 1904, 9.

<sup>4</sup> JPW., XXI, 202 ff.

<sup>5</sup> “Ihm war bis zur Täuschung als sprech' er mit Lianen, und wenn die Töne immer wie Liebende dasselbe wiederholten vor Innigkeit und Lust ; meinte er nicht Lianen, und sagte ihr : wie lieb' ich Dich, O wie lieb' ich Dich ?” JPW., XXII, 159.



sound belongs to the best-known canons of romantic art. It is Kreisler again, however, this "Unmensch ohne Zweck und Ruh," who otherwise bears marks of Richter, that carries out the idea in Hoffmann's sketch entitled "Kreisler musikalisch-politischer Klub,"<sup>1</sup> doing it of course with an objectivity of style and a technical frame-work that would have been impossible to Jean Paul. Further, the delicate Liane hears at critical moments an inner music. This "Selbst-ertönen," which comes as a message from the supernatural world, with unspeakable sweetness, is illustrated by Jean Paul, characteristically enough, by a reference to the death of Jacob Böhme.<sup>2</sup> In the first sketch which Hoffmann published at Bamberg, Ritter Gluck hears this inner music. He calls it the "Euphon." It is defined as a chiming which comes with moments of excitement and which may remain for two days at a time.<sup>3</sup>

Not to be forgotten also is Hoffmann's following of Richter in the use of *Ich* as a person, as *nomen commune*, as a substitute for every personal pronoun. These *ich*-fantasies rooted in Jean Paul's studies of Fichte and used originally

<sup>1</sup> HW., I, 288.

<sup>2</sup> JPW., xxii, 231 and note. "Dieses Selbstertönen—wie die Riesenhärte bei verändertem Wetter unberührt anklingt—ist in Migraine und andern Krankheiten der Schwäche häufig; daher im Sterben; z. B. in Jacob Böhme schlug das Leben wie eine Konzertsuhr seine Stunde von Harmonien umrungen aus." JPW., xxii, 231, Anm. In the passage of the *Nachrichten*, above referred to, the author illustrates also by a reference to the "ferne Musik" which accompanied Böhme's death. Cf. above Note; further, Abraham von Franckenberg, "Bericht v. d. Leben und Abschied Jacob Boehmens" in *Des Jacob Boehmen Alle Theosophischen Schriften*. Amsterdam, 1682, 1. Abschnitt, 29; quoted by Michels, 151.

<sup>3</sup> HW., I, 16, 18. Kreisler also is filled with an inner music, which ~~again~~ <sup>appears</sup> in wild dissonances at times and which may be calmed into angelic ~~harmonies~~ <sup>harmonies</sup> by the appearance of a congenial person. Cf. "Brief des ~~Erzählers~~ <sup>Erzählers</sup> Kreisler an den Baron Wallborn," HW., I, 285 ff. ~~Stück 10 ff.~~ <sup>Stück 10 ff.</sup>, seeks to explain the phenomenon of the "inner music" on ~~psychopathological~~ <sup>psychopathological</sup> grounds.



with satirical force, become a perfect mania with him in *Siebenkäs*, *Titan*, and the *Flegeljahre*, leading to such expressions as, "Auch schwur sein Ich wie ein Gott seinem Ich, dasz er nur diesen Tag noch bleibe."<sup>1</sup> This mannerism descends to Hoffmann. We meet with it as early as 1797 in a letter to Hippel from Glogau,—“Du sagst, mein Teurer, dasz selbst meine Briefe von der Veränderung zeugen, die mein Ich,—die guten Seiten meines Ichs gewaltsam zerstört hat.”<sup>2</sup> As might be expected, examples abound in the great *Doppelgänger* romance, the *Elixiere des Teufels*: “Mein eignes Ich konnte ich nicht erschauen, nicht erfassen;”<sup>3</sup> “Das zweite Ich hatte grimmige Kraft;”<sup>4</sup> etc. Becoming rarer in the *Nachtstücke* and the *Serapionsbrüder*, the mannerism appears again in *Kater Murr* and in the story written in the last year of Hoffmann’s life, the “*Doppelgänger*.”

#### SIMILARITY IN THE IRONICAL NOTE.

When we come to consider the ironical note in the two authors, we find that here Hoffmann, and the Romanticists in general, had a forerunner or at least a co-disciple in Richter. As Kerr expresses it, after showing that it was just this trait of Jean Paul’s that appealed especially to the program-makers in the *Athenæum*: “Die Selbstvernichtung der Romantiker besteht bei Jean Paul bloß noch nicht völlig ausgebildet . . . er zerreiszt, wie die Romantiker, die Suggestion, die er beim Leser hervorgerufen, zur eignen Belustigung.”<sup>5</sup> Indeed, it would not be hard to find in the *Vorschule der Aesthetik* programmatic statements of the theory of *Geistesfreiheit*, exactly parallel to Wilhelm Schlegel’s celebrated definition of romantic irony as the playing with the subject-matter, as

<sup>1</sup> JPW., XIV, 164. Dozens of similar examples might be cited from *Siebenkäs* and *Titan*.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., I, 146.

<sup>3</sup> HW., II, 119.

<sup>4</sup> HW., II, 265.

<sup>5</sup> Godwi. *Ein Kapitel deutscher Romantik*, B. 98, S. 66, 67.



when a child, instead of eating its orange, throws it into the air, or Tieck's much-quoted assertion that one cannot be said to be in complete possession of an object until one finds something comical in it.<sup>1</sup> Kerr has also shown that Jean Paul here operates with the same methods as Lawrence Sterne,<sup>2</sup> on the one side; and that on the other hand, Tieck and Brentano have developed Jean Paul's gentle irony into an engine of distortion and destruction. Like Tieck and the *Athenæum*, Hoffmann regards irony as the mother and bearer of humor.<sup>3</sup> Some of his processes may very well have been derived from Jean Paul.

As exterior sides of Richter's humor may be mentioned the game of hide and seek which he continually plays with the reader, the "Extra-Blätter," "Extra-Gedanken" and "Extra-Silben," which abound in the *Unsichtbare Loge* and in the *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren*, the double introductions, the "ironische," "komische," "launige," "witzige," and "ernsthafte Anhänge," and similar digressions and interruptions. Other forms of this essentially ironical game are the confusion of similarly sounding names, as Wehrmeier and Wehrfritz, Albano and Albine in *Titan*, and the continual dodging in and out with Jean Paul's own personality and with references to his own works,<sup>4</sup> a trait common in the satires and not unusual in the idylls and romances; and, lastly, the satirizing of his own stylistic extravagances.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the chapter on "Romantische Ironie" in Ricarda Huch, *Blütezeit der Romantik*, 283 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Die beiden Deutschen (J. P. and Brentano) stehen in der ganzen Sphäre der ironischen Mittelchen in dem Banne des Engländers." Godwi, *Die Ironie*. Cherny treats the matter at some length.

<sup>3</sup> "Alle Ironie, aus der sich der tiefste ergötzlichste Humor erzeugt." *Die Brüder, VI*, 167.

<sup>4</sup> Cherny, 67 ff., finds here a borrowing from Sterne.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, in the "Vorrede zum satirischen Appendix" (*der ironischen Belustigungen unter d. Gehirnschale einer Riesin*). JPW., 142, 143.



Ironical and essentially romantic too are the comical contrasts and ludicrous exaggerations which abound in the satires and idylls, the basis of all of which is an attempt to play with the subject and to tease the reader, even to the extent of befooling and befogging him. Furthermore, in the sentimental contrasts in the *Unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus* there is something closely akin to romantic irony. The reader is snatched from wedding to tomb, from laughter to tears and back again with the violent rebound of feeling which may be regarded as the basis of romantic irony.<sup>1</sup>

This same close union of sentimentality and satire, the humorous *encore* to every sentimental outburst, which reveals itself in Jean Paul's works as a part of an esthetic theory, finds its reflection in Hoffmann in those days when he still stood knee-deep in the sentimentality of Richter and Werther. In 1794 he writes to Hippel: "Zu jeder Empfindung für Cora, zum Beispiel, hab' ich gleich irgend eine komische Posse zur Sourdine, und die Saiten des Gefühls werden so gedämpft, dass man ihren Klang gar nicht hört."<sup>2</sup> Another time he must beg Hippel not to regard his sighs of loving friendship as a joke;<sup>3</sup> and again, in the midst of the forced labors of his first legal work, he thinks of his "seliges Ende."<sup>4</sup> This immediate rebound from intensified feeling into the comical and satirical, which is a subjective conscious operation with Richter, develops with Hoffmann into an objective necessity, as his character develops and the sources of sentiment become more and more encrusted. Thus he writes Hippel from Königsberg after a long absence: "Mancher ist gestorben im Jahre meiner Abwesenheit, z. B. mein Vater!"<sup>5</sup> or he announces from Plozk in 1803 the death of an uncle with Mercutio's words, "Der Onkel in Berlin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nerrlich, *J. P.*, 201.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., I, 32.

<sup>3</sup> "Nimm diesen Stoszeufzer nicht als Spasz auf." Hz., I, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Hz., I, 87.

<sup>5</sup> Hz., I, 155.



wird mich nicht mehr sehr empfehlen, er ist . . . ein stiller Mann geworden," and we have to look in his diary to see that he is deeply moved by the event.<sup>1</sup> In 1813 at Bamberg, out of the depths of his despairing love for Julia Mark, we find this note in his diary: "Sehr komische Stimmung; Ironie über mich selbst, ungefähr wie im Shakspear, wo die Menschen um ihr offenes Grab tanzen," and again, "göttliche Ironie, herrliches Mittel, Verrücktheit zu bemänteln und zu vertreiben, stehe mir bei!"<sup>2</sup> No better illustration could be found of the theorem that the office of humor is to restore the lost balance of the universe.

In one of the very earliest fragments from Hoffmann's pen, in the "Schreiben eines Klostergeistlichen an seinen Freund in der Hauptstadt,"<sup>3</sup> we have the easy, ironical style that one may see develop out of the sentimentality of the earlier letters. It is a satirical sketch on a literary subject, the use of the chorus in Schiller's *Braut von Messina*. It recalls Jean Paul in its ironical treatment of an unsympathetic subject, and like one of Richter's far-fetched similes is the proposition that Schiller's *Wallenstein* and Kotzebue's comedies should be accompanied respectively with the bass and treble flutes. Though Hoffmann avoids in general all of the "extras" that obscure Richter's style, there are reminiscences enough of these Richteresque peculiarities in his works. In the second volume of the *Fantasiestücke*, the "reisende Enthusiast," a caricature of Chamisso, closes with a postscript addressed to his dear "Theodor Amadäus Hoffmann;"<sup>4</sup> in general, however, the author appears to us only in the person of one or more of his characters. Thus in the discussion among the Serapion's Brethren, the "Goldene Topf," an earlier fairy-story by Hoffmann, comes

<sup>1</sup> Hz., I, 210 and Hitzig's Note.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., II, 29.

<sup>3</sup> HW., xv, 5. Reprinted from the *Freimütige*, Berlin, Sept. 9, 1803.

<sup>4</sup> HW., I, 279.



up for consideration as "das Märchen eines entfernten Freundes";<sup>1</sup> and on another occasion one of the brethren, representing Hoffmann himself, claims Richter's comical Dr. Katzenberger as a personal friend and an intimate of his uncle.<sup>2</sup>

The strongly subjective nature of Richter's humor is apparent to anyone opening the *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren* or *Quintus Fixlein*. He walks and talks among his figures. Hoffmann, on the other hand, projects himself into his figures and ironizes from their standpoint. For the bitter irony in "Berganza," where Hoffmann puts his most sacred feelings into the mouth of a dog, or in the *Fantasiestücke* into the letter of an ape,<sup>3</sup> or in *Kater Murr* into the autobiography of a cat,—for all of these he had many and nearer suggestions in Tieck and elsewhere, as well as for the deliciously ironical tone of the *Märchen* and Berlin tales. The point is, that in putting the serious and the comical into such close proximity, he had abundant literary suggestion in the extraordinary similes, the exaggerations and violent contrasts in Richter's works, from the *Unsichtbare Loge* to the *Jubel-senior*. The "Extra-Blätter" in the satires and early romances, and the insertion of "Frucht-" and "Blumenstücke" among the "Dornen" of *Sibenkäs* belong to the same family as the crisscrossed biography in *Kater Murr*. Going further, we see that the romantic ironical conclusion so-called, the anticlimax, in "Don Juan" and "Haimatochare," where Hoffmann pours a cold shower-bath over the sentimental reader, is but a step from the sharp contrasts of sentimentality and satire in *Hesperus* or the Albano-Schoppe conversations in *Titan*. And lastly, the *Weltschmerz* of

<sup>1</sup> HW., v, 231. Cf. also the reference to the "Verfasser der Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier" in the "Jesuitenkirche in G." HW., III, 99.

<sup>2</sup> HW., IX, 14.

<sup>3</sup> HW., I, 293.



Siebenkäs and Leibgeber-Schoppe-Vult has its counterpart, as has already been shown, in Kreisler. Firméry has suggested that the so-called *Weltschmerz* in Richter springs from an overwrought sentimentality and sensitiveness, which feels all the sorrows of humanity as its own.<sup>1</sup> Thus an Emanuel or a Gottwalt becomes a Schoppe or a Vult. Hoffmann's sentimentality lies deeper than Richter's, hence his Kreisler is more artistic and less elementary in his outbreaks than Schoppe, his *Weltschmerz* more securely wrapped in the veil of irony. Of Kreisler's wild irony one might say, as Hoffmann says of the bitterly ironical characters in Shakspeare, the fool in Lear or the melancholy Jacques or Hamlet: "Das Lachen ist nur der Schmerzenslaut der Sehnsucht nach der Heimat."<sup>2</sup> With both Jean Paul and Hoffmann the basis of ironical treatment is the same *Geistesfreiheit*, that consideration of the hateful *sub specie aeternitatis*, which lies at the bottom of all romantic humor.

### STYLE.

Aside from the "Extra-Blätter," "Anhänge," etc., with which the narrative in Richter's earlier romances and idylls is encumbered, and the parentheses and other digressions within the sentence, the puns and the word-quips, his style in the earlier romances is extravagant in the extreme. Pathetic and fantastic images follow on each other's heels, until we have a picture that is vague and fantastic, and often, to modern taste, disgusting. This rioting of the imagination, where, to quote from Carlyle, Jean Paul "heaps Pelion on Ossa and hurls the universe together and asunder like a case of playthings,"<sup>3</sup> may be illustrated by a few examples,

<sup>1</sup> *Étude sur la Vie et les Oeuvres de Jean-Paul-Frédéric Richter*, P. 86, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> HW., IV, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays, Crit. and Misc.*, I, 19.



which are by no means extreme. "In Firmians Seele trieben die Knospen der Freude alle ihre Häute auseinander und schwollen blühend heraus;"<sup>1</sup> or "Nun färbte sich der Wahnsinn Rosenflügel in der Aurora unsers Lebens und fächelte die schwüle Seele."<sup>2</sup> In *Quintus Fixlein*, in the scene where Quintus lies brooding in the insane fear of death—the scene, by the way, has a realistic and comical conclusion—"das Auge wollte zerfließen, aber bloß in Tautropfen für die Kelche der Freudenblumen, in Bluttropfen für fremde Herzen; die Seele wallte, zuckte, stöhnte, sog und schwamm im heißen, lösenden Rosenduft des schönsten Wahns."<sup>3</sup> Richter pictures his soul as a chord on the Eolian harp of creation;<sup>4</sup> in one of his dreams "die Ewigkeit lag auf dem Chaos und zernagte es und wiederkaute sich."<sup>5</sup> These are not extreme examples of the extravagance which Hoffmann in later years, when he mocks at all sentimentality, calls *Jeanpaulisieren*.<sup>6</sup>

That Hoffmann himself caught something of this bombastic style is shown by a review of the letters to Hippel in the period when he had not yet learned to treat all matters of sentiment ironically. In his twentieth year he closes a letter as follows: "Fühlst du ein sanftes Säuseln der Lüfte, ein leises Hin- und Herwehn, ein Flüstern, gleich dem murmelnden Geräusch eines fernen Baches, so ist es mein Genius, der dich umschwebt."<sup>7</sup> In the following year he

<sup>1</sup> JPW., XII, 144.<sup>2</sup> JPW., IV, 221.<sup>3</sup> JPW., IV, 221.<sup>4</sup> JPW., IV, 232.<sup>5</sup> "Rede des toten Christus," JPW., XII, 158.

<sup>6</sup> "Freude und Schmerz verwunden mit gleichem Weh die Brust des armen Menschen, aber färbt der, dem verletzenden Dorn nachquillenden Blutstropfe nicht mit höherem Rot die verbleichende Rose?" So sprach mit vielem Pathos die *jeanpaulisierende* Clementine, indem sie verstohlen die Hand eines hübschen jungen, blonden Menschen faszte." *Das steinerne Herz*, HW., III, 270.

<sup>7</sup> HZ., I, 45.



writes, in a letter that in form and expression reminds one strongly of Jean Paul: "Eine dunkle schattenvolle Nacht umhüllt mich,—die Helle, die durch die Finsternisse bricht ist ein Traum,—mehr als ein Traum, vielleicht schon Dämmerung und Vorglanz eines schönen Morgens, der endlich durch die Schlagschatten der Bergkette brechen wird, die mich von dir trennt;"<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere in the same letter, "O! mein Theodor, so lange noch die Sonnenblicke deiner Freundschaft mich erwärmen,—so lange noch diese auf die Eisrinde, die Convention und Unglück von nichtswürdigen Kleinigkeiten geboren, um mein Herz ziehen, wohltätig wirken, dasz sie im lieblichen Tau der Empfindsamkeit hinfließt, stockt noch nicht der Puls meiner Tätigkeit."<sup>2</sup> Again, "a bitter second crawls its lazy snail's course upon the hour-wheel of his life,"<sup>3</sup> or he regrets that he has not with the battery of his ideas made a breach in the fortifications of Hippel's heart,<sup>4</sup> etc. Examples of this bombastic style might be easily multiplied out of the letters prior to 1798.<sup>5</sup> Later on, the easy, objective, ironical mode of expression gradually wins the upper hand.<sup>6</sup>

Even after he had found his own style, we have occasional

<sup>1</sup> Hz., I, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Hz., I, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Hz., I, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Hz., I, 101.

<sup>5</sup> I have not had access to any of the publications of letters to Hippel and others, announced by Hans von Müller, cf. Goedeke, *Grund.*, VIII, 482, 1. It is not likely, however, that the new material contained in them will throw any additional light on the development of Hoffmann's style. The letters already published by Hitzig and Kunz enable one to trace clearly enough the laying aside of the sentimental manner and the growth of the ironical note.

<sup>6</sup> Among the papers found by Hans von Müller in Hitzig's literary remains, and as yet unpublished, is a fragment of an essay in acknowledged imitation of the style of Jean Paul and Sterne, with illustrations. Cf. *Euphorion*, IX, 367. The paper is doubtless satirical in aim, but is of importance as additional evidence of a congenial note in Jean Paul's style. Cf. further Goedeke, VIII, 503, 97.



relapses into the bombastic manner of expression, where Hoffmann "heaps Pelion on Ossa" in a manner that is truly Richteresque. Such is the "Vision auf dem Schlachtfelde bei Dresden,"<sup>1</sup> a sketch which Hoffmann wrote after visiting the scene of one of the fierce struggles between Napoleon and the Allies in the latter part of August, 1813. Both in form and contents this "Vision" shows a remarkable similarity to that celebrated vision of Jean Paul's, which was aimed at Fichte and the atheists and which appears as the first "Blumenstück" in *Siebenkäs*, "Die Rede des toten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab, dasz kein Gott sei." Although the two are quite independent in subject-matter, development, and *Tendenz*, it is difficult to see how Hoffmann could have written his vision without having Jean Paul's dream pretty clear in his consciousness, equally difficult to make this clear without putting the two in parallel columns. The following may serve to illustrate some points in common. In the introduction to Jean Paul's dream the graves open, the shades of the departed pass into the church, while a gray mist concentrates above in the heavens,—“in groszen Falten blosz ein grauer, schwüler Nebel, den ein Riesenschatte wie ein Netz, immer näher, enger und heiszer hereinzog.”<sup>2</sup> With Hoffmann, a mist sweeps across the battlefield, bringing with it the tyrant Napoleon, veiled in a column of smoke: “Da war es mir als zöge ein dünner Nebel über die Flur und in ihm schwamm eine Rauchsäule, die sich allmählich verdickte zu einer finstern Gestalt” —and at his appearance the dead rise from their graves. Both visions proceed in the form of dialogue, between Christ and the souls on the one side, Napoleon and his victims on the other. Finally, with Jean Paul, as a prelude to the address of Christ, earth, sun, the whole *Weltgebäude* sink into chaos; in Hoffmann, at a

<sup>1</sup> HW., xv, 57 ff.<sup>2</sup> JPW., xii, 157.



gesture of the tyrant the abyss opens, "es war als öffne die Erde den schwarzen bodenlosen Abgrund, die Leichname und Gerippe versanken—und ihr Geheul, ihr schneidender Jammer verschwand in der Tiefe." Then the abyss resolves itself into a sea of blood, from which arises the avenging dragon. In this vision, as elsewhere, Hoffmann surpasses Jean Paul in sharp, realistic word-pictures; Richter is of course more sentimental and magnificent, nor can the Romanticist follow him into his peculiar hysteric atmosphere of death-bed and charnel-house.<sup>1</sup>

Having developed his own realistic style, Hoffmann later on parodies the *Jeanpaulisieren*: expressly in the passage in the *Nachtstücke*, already quoted, and tacitly in *Kater Murr*. In the latter instance Kreisler employs this monstrous figure, "Ha mein Fräulein! als Sie sangen, aller sehnsüchtige

<sup>1</sup> Ellinger (88) finds in the outer form of Hoffmann's "Vision" a reminiscence of the celebrated dream of Franz Moor in the fifth act of Schiller's *Räuber* and notes here also an echo of Schiller's rolling rhetoric. The importance and persistent influence of the *Räuber* in Hoffmann cannot be denied,—cf. among other evidence his story of the same name in the *Letzte Erzählungen* (HW., XIII, 176),—indeed, it would have been difficult for anyone to have taken up the theme in *tyrannos* in these decades without to some extent coming into dependency on Schiller. That certain points of similarity with Franz's dream may be noted by any one reading the two, is indubitable; on the other hand, it seems to me that apart from the correspondences with Jean Paul's dream, noted above, numerous passages could be cited where the wild extravagance of word and image suggests the abandon of Richter rather than the rugged fury of young Schiller. Cf. the following, where the dragon-monster, the emissary of vengeance, seizes Napoleon: "Nun umschlang, fester und fester sein Gewinde schnürend, der Drache den Tyrannen, und überall gingen aus seinem Leibe spitze glühende Krallen hervor, die er wie Dolche in das Fleisch des Tyrannen schlug. Da wand der Tyrann, wie durch namenlose Folter verrenkt, das Haupt empor, und sah über sich die in blendendem Funkeln strahlende Sonne, den Fokus des ewigen Verhängnisses, und entsetzlicher, schneidender wurde der heulende Jammer," etc. (HW., xv, 58).



Schmerz der Liebe, alles Entzücken süszer Träume, die Hoffnung, das Verlangen, wogte durch den Wald, und fiel nieder wie erquickender Tau in die duftenden Blumenkelche, in die Brust horchender Nachtigallen!" Later on, in a manner truly "romantic," he mocks at his own sentimentality.<sup>1</sup>

#### CONCLUSION.

In summing up the foregoing and attempting the dangerous task of drawing the balance of Richter's influence on Hoffmann, I repeat what has been said regarding the limits of this investigation. I am well aware that Goethe, Rousseau, and Schiller, half-forgotten romance writers like Grosze, and the humorists Sterne, Lichtenberg, and Hippel, not to speak of the Romanticists, may be held responsible, either individually or as collective groups, for many traits in Hoffmann which have been pointed out. Operating with general results, as the philologist always must do in such cases, it seems to me that the following is a conservative estimate. In his youth and early manhood, perhaps until he began his official career at Posen, Jean Paul exercised a considerable influence on Hoffmann, not merely in sentimental moments, but in the formation of his satirical-ironical note as well. With the growth of musical interests and with the impressions received at Warsaw from the more deeply related Romanticists, Richter drops into the background. In Bamberg, however, the personal neighborhood of Jean Paul perhaps gives a fresh impetus to the reading of his work; and, as a result of this, *Titan* lends certain traits toward the creation of the Kreisler figure and the development of the *Doppelgänger* motive. Soon after we have what appears to be a relapse into Richter's bombastic violence and almost certainly a direct remi-

<sup>1</sup> HW., x, 54, 120.



niscence in the "Vision auf dem Schlachtfelde bei Dresden." Then comes Berlin, with only occasional reminiscences of Jean Paul until the production of *Kater Murr*, six years later. The inception of this romance goes back to the Bamberg period—witness *Kreisler* himself and *Julia*, etc.,—and the influence of *Titan* is again visible.

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## II.—THE SOURCES AND MEDIÆVAL VERSIONS OF THE PEACE-FABLE.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Middle Ages usually drew upon Classic tradition in the formation of their fable literature, they at times created new themes whose popularity equalled that of many older rivals. Of no small importance among such stories are those that deal with the false peace declared by a fox in order to deceive a seemingly simple-minded bird. The numerous versions of this fable that have come down to us since the middle of the eleventh century evidence strong interrelation, in spite of individual differences of character, scene, or action. The various forms become so well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century that a history of the fable is sufficiently complete if it comes down to the end of the Middle Ages. It is the object of this article to show what versions of the Peace-Fable existed before the sixteenth century, whence they arose, and what are their relations to one another. The following is a list of the mediæval versions :—

1. *Ysengrimus*, cir. 1150.  
    *Ysengrimus, Liber Quintus*, lines 133–316, Voigt, Halle, 1884.
2. *Roman de Renart*, cir. 1150.  
    Branch Ia, lines 1691–98.  
    *Le Roman de Renart*, Vol. I, pp. 47–8. Ernest Martin, Strasbourg and Paris, 1882.
3. *Roman de Renart*, cir. 1150.  
    Branch II, lines 469–594.  
    *Le Roman de Renart*, Vol. I, pp. 104–7.
4. *Marie de France*, cir. 1175.

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the result of a paper presented in the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, April, 1905. For assistance in the collection of material I am especially indebted to Dr. G. C. Keidel of that institution.



- Fabeln der Marie de France, Bibliotheca Normannica, Fable LXI, Vol. VI, p. 201, Warnke, Halle, 1898.
5. Romulus Treverensis, cir. 1175.  
Les Fabulistes Latins, Vol. II, pp. 533–534, or Vol. II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 599–600. Hervieux, Paris, 1884 and 1894.
  6. Jacques de Vitry, cir. 1225.  
The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry, p. 7. T. F. Crane, London, 1890.
  7. Willem's van den Vos Reinaerde, cir. 1250.  
Reinaert, pp. 10–14, lines 315–420. Ernest Martin, Paderborn, 1874.
  8. Gerhard von Minden, 1270.  
Die Fabeln Gerhards von Minden, p. 167. Leitzmann, Halle, 1898.
  9. Romulus Bernensis, 1275.  
Les Fabulistes Latins, Vol. II<sup>2</sup>, p. 311, Fable XXXII.
  10. Reinaert's Historie, cir. 1278.  
Reinaert, pp. 116–118, lines 343–448.
  11. Paris Promptuarium, 1322.  
Bibliotheca Normannica, Vol. VI, Einleitung, p. lxviii, Ex. 27.
  12. Nicole Bozon, cir. 1325.  
Nicole Bozon, No. 61, p. 84. Société des Anciens Textes Français.
  13. Bromiardus, cir. 1390.  
Summa Prædicantium, J., Chap. VII, 8. Antwerp, 1614.
  14. Magdebürger Aesop, 1402.  
Gerhard von Minden, p. 67, No. XLVII. W. Seelmann, Bremen, 1878.
  15. Leipziger Aesop, cir. 1450.  
Einladungsschrift zur Feier des Heuflingischen Gedächtnistages. Fable LXXXVIII, Meiningen, 1897.
  16. Poggius, cir. 1450.  
Les Facéties du Pogge Traduites en Français avec le Texte Latin, No. LXXIX, Vol. I, p. 125. Paris, 1878.
  17. Steinhöwel, Latin version, cir. 1475.  
Steinhöwel's Äsop, No. 164, Fable XXIII, p. 350. Österley, Stuttgart, 1873.
  18. Steinhöwel, German version, cir. 1475.  
Steinhöwel's Äsop, Fable XXIII, p. 351.
  19. Caxton, 1484.  
Fables of Aesop, Vol. II, pp. 307–309. Joseph Jacobs, London, 1889.
  20. Reinke de Vos, 1498.  
Reinke de Vos, lines 317–404, pp. 10–13. August Lübben, Oldenburg, 1867.
  21. De Vos ün de Hane, cir. 1500.  
Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum, Fünfter Band, pp. 406–412, lines 161–220. M. Haupt, Leipzig, 1845.



In addition to these versions there are others that are either lost or inaccessible for other reasons. Among these are the following :—

22. Romulus Anglo-Latinus, cir. 1100.
23. Alfred of England, cir. 1150.
24. Original Promptuarium, cir. 1300.
25. Rheims Promptuarium, 1325, Fable xxvii.
26. Romulus Harleianus, cir. 1375.
27. Hendrik van Alkmaar, 1477.
28. Die historie van Reynaert de vos, 1479.
29. Jules Machaut, 1479.
30. Guillaume Tardif, cir. 1490.

In the sixteenth and subsequent centuries the fable appears in numerous collections and spreads through a great part of Europe. It is found in La Fontaine, Kirchhof, Legrand d'Aussy, and other fabulists. It extends as far as Russia in the form of oral tradition. These later versions are, however, readily traced back to the older forms. Before taking up a history of the latter, some attention must be paid to the story as it has come down to us.

A good idea of the plot of our fable may be had from the accounts of Marie de France, Jacques de Vitry, and Caxton, which are here given in the order named.

Marie's version is in substance the following :—

“A dove was sitting upon a cross. A fox passed below and saw him. He spoke aloud and said to him, ‘Why do you sit up there in so strong a wind? Now, come down and sit beside me in shelter.’

‘In faith, I do not dare,’ he replied.

‘Do not be afraid of me, and I can tell you why. I was recently at an assembly where many people were gathered together. A letter came from the king, who commanded in good faith that no beast should injure another beast nor any bird; God forbid that war should be between them any more. He desires to have peace in his land; bird and beast will be able to go and play together.’

‘Now will I descend,’ said the dove. ‘But I see yonder near the bushes two horsemen riding very quickly, and bringing two dogs with them.’

‘Are they very near?’ said the fox.



‘They ride steadily,’ said he.

‘It is better that I go into the wood than have strife or uproar with them. I do not know whether they have heard the letter which came from the king; I assure you that I would not have to leave if they had heard it.’ ”

Marie then concludes with the appropriate reflection that many knaves are abroad in the land.

The story of Jacques de Vitry, as will be shown later, is not descended from Marie’s version, and gives a somewhat different account of the events :—

“A fox saluted a titmouse, who asked, ‘Whence do you come?’ He replied, ‘From the king’s council, where was sworn a peace, to be observed by all birds and beasts. Wherefore I ask you to give me a kiss of peace.’

‘I am afraid you will catch me,’ said she.

‘Come in safety,’ said the fox. ‘See, I will shut my eyes, so that I won’t be able to catch you.’

The bird agreed and flew before the fox, but when he tried to catch her with his open mouth, she quickly flew away, laughing at the fox, who had wished to betray her contrary to the oath of peace.”

Caxton’s version shows a further development of the story. His quaintly humorous English can speak for itself :—

“Alle the sallary or payment of them that mokken other is for to be mocqued at the last as hit appiereth by this present Fable of a Cock whiche somtyme sawe a foxe comynge toward hym sore hongry and famysshed whiche Cock supposed Wel that he came not toward hym but for to ete somme henne for which cause the Cock maade al his hennes to flee vpon a tree And whan the foxe beganne tapproche to the said tree he began to crye toward the cock good tydynges good tydynges And after he salewed the cok ryght reuerently & demaunded of hym thus O godsep what dost thou ther soo hyghe And thy hennes with the hast not thou herd the good tydynges worthy and prouffitable for vs And thenne the Cok ful of malyce ansuerd to hym Nay veryly godsep but I praye the telle and reherce them unto us Thenne sayd the foxe to the cok Certaynly godsep they be the best that ever ye herd For ye may goo and come talke and comunyque among alle beestes withoute any harme or dommage And they shalle doo to yow bothe pleasyr and alle seruyse to them possible for thus it is concluded and accorded and also confermed by the grete councyll of all bestes And yet they haue made commaundement that none be so hardy to vexe ne lette in no wyse any other be it neuer soo lytyll a beast For the whiche



good tydynges I praye the that thou wylt come doune to thende that we may goo and synge *Te deum laudamus* for Joye And the cok whiche knewe wel the fallaces or falshede of the foxe ansuerd to hym in this manere Certaynly my broder and my good Frend thou hast brought to me ryght good tydynges whereof more than C tymes I shalle thanke the And sayenge these wordes the Cock lyfte vp his neck and his feet and lokyd farre fro hym And the foxe sayd to hym what godsep where aboute lokest thou And the Cok ansuerd to hym Certaynly my broder I see two dogges strongly and lyghtly rennyng hytherward with open mouthes whiche as I suppose come for to bryng to vs the tydynges whiche thou hast told to vs And thenne the Foxe whiche shoke for fere of the two dogges sayd to the Cock god be with you my frend It is tyme that I departe fro hens or these two dogges come nerer And sayenge these wordes toke his waye & ranne as fast as he myght And thenne the cock demaunded and cryed after hym godsep why rennest thou thus yf the sayd pacte is accorded thou oughdest not to doubte no thyng Ha a godsep sayd the Foxe from ferre I doubte that these two dogges haue not herd the decreet of the pees And thus whanne a begyler is begyled he receyued the sallary or payement whiche he ought to haue wherfore lete euery man kepe hym self ther fro."

In spite of Caxton's amplifications, it is evident that he is much nearer to Marie than he is to Jacques de Vitry. The latter adds the kiss *motif*, and the bird descends. In the *Roman de Renart* we have these *motifs*, but also the approach of rescuers, as in Marie. *Ysengrimus* makes the fox produce a counterfeit decree, in which he is followed by the Flemish and Low-German versions. In Gerhard von Minden the fox is killed, while in several others the bird suffers a similar fate. To show the relations that exist between so widely differing versions, we must go back to the beginnings of the fable in the twelfth century and observe its gradual subsequent development.

A reference to the list of versions will show that there are five of these that antedate the thirteenth century. These are the *Ysengrimus*, the two *Renart* versions, Marie de France, and *Romulus Treverensis*. The last is so close to Marie that we may disregard it for the present. Marie admits Alfred of England as her source and, as he descended



from the Anglo-Latin *Romulus*, we should probably find our fable in both these collections if they were not lost. The fable does not occur in the *Romulus Nilantii*, the *Romulus Vulgaris*, or any document earlier than the twelfth century. We have, then, four varieties of the story existing in the twelfth century, from which the later versions will be shown to descend.

Now three of these versions are epic and two of the accounts follow immediately upon the fable of the *Cock and Fox*. In the *Ysengrimus* the cock is still sitting on the branch of the tree whither he has escaped at the close of the latter fable, when our own fable begins. In the *Renart* the bird is a *mésange* and not a cock, which shows an exterior influence. But the contiguous position of our fable and the *Cock and Fox* is found not only in the epic *Renart* and *Ysengrimus*, but in Marie, Gerhard von Minden, *Romulus Treverensis* and other non-epic works. From this it seems probable that an epic version was the original, from which later collectors arranged the order of their fables. This is a more natural conclusion than an inference that the epic writer had drawn upon some fable collection, now lost, which had its stories arranged in just the order appropriate to his epic narrative. This animal epic priority is further attested by the frequent reference in Marie's and other versions to the parliament or council of beasts, a thing more nearly akin to the *Renart* stories than to the Classic fables. We have, too, the chronological evidence that our earliest extant versions, the *Ysengrimus* and the *Renart*, are prominent representatives of the animal epic.

Taking, then, a lost epic narrative as the original version from which the *Ysengrimus*, *Romulus*, and *Renart* descend, we have the story of a fox who fails to lure a bird with a false declaration of peace on account of the arrival of hunters. That the animal is a fox is the unanimous testimony of the



versions. The bird, on the other hand, is represented as a dove, a titmouse, a cock, and a little bird. The latter seems to be a Latin translation of the French *mésange*, a titmouse. This titmouse appears in two versions only and owes its existence there to the influence of the Kiss-Fable, with which no other versions than these are connected. In the first *Renart* version there is a squirrel instead of a bird, but as the passage contains only eight lines and as every other version has a bird, we may disregard this account.

From the evidence of the versions, therefore, it is evident that the bird of the original story was either a cock or a dove. As seven accounts show the dove, and nine the cock, there appears to be little reason for considering one more than the other as the original type. Nor does the chronology help us, for we have both birds in early as well as later versions. Warnke thinks, however, that the dove is more likely to have been the original form, as it is pre-eminently the bird of peace and consequently especially appropriate to the Peace-Fable. He explains the cock as due to the presence of the fox, since the two are often associated in the popular imagination.

His theory in regard to the dove's priority is probably sound, but his explanation does not sufficiently explain the change to the cock that appears in many of the versions. If the mere presence of the fox could bring about such a transformation, why did it fail to produce it in cases where the dove or the titmouse appears? As Warnke offers no answer to this, we must modify his explanation. In the case of the *Ysengrimus* it is not the simple presence of the fox, but rather the association with the *Cock and Fox* fable, as part of the same narrative, that changes the bird. The versions that descend from *Ysengrimus* then keep this same cock. In *Renart*, as has been shown, the special influence of the Kiss-Fable is at work to make the bird a



*mésange*. As the other early accounts are not placed in a long narrative poem, they retain the dove. There is, however, a later fifteenth century group that retains the cock, though it does not appear to descend from *Ysengrimus*. This is Poggius's version, with those of his followers. Here, however, the cock may be explained from the altered view as to the character of the pursuit of the hunters.

That this difference exists is evident from an examination of the versions. It is real in the majority of the accounts and especially in those of early date. In others, as Marie, the approach is told by the bird to the fox, so that it cannot be known whether it is real or feigned. As, however, there is no allusion to a trick on the part of the bird, it is likely that an actual approach is intended. Later, however, in Poggius and his followers, the idea arises that the hunters do not really come up, but that the bird represents them as so doing, in order to rid himself of the fox. This is the *motif* that gives the fable its most artistic form. It is interesting to note how it develops. First we find the actual approach told by the author, then the actual approach told by the bird, and finally the feigned approach invented by the latter in order to outwit his enemy. Now at this stage, the dove ceases to be an appropriate bird. The conception of the bird as deceived is replaced by one which regards him as deceiving. Here we see the reason why Poggius changes Marie's simple dove to his own wily cock, a bird that has been already known as outwitting the fox in the *Cock and Fox* fable. If, then, we bear in mind this changed conception of the pursuit and the character of the bird, we find the presence of the cock in the Poggius group sufficiently explained. This leaves the dove as the original bird of the fable.

But the character of the pursuit and the species of the bird are, after all, not the most important features of our



fable. Its distinguishing *motif* is the universal Peace, which the fox invents to deceive the bird. To investigate its sources, we must distinguish between the *motif* of luring by a ruse and that of the Peace among all animals. The first idea is common enough in Classic literature as far back as the Sanskrit. We have heard of the tiger that lured the Brahmin, of the *Sick Lion*, the *Wolf and Kid*, the *Cock and Fox*. There is no evidence that any one of these affected directly the plot of our fable, but the luring idea is so common to fable literature that its general influence must have been felt by the author of our original version.

The idea of the Peace, however, is the really original *motif* of our fable. This, as far as we know, occurs neither in Sanskrit, Greek, nor Classic Latin. It is true that in these three languages we have belief in a future Golden Age, but if this idea did not work into the fable literature in its Classic and creative period, we can hardly expect to find it there in later times without some strong outside influence. But just this influence is offered us in the Bible, which, besides general allusions to a future period of peace, gives in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah the familiar account of the Millennial Kingdom, in which the various hostile animals shall be at peace with one another. There is nothing improbable in the theory that some one who had heard the Biblical account of this universal Peace, but was only too familiar with the contrast offered by the world about him, put this report into the mouth of the crafty fox in order to deceive the piously credulous bird.

It is logical, then, to conclude that the Biblical idea of a general peace among animals was united with the luring *motif*, so familiar in fable literature from the Sanskrit down ; that the first actors were a fox and a dove, the latter of whom is saved from the former's wiles by the actual approach of hunters. The story thus constituted was then





taken into an animal epic, in which the *Cock and Fox* fable found a contiguous position. From this original account descend, either directly or through lost versions, the twelfth century tales of *Ysengrimus*, Anglo-Latin *Romulus*, and *Renart*. With the last we meet versions that can be examined and whose relations with each other must be discussed in detail.

To arrive at the connection existing between the various extant versions, use has been made of external evidence for dates and other points, but especial stress has been laid upon the internal evidence, derived from a careful study of the versions themselves. For this purpose a table of some 396 *motifs* has been prepared, which makes evident the points of likeness and unlikeness existing between the various versions. The complete table cannot be shown here on account of lack of space, but the most important *motifs*, to the number of 47, have been placed in a table at the end of this article. It indicates sufficiently the method of work, and it remains only to be said that the investigation of the minor *motifs* as a whole goes to substantiate the results that appear in the following pages. We shall now take up the versions in their chronological order.

The first of our versions, the *Ysengrimus*, contains 183 Latin elegiacs, padded in every conceivable fashion. Thoughts are few and words are many. The cock announces the approach of the hunters in the sixtieth verse, yet the fox stays to argue till the end. Wearisome moralizing is a striking feature of the account. It is the only one of the early versions in which the peace is announced in documentary form. Its story in general is the same as that of the other twelfth century varieties of the fable, but none of these seem to be descended from it.

The first appearance of the Peace-Fable in the *Roman de Renart* is in Branch Ia, where the fox, in mentioning his



noteworthy deeds, speaks of having enticed the squirrel from an oak by telling him about the peace that had been sworn. The account is very brief and seems a mere reference to a tale told elsewhere. Except in the matter of the peace, it has little to do with the much more extensive version of *Renart*, Branch II. The latter contains over a hundred lines and gives us a story that agrees in general with those of Marie and *Ysengrimus*. It introduces, however, the *motif* of the kiss offered the bird by the fox, which appears again in Jacques de Vitry and *Romulus Bernensis*. This *motif* is found also in stories that have nothing to do with the Peace, such as the *Reineke Fuchs* and those of John of Capua and Guidrinus. In fact, there appears to be a full Kiss-Fable tradition that is originally entirely independent of the Peace-Fable, but which has been united with the latter in three of our versions. As has been shown before, it is the influence of this Kiss-Fable that accounts for the appearance of the bird in *Renart*, Branch II, as a *mésange* or titmouse, instead of a dove. There is no evidence that either of these *Renart* versions is descended from the *Ysengrimus*, and as they date from about 1150, they could not descend from any other extant version. They may be considered as coming from the original lost version along with the other twelfth century accounts.

The versions of Marie de France and *Romulus Treverensis* date from about 1175 and are much alike in the general outlines of the story, as the characters, situations and chief *motifs* of action and speech are about the same. As, however, they are nearly contemporary versions, the difference in the details of their accounts makes it scarcely probable that either is descended from the other. The theory that both find their source in Alfred of England meets with no opposition in the internal evidence of their accounts of the Peace-Fable. The testimony of both versions, on the other



hand, is against their derivation from either *Renart* or *Yængrimus*, for besides the fact that the bird is not the same, there are variations in important *motifs* that make such descent extremely improbable. In fact, the most satisfactory conclusion to be reached as to the five twelfth century versions of our fable is that they all derive from a common source, but are not more closely related, except in the case of Marie and *Romulus Treverensis*. For these we have external indications that point to their descent from Alfred of England, which, in turn, comes from the Anglo-Latin *Romulus*. The version of the latter, then, were it extant, would probably be found to fall into the class of the *Yængrimus* and *Renart* versions, which we would derive from a common epic source.

We come now to the thirteenth century, whose earliest representative is found in Jacques de Vitry, about 1225. His version has been given in full. It is especially noteworthy for the presence of the kiss *motif* and that of the descent of the bird, as well as for the lack of mention of a rescue party. A moral is pointed concerning the seduction of women by evil priests. The only one of his *motifs* that does not appear in the *Renart*, Branch II, is a preliminary question of the bird, "Whence do you come?" which was probably inserted by the sermonizer to avoid the introduction that is to be found in the *Renart* version and to come at once to the Peace *motif*. The occurrence of the word *mésange* (or *muaunge*, as Vitry spells it) shows close relation to *Renart*. The author has evidently had difficulty in translating this word into Latin, and speaks of the "*volucrum que gallice mesange nominatur*." This shows at once a French origin for his account, and as *Renart* is the only other version of the Peace-Fable in which the *mésange* occurs, the conclusion is obvious that Vitry drew from *Renart*. As, moreover, the work shows small relation to



any other twelfth century account, there is no valid objection to be brought against such a conclusion.

The next version of our fable was the *Reinaert*, written in Flemish about the year 1250. The earliest extant manuscript is dated 1400. The story differs decidedly from those previously described. The cock tells how he and his fifteen children were lured out of the barn-yard by the fox's declaration of peace and the monk's garb that he wore. The peace was stated in a letter, which the fox presented before leaving. The cock then issued out of the barn-yard with all his family and was attacked by the fox, who had hidden himself behind a hedge. As no guard or dog came to the rescue, eleven of the chickens fell a prey to the fox. This version is evidently more closely connected with the *Ysengrimus* than with any other. The bird is a cock and the news of the Peace is stated in a letter, neither of which *motifs* occurs in the *Renart* or the Anglo-Latin group. It is true that the story, especially in its ending, shows striking variations from the *Ysengrimus*, but these differences cannot be explained by positing another version as its source. The statement that no guard or dog came to the rescue indicates that the author had in mind a version where such intervention took place. The fact that it forms a part of an epic narrative indicates connection with *Renart* or *Ysengrimus*, but it does not show important *motifs* of the former, and while it is not a close imitation of the latter, it is, nevertheless, nearer to it than to any other version.

The earliest German version of the Peace-Fable is that of Gerhard von Minden in 1270. The title, bird, and story in general are the same here as in *Treverensis* and Marie, though we have a new *dénouement* in the killing of the fox by the dogs. The most casual reading shows that Gerhard is more closely allied to these two versions than to any other, so that to arrive at the position of his version in the



line of descent, we may consider it in connection with these two versions only. But while Gerhard approaches closely both Marie and *Romulus Treverensis*, a close examination of the *motifs* leaves no doubt as to whence it really descends. Marie's version shows practically no *motifs* which are found in Gerhard and not in Romulus. On the other hand, we find that both Romulus and Gerhard mention the weather, the court, and letters, of which Marie says nothing. The fox in *Romulus* and Gerhard, moreover, is spoken of as desiring the bird, as asking her to approach for conversation, and as looking askance at the bird. As these *motifs* do not occur in Marie's version, she is evidently less close to Gerhard than *Romulus* is. By the weight of this strong internal evidence, then, we may consider *Romulus Treverensis* the immediate source of Gerhard von Minden.

The year 1275 gives us one of our shortest versions in the *Romulus Bernensis*. The fox meets a little bird, tells her he comes from a parliament where peace has been sworn between birds and beasts, and asks that she approach and give him a kiss. The bird does so and is caught. The whole story contains but thirty-one words. The use of the word *avicula* for the bird would incline us to put the version with the *Renart-Vitry* group. If it had descended from the *Ysengrimus* or the Anglo-Latin *Romulus*, it could certainly have used a Latin equivalent of *cock* or *dove*. But if it drew from *Renart*, it had *mésange* to translate, which could hardly be better done than by *avicula*. From the story, too, as well as from the name of the bird, it can be seen that this version finds its source in the *Renart* or the Vitry, which are the only other versions that show both the Kiss and the Peace *motifs*. It is nearer Vitry than *Renart*, as, like the former, it commences with the statement that the fox comes from a parliament or assembly where peace was sworn among all beasts and birds, whereas the



*Renart* begins with the request for a kiss and later explains that Noble the Lion has decreed peace. The connection between the *Romulus Bernensis* and the Vitry is so close, indeed, that the former might be considered as a mere translation of the latter, were it not that in the *Bernensis* termination the bird is caught. This reminds us of *Renart*, Branch Ia, but while the ending is there the same, it is a squirrel that is caught and there is no allusion to a kiss or to all birds and beasts. It is possible, of course, that *Renart*, Branch Ia, may have some influence, but it does not at all show the close connection of the Vitry version. The ending may have been added, after all, without the knowledge of a similar *motif* that existed elsewhere, and merely to drive home the moral that follows the *Bernensis* version, *Docet habere cautelam*. There seems to be no doubt of its descent from Vitry, while a further connection with *Renart* is at least problematical.

In the list of versions three *Promptuaria* have been mentioned, the original version and those of Paris and Rheims. The original *Promptuarium*, which was dated about 1300, is lost. The Rheims manuscript of 1325 is known to contain our fable from the statement of Warnke in a note on page 166 of the *Festgabe für Hermann Suchier*. It comes from the original *Promptuarium* just as the Paris *Promptuarium* of 1322 does. An examination of the latter shows close relationship with Marie de France. Now we know that this *Promptuarium* frequently copies Marie and the internal evidence sustains this fact in regard to the Peace-Fable. While not a direct translation, the Paris manuscript shows sufficient similarity to Marie's version to make it safe to consider her as its source. Moreover, as the Paris comes from the original *Promptuarium*, which is only a few years older, we consider them both as descending from Marie.



The Rheims *Promptuarium*, then, takes its position by the side of the Paris and out of the original *Promptuarium*.

Nicole Bozon's version of 1320 is nearer to Marie's than to any other. It gives practically the same story with a few variations natural to a writer of sermons. Thus the dove is represented as sitting on cold stones, which is due, as Dr. Harry indicates, to the influence of an *exemplum* drawn from Jeremiah that immediately precedes the fable. Other departures from Marie are not striking, so that there should be no hesitation in considering her the source of Bozon.

From Nicole Bozon is derived the fable-collection known as the *Romulus Harleianus* of 1375. It almost certainly contained our fable, although it is not to be found there at present in consequence of the defective condition of the manuscript.

About 1390 appeared the *Summa Prædicantium* of Bromiardus, who has scattered numerous fables through his text. In one of these we read the account of a fox on his return from the lion's court, who replies to certain inquisitive young birds that peace has been made between himself and them. He then hangs his head in humility, by which sight the birds are so moved that they admit him to friendship with the inevitable result. The pastor then draws a moral concerning the wiles of the hypocrite. Now, though this version is not a direct translation of any previously mentioned, it shows decided resemblance to the Flemish *Reinaert*. Besides the *motif* of the Peace and the mention of the lion's court, which might be derived from any of our versions, we find here a number of birds instead of one, their location in an enclosure of some sort instead of on a perch, and the final destruction of the birds by the fox. These do not correspond to any older version, except the *Reinaert*. The humility of the fox in Bromiardus,



moreover, corresponds to his playing the monk in *Reinaert*. The birds destroyed are young in Bromiardus, just as they are in the Flemish account. Evidently the *Reinaert* is the most reasonable source of Bromiardus.

The *Magdeburger Aesop* appeared in 1402. The close connection existing between this and the Gerhard von Minden is shown by the use of the latter title for both fable collections. The Peace-Fable in both works follows the *Treverensis* story with the ending of the fox's death. Both versions show individual amplifications, but there can be no serious doubt as to the fact that Gerhard is the direct source of the *Magdeburger*.

To the same group belongs the *Leipziger Aesop*. It appears to descend from the *Magdeburger* with possibly some slight outside influence.

We now come to a group of closely related versions, whose descent is somewhat hard to prove. The first member is found in the *Facetiae* of Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine. From him descend the various ramifications of Steinhöwel, resulting in the English version of Caxton cited above. As has been pointed out, it is in this version of Poggius that the idea of the bird's ruse first takes shape. Now the versions that are nearest Poggius are the *Ysengrimus*, Marie, and *Treverensis*. The facts that the bird is a cock and that he is sitting on a tree unite the story with *Ysengrimus*, but, on the other hand, the development of the plot is not the same, as, for example, in the *Ysengrimus* the fox goes away to find a letter, which does not happen in Poggius or Marie. The story of Poggius is the same in length and character as that of Marie. They have also similar details, as the opening of the conversation by a question from the fox and his subsequent excuse that the dogs may not have heard of the peace. An examination of the *motifs*, in fact, shows a closer relation



to Marie than to any other version of the fable. Finally, there is nothing from the external evidence to combat this theory, for a manuscript of Marie's fables is known to have been seen in Italy and Poggius visited numerous libraries in France. He is said, moreover, to have drawn on the *Fabliaux* for the material of some of his *Facetiæ*, so that there is no reason why he should not have drawn upon Marie for the Peace-Fable.

As soon as we have placed Poggius, Steinhöwel's Latin version follows as a matter of course. The merest glance at the two versions will show how nearly they are related. One is an almost literal transcription of the other, with a few changes of tense and word-order. Poggius puts his moral at the end of the version. Steinhöwel places the same moral at both beginning and end. The difference of title is easily explained, for in Poggius it is the *Cock and Fox*, which Steinhöwel had already used as the title of another fable. He accordingly calls his Peace-Fable the *Fox, Cock, and Dogs*. Besides this, the only *motif* that he adds is: "I think they are going to announce the peace which you predict."

The German Steinhöwel is even closer to the Latin Steinhöwel than the latter is to Poggius. It is Latin done into German with one minor *motif* omitted. This is the bird's request that the news be told, which exists in Poggius and the Latin Steinhöwel and consequently proves that the latter version comes from Poggius and not from the German Steinhöwel. This last is otherwise practically identical with the Latin version and is closer to it than to Poggius, so that it is clearly proved that Poggius gives rise to the Latin Steinhöwel, which is, in turn, copied into German.

Caxton's version of 1484 has been cited in full. He is known to have followed Poggius through Machaut's version



of 1479, but an examination of the internal evidence shows that this descent is through the Latin Steinhöwel, as Caxton has the latter's title and his new *motif* that is not found in Poggius. It is equally clear that Caxton does not come through the German Steinhöwel, for the one *motif* that is in the Latin but is wanting in the German reappears in Caxton. He may, then, be considered to have drawn from Poggius by means of the Latin Steinhöwel and Machaut.

The Low-German *Reinke de Vos* of 1498 is a translation of a Dutch poem by Hinrik van Alkmaar, which, though now lost, is known to descend from the Flemish *Reinaerts Historie*, written about 1278. An examination of the latter shows that it follows very closely Willem's *van den Vos Reinaerde*, which has been described above. The differences between the three versions are exceedingly slight. *Die historie van Reynaert de vos* of 1479 is a mere prosification of *Reinaerts Historie*.

Another Teutonic version is *De vos in de Hane*, which G. W. Dasent copied from a manuscript in the royal library at Stockholm. As it is written in a hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is the most recent of the versions examined. The mention in it of a false pope might be evidence of an earlier date, if one of the anti-popes is referred to. As, however, the last of these went out of office in 1409, references to them might still be popular in 1500. The whole passage covers 227 lines and includes the *Cock and Fox* as well as our own fable. The latter runs for some sixty lines at the end of the poem. The verses are very uneven and carelessly rimed. A vein of broad humor runs throughout. As in the *Ysengrimus*, the fox uses a piece of wood to represent the decree of peace, which here, however, comes from the Pope instead of the King. The rest of the story preserves in general the *Ysengrimus* tradition, in spite of changes in detail. Some of



these suggest outside influence, possibly that of the *Magdeburger Aesop* or of Gerhard von Minden. This influence, however, cannot be certainly established. On the other hand, the version not only shows a similar story to that of the *Ysengrimus*, but connects this closely with the *Cock and Fox*, which immediately precedes. This is just the case in *Ysengrimus*, as has been noted above.

This review of the versions may be closed by a brief reference to Guillaume Tardif, who brought out in 1490 a translation of the *Facéties du Pogge*. As this version is said to be a paraphrase of the original, we may conclude that the Peace-Fable is contained in the collection and that it comes directly from the version of Poggius.

To sum up in brief the history of the Peace-Fable, I repeat that it does not appear to have existed earlier than the Middle-Ages, but that it arose before the twelfth century from a combination of the Classic tradition of luring-fables and the Biblical idea of a universal peace among animals. Starting in a lost epic account, it spread through the collections of fabulists and sermonizers in France, Germany, England, Italy, and the Netherlands. These versions have been examined in detail as far down as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The relations that exist between them are further shown in a version tree and a table of *motifs* that follow. In conclusion it may be said that while the versions differ greatly in originality, matter, and style, the *ensemble* deserves to rank high in fable literature and is entitled to greater critical consideration than it has hitherto received.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.



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9. *Great Russian Animal Tales*, A. Gerber, pp. 20, 21, 66.



TABLE OF MOTIFS.

	Y - Yungtrium.	Ra - Renart Branch Ia.	R - Renart Branch II.	M - Marie de France.	T - Romulus Tiverensia.	V - Vitry.	W - Willem's Relovert.	G - Gerhard von Minden.	B - Berne Romulus.	H - Reinaults Hilaria.	P - Paris Promptuarium.	N - Nicole Boson.	Br - Bromlardus.	A - Magdeburger Aesop.	L - Leipziger Aesop.	Po - Poggius.	S - Latin Steinbovel.	Sg - German Steinbovel.	C - Carton.	Re - Reinken de Vos.	Vs - Vos du de Hane.
Fox.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Bird.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Dove.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Cock.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Chickens or young birds.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Mésange.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Rescuer.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Winter Weather.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Spring Weather.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Position of bird or squirrel.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
On a cross.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
On a tree.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Within an enclosure.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Fox approached bird.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Saw bird.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs
Desired bird.....	Y	Ra	R	M	T	V	W	G	B	H	P	N	Br	A	L	Po	S	Sg	C	Re	Vs



Asked, "why are you aloft?"	M	T	V	G	H	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Said, "in the wind."	M	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
"fly hither,"	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
"for conversation."	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox's invitation.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird's precaution.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox asked for a kiss.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird declined.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Peace announced.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox showed document.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
A piece of wood.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox's humility.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox disguised as a monk.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox shut his eyes.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox concealed himself.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Peace eternal.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Peace (forbade) violence.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Creatures were allowed to play.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
"I would not look on you wrongly.".....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird or squirrel went to fox.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird or squirrel was caught.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox killed birds.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird looked away.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Bird announced approach of rescuers.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox asked if they were near.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
If he could escape.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox said it was best to leave.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
"Bad news,".....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
"It was doubtful whether they knew of decree.".....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox's excuse about the Peace.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C
Fox was killed.....	R	T	V	G	B	P	N	L	Po	S	Sg	C



### III.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOHN DRYDEN'S LITERARY CRITICISM.

#### INTRODUCTION.

#### I.

From the very first Dryden's critical essays have called forth widely divergent opinions. Written, as many of them were, in the heat of literary conflict, they served during their author's life, on the one hand, as a statement of faith to be expounded and defended, on the other, as a series of vulnerable points of attack. And even since they have held an assured place among English critical works—at first as authoritative judgments and later as historical documents of the very first importance—there has been no orthodox view as to their nature or value. Some historians have always been led by Dryden's popular, rambling style to deny them solid worth; others have found in them a vitality, a genuine insight, worth more than logic. According to Dean Swift they were "merely writ at first for filling, to raise the author's price a shilling;"<sup>1</sup> Doctor Johnson, on the contrary, speaks of them as "the criticism of a poet; not a dull collection of theorems, nor a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the censor was not able to have committed; but a gay and vigorous dissertation, where delight is mingled with instruction."<sup>2</sup>

This difference of opinion has perpetuated itself among modern scholars. On the one hand we have Professor

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that the relations between Dryden and Swift place the sincerity of this criticism under suspicion.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Arthur Waugh, London, 1896; II, 207.



Saintsbury, in his *History of Criticism*,<sup>1</sup> taking his stand squarely with Doctor Johnson. After giving Dryden an amount of attention which makes him stand out as a giant among his contemporaries, this historian concludes his analysis by placing Dryden's criticism "on that shelf—no capacious one—reserved for the best criticism of the world." And the virtue upon which this estimate is based is superiority to rules, to conventions. Here, at last, thinks Saintsbury, came a critic who could take a book in hand and ask, not, Ought I to like this? but, Do I like it? And if a book had nature, variety, individuality, if it gave delight, he would not be "connoisseured" out of his opinion of it by all the scholars in Christendom. Here was a genuine, unspoiled Englishman hardy enough to establish "the English fashion of criticizing, as Shakespeare did the English fashion of dramatizing—the fashion of aiming at delight, at truth, at justice, at nature, at poetry, and letting the rules take care of themselves."

The opinion which seeks to belittle Dryden's critical power is represented by Delius in his dissertation, *Dryden und Shakespeare*.<sup>2</sup> Here Dryden is represented as caught in the meshes of contemporary doctrine. The dictum that his appreciation of Shakespeare was merely *phrasenhaft* is softened only by the statement that an adequate recognition of the great Elizabethan was contrary to his very nature and would have interfered seriously with the development of his genius.

Such a diversity of conclusions suggests that we are here dealing with extremely complex material. A first reading of Dryden's criticism is liable to leave one in utter confusion. On one page he seems to rise almost to the level of

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London, 1902; II, 371–89.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. IV.



the Elizabethans ; on another he falls into a cool and logical classicism. At one moment he defends the heroic drama ; at another he attacks it with his sharpest invective. Often he gives eloquent expression to his love for Shakespeare ; but more than once he falls into petty carping at his great predecessor's faults. The chief difficulty presented by this mass of contrary opinions lies in the fact that it refuses to arrange itself under any simple principle of development. If, for example, Dryden's early critical works exhibited a spirit approximating that of the Elizabethans, and his later ones, a love of classical logicity and orderliness, one could very easily, even on a first reading, make his conflicting views harmonize with a general theory as to his intellectual development. But no such simple principle can possibly bring our author's conflicting opinions into orderly succession. His admiration for Shakespeare, for example, appears at the beginning of his career, near the middle of it, and again at the end.<sup>1</sup> It is only natural that such an incongruous and apparently disordered mass of material as we have here to deal with, should have called forth the most widely divergent opinions.

It would be strange if the problem presented by this material had not attracted serious historians with method adequate to the placing of their author in his intellectual milieu. And this task has actually been attempted, with varying degrees of success, by several scholars. The first of these to demand attention, though his work came last in point of time, is W. P. Ker. In his introduction to his admirable edition of Dryden's essays<sup>2</sup> this editor has done much to show in just what form the various literary

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Margaret Sherwood : *Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Practice* ; Yale Studies in English, 1896 ; pp. 27-31.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays of John Dryden*, Oxford, 1900.



problems presented themselves to Dryden for solution. But retaining throughout his judicial character of editor, he does not propose any general theory as to the course of our author's critical development.

In the two works which remain to be mentioned, determined attempts have been made to trace some order in the apparent confusion of Dryden's opinions and to explain historically the outlines under which the heterogeneous mass of his theory seems to arrange itself. The first of these is *Drydens Theorie des Dramas*<sup>1</sup> by Felix Bobertag. This author takes Dryden's criticism in the lump and analyses it under the impression that it is, for practical purposes, a well defined system. This system, it seems to him, was roughly sketched in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and filled out in the other essays. In one passage Bobertag does suggest that Dryden's critical development falls into two periods, one represented by the *Essay*, and the other by the preface to *Troilus and Cressida*: but this notion is left undeveloped. The great underlying principle of all Dryden's criticism Bobertag finds in a passage of the preface to *Troilus and Cressida* in which the poet is compared with a wrestler: Dryden here maintains that, as is the case with the wrestler, the poet's "inborn vehemence and force of spirit will only run him out of breath the sooner, if it be not supported by the help of art." And, according to Bobertag, this balance of importance between "force of spirit" and "help of art" is established by the clash of English dramatic tradition and the Gallicized form of Aristotelian criticism. But this twofold division of the influences under which Dryden wrote breaks down in its author's own hands. Forced to add a new element to his scheme, he proceeds to explain that when Dryden cast his first ambitious

<sup>1</sup> Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, iv, 373.



critical work in the form of a dialogue he did so, not only because he could not harmonize English tradition and French rules, but also because he could find in neither of them justification for the literary tastes of the court of Charles II. Our historian analyses with some care the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and the preface to *Troilus and Cressida*, and comes to the conclusion that Dryden's critical scheme of things lacks coherence. This result seems to him to have been inevitable: even a greater genius, in Dryden's position, might have failed to combine satisfactorily the three elements which would necessarily have entered into his work. Bobertag's analysis of the forces which went to the making of Dryden's criticism is of inestimable suggestive value; but what one wants, and seeks here in vain, is a definite tracing of the elements of Dryden's criticism to their sources and an attempt to arrange them in some meaningful order. So far as Bobertag's work is concerned, one is at liberty to regard Dryden's critical theory from beginning to end either as a tangled mass of mutually repellent elements or as a number of elements continuously and evenly intertwined like the strands of a rope.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis of our author's critical thinking into its ~~elements~~ is further developed by Paul Hamelius in his work, *Die Kritik in der englischen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*.<sup>2</sup> Bobertag discussed two literary traditions,

~~theoretically~~ it should be remarked that Bobertag fails to show in the ~~analysis~~ of Dryden's criticism the influence of the court is ~~dis-~~ ~~regarded~~ thus his threefold division of influences remains incomplete. ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~forces~~ mentioned are purely literary, the other is social, and no ~~attempt is made to~~ ~~shown~~ what was the literary, or theoretic, form taken ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~literary~~ or social, moment.

In the same category with Bobertag's treatise should be placed Laura ~~Wylie's~~ ~~chapter~~ ~~on~~ ~~Dryden~~ in her volume, *Studies in the Evolution of English Literature* (1894). Miss Wylie's analysis of Dryden's work is less ~~thorough~~ ~~than~~ ~~Bobertag's~~, but far more searching and accurate.

~~London~~, 1897.



the classical and the English, and introduced the court of Charles II as a literary force without attempting to define the nature of its influence. Hamelius, with a much wider reading in English literature and much keener powers of analysis, divides the English critics of Dryden's time into four schools: the neoclassic, the rationalistic, the romantic, and the moralistic.<sup>1</sup> And among the representatives of these four schools he represents Dryden as the great compromiser. It was not until the eighteenth century that English criticism became crystallized; the seventeenth century was a time of preparation. Amidst the confused moving and shaping of things it is but natural that Dryden, a man of marvellously versatile and comprehensive mind, should have embodied in his work all the elements that went to make up the national criticism of his period. This is sufficient to account for all his evident inconsistencies. In the words of Hamelius, "Der ausserordentliche Wechsel in seinen Ansichten muss teilweise daraus erklärt werden, dass er weder in seiner eigenen Geistesanlage, noch im Geschmacke seiner Zeit eine feste Richtschnur hatte, so dass er sich von persönlichen und parteiischen Neigungen, sowie von dem Wunsche, das Wohlwollen adeliger Herren zu erwerben, oder einen verhassten Gegner zu verspotten, leiten liess."<sup>2</sup>

This examination of Dryden's critical theory is the most satisfactory that I have come upon. Three of the critical systems described,—all except that designated as moralistic,—contributed important elements to his work. And it is to be noticed especially that Hamelius connected the influence of the court very definitely with the theory of the heroic drama and its accompanying lack of appreciation for Shakespeare. Here we have, it must be confessed, the

<sup>1</sup> We owe to Hamelius a careful distinction between neoclassicism and English rationalism.

<sup>2</sup> P. 63.



main features of Dryden's criticism clearly defined. But when we come to search for a principle of order among these antagonistic elements, the result is negative. Bobertag, apparently, never conceived the possibility of such a principle: Hamelius did conceive the notion of its possibility, but, having searched for, and failed to find, the principle, he denies its existence. After stating that Dryden belongs to no critical school, he continues: "Er gehört vielmehr nach einander zu allen, da er alle der Reihe nach bekämpft und verteidigt. Umsonst haben wir versucht einen regelmässigen Uebergang von einer zur anderen wahrzunehmen: es gibt weder einen historischen, noch einen logischen Zusammenhang zwischen seinen Ansichten."<sup>1</sup>

The results achieved by the authors whose works we have reviewed may be summed up as follows: certain of them, each paying almost exclusive attention to some one feature of Dryden's critical work, have arrived at radically variant conclusions as to the value and significance of his contribution to critical literature; others, working more fundamentally, have analysed his theory into its several elements, and have connected these with the general tendencies of the life and thought of the seventeenth century. It is the purpose of the present study to take up the discussion of Dryden's criticism where these latter have laid it down.

## II.

The natural point of departure for the following discussion is furnished by the statement of Hamelius that there is to be found neither a historical nor a logical connection between Dryden's various contradictory views on questions of literary theory. It is true, as I have already had occasion

<sup>1</sup> P. 63.



to remark, that Dryden's criticism, taken in the mass, is so heterogeneous that it is easy to understand how one might come to conclude that there is no connecting thread running through it. The reasons for this apparent illogicality are not far to seek: one has merely to consider Dryden's character, the nature of the period in which he lived, and his relations with the controlling spirits of this period. Dryden was a man of the world, preëminently endowed with a genius for being "all things to all men." In the scientific and philosophical circles of the Royal Society, among the wits of the coffee-house, with the lords and ladies of the court, in correspondence with the most learned and highest placed in the land, everywhere and in all manners of discourse, his fine intellectual urbanity won its way. In politics, philosophy, and art, as well as in religion, he seemed predestined by nature to become a supreme conformist.

For a man of this type the second half of the seventeenth century was, from one point of view, peculiarly dangerous: its entire atmosphere seemed calculated to jeopardize his intellectual integrity. Of one feature of his situation Dryden was himself painfully conscious; in the prologue to *Aureng-zebe* he wrote:

"Let him retire, between two ages cast,  
The first of this, the hindmost of the last."

He was drawn one way by the age of romanticism, another, by the age of reason. His early associations and natural inclinations assimilated him to the Elizabethans; the associations of his later life drew him toward the classicists. But his intellectual life was complicated even more by the fact that in his day, in literature as well as in politics and religion, numerous factions were battling for the supremacy. Controversialist tho he was, Dryden was exactly the sort of man to see things from all angles, to detect, and sympa-



thize with a certain amount of truth in the contentions of each of the contending parties.

Under certain conceivable circumstances, it is true, we might imagine even a man like Dryden, wide-minded and readily moulded living, even in times of greatest unrest, an even and regular intellectual life. Bobertag ventures the opinion that if Lessing had achieved a literary and social success comparable with Dryden's, he would not have remained the implacable reformer that we know him. On the other hand, we can figure to ourselves what would have been the result had Dryden been born into a world which could have given him a single, simple ideal, and then, laboring always in one direction, had never had occasion to change his allegiance: no doubt he would, under these circumstances, have escaped the chief part of the blame heaped upon him by some of his biographers.<sup>1</sup> Even supposing him successful and popular, had success been permanent, one can imagine his development quite different from what it actually was. Imagine him, for example, like Congreve, above the necessity of writing for a living, or, like Addison, always the poet of a strong and popular party: under such circumstances, again, his evolution would have been evenly logical, and the inconsistencies of his theory would not have become puzzles for modern historians.

But the course of Dryden's life was diametrically opposed to all that we have been imagining. Not only did this versatile poet live at a time when the intellectual, religious, and political worlds were divided by sharply contesting factions, but within the forty years of his activity he passed thro three crises, from each of which a new faction

<sup>1</sup> Suppose, for example, that he had been a young man at the beginning, instead of at the end, of the Puritan revolution: might not his career have resembled that of Milton?



emerged victorious with new policies and new creeds. The expression "past thro" I use deliberately. Dryden was not in a position to stand aloof and watch untroubled the conflict of parties and opinions. Except during the last ten years of his life and for a short period between 1675 and 1680, he felt obliged to place himself in the service of whatever party happened to be in power. And he rendered no half-hearted service. With his urbanity, his genius for quick sympathy and ready conformity, when once he had adopted the cause of a party or sect, that party or sect became a part of himself; he let by-gones be by-gones, loved those he had formerly hated and hated those he had formerly loved. It is easy to understand how a man like this, writing under his particular circumstances, came to produce criticism too diverse in character to exhibit any easily discovered principle of development.

But even if Dryden's environment was too unstable, and his adjustment to that environment too immediate, to permit a simple and logical development of his critical theory, the statement of Hamelius that his critical works exhibit no principle of growth, still appears, *a priori*, extremely improbable. The honestly expressed opinions of a really great man would naturally be organically connected. We are to infer, then, from the statement of Hamelius, either that Dryden's views were falsified, so tampered with in their expression that they were torn from their natural relations, or that his intellectual life was so weak as not to be able to organize and vitalize them in the first place. The truth of this statement would, therefore, imply either dishonesty or utter shallowness in Dryden's critical works. Both of these implications are inconsistent with a true reading of Dryden's character. It would be impossible to over-emphasize the fact that Dryden was no mere turn-coat. Biographers who have written him down as such have not



taken the trouble to follow the subtle workings of his mind. With him changes are never sudden, or schematic and doctrinaire, as they would have been if deliberately entered upon. This is especially noticeable in the development of his critical theory : a new tendency appears first, perhaps, in a chance phrase ; in the next essay it may have grown into a paragraph, and later it may become the inspiring theory of an entire work or series of works. His environment, we have seen, was constantly changing : if he changed with it, it was not because he was dishonest, but because his urbanity was merely the social expression of a versatile intellect which made it easy, even natural, for him to adapt himself to any belief or policy. This he did, inwardly, with a thoro, largely unconscious, assimilation of the new view, and outwardly, with a naïve frankness which, with a sympathetic student, will go far to atone for lack of consistency. Because his changes were genuine it never occurred to him to resort to the subterfuges employed by the dishonest and insincere. It would be difficult indeed to suppose that there is discernible no law of development connecting the various utterances of a man of this sort.

✓ The following study is an attempt to prove that belief in such a law of development has a solid basis in fact. I shall try to show, first, that Dryden's literary criticism, far from being an inchoate mass of unrelated opinions, divides itself into five clearly marked periods ; and, second, that in each of these periods Dryden wrote just the sort of criticism one would expect from a man of his type in his particular environment. I shall try to characterize the criticism of each period and indicate its relations, on the one hand, to our author's general literary output, and, on the other, to the main factors which conditioned his external life. The discussion, therefore, divides itself into five parts corresponding to the five periods of Dryden's critical activity.



## THE FIRST PERIOD.

The first period of Dryden's critical development includes the essays written before the close of the year 1665. Up to this time Dryden is still young; he has not achieved any notable success, has not become the literary representative of any party. Hence he has not settled upon any theoretic scheme of things. Naturally, then, the criticism of this period is not dominated by one idea; its general spirit is tentative. Dryden is still free to develop and express all the feelings of a young poet's mind. Among these the most characteristic is enthusiasm for great literature, especially for the drama of the Elizabethans. Hence tho this period presents no system, it is, in a sense, characterized by a free utterance of the romantic spirit.

Dryden's first important piece of criticism was the epistle dedicatory to *The Rival Ladies* (1664). In this essay Dryden appears, first of all, as the sturdy Englishman. The English is a noble language, and in his play he has endeavored to distinguish it from "the tongue of pedants and that of affected travelers." Occasionally he takes a fling at the French; what the English admit of theirs is but "the basest of their men, the extravagances of their fashions, and the frippery of their merchandise." It is here that we find, in its first form, the celebrated eulogy of Shakespeare: in the very act of blaming him for the introduction of blank verse Dryden speaks of his great predecessor as the one "who, with some errors not to be avoided in that age, had undoubtedly a larger soul of poesy than ever any other of our nation." On the other hand Dryden exhibits some traits of the rationalist. He would like a "more certain measure" of the English tongue, "as they have in France, where they have an academy erected for that purpose."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. 5. All references without titles are to Ker's edition of the essays.



One of the great advantages of rime is that it "bounds and circumscribes the fancy. For imagination in a poet is a faculty so wild and lawless, that like an high-ranging spaniel, it must have clogs tied to it, lest it outrun the judgment."<sup>1</sup>

✓ There is also to be found in this essay an incipient tendency in the direction of the heroic drama, which, with its rimed verse, its artificial standards of morality, and its glorification of the *noblesse*, is to become the characteristic literary entertainment of the court of Charles II.<sup>2</sup> First Dryden defends rime, taking the ground that it is not really a new form among the English. And then he puts the question: "But supposing our countrymen had not received this writing till of late; shall we oppose ourselves to the most polisht and civilized nations of Europe?"<sup>3</sup> But it is when he takes up the consideration of the more essential features of the drama that Dryden sounds the real note of the heroic theory: "But as the best medicines may lose their virtues by being ill applied, so is it with verse, if a fit subject be not chosen for it. Neither must the argument alone, but the characters and persons be great and noble."<sup>4</sup> This epistle, then, is a notable collection of apparently contrary opinions: love of the native English, respect for the most polisht nations of Europe, praise of the romantic plays of Shakespeare, and defense of neoclassic rime all go hand in hand.

But the characteristic piece of criticism of this period is the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665). In his dedication, written in 1668 when the *Essay* was published, Dryden makes the following apology: "I confess I find many things

<sup>1</sup> I, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Though the comedy of manners flourished at this period, it did not reach its height until later.

<sup>3</sup> I, 6.

<sup>4</sup> I, 8. The significance of this passage was pointed out by George Stuart Collins; cf. his dissertation, *John Dryden, His Dramatic Theory and Praxis*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 8.



in this discourse which I do not now approve; my judgment being a little altered since the writing of it; but whether for the better or worse, I know not: neither indeed is it much material in an essay where all I have said is problematical.”<sup>1</sup> But he begins his note to the reader: “The drift of the ensuing discourse was chiefly to vindicate the honor of our English writers, from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French before them.”<sup>2</sup> I think any reader will agree that Eugenius and Neander, the champions of the English drama in this battle of critics, are the favorites of the master of ceremonies: they seem to wield their weapons with an air of triumph. Therefore the *Essay* indicates with more certainty than its form would seem to promise the theories and purposes of its author.

The *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* is, as has been indicated above, in dialog form. Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander, seeking in an excursion on the Thames to calm the feelings induced by a naval battle between the English and the Dutch, fall to talk of literature, and especially of the relative merits of ancient and modern drama. Since neither Aristotle nor Horace has given a definition of a play, Lisideius, being importuned, suggests one which is to serve as a basis for the discussion: a play “ought to be a just and lively image of human nature, representing its passions and humors, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject, for the delight and instruction of mankind.”<sup>3</sup>

Eugenius, responding on behalf of the moderns to an attack by Crites, vigorously defends the unorthodox English manner of plotting: the plots of the ancients, he maintains, “are built after the Italian mode of houses; you see through them all at once: the characters are indeed imitations of nature, but so narrow, as if they imitated only an eye or an

<sup>1</sup> I, 23.<sup>2</sup> I, 27.<sup>3</sup> I, 36.



hand, and did not dare to venture on the lines of a face, or the proportion of a body."<sup>1</sup> That is, measured by the standard of our definition—A play "ought to be a just and lively image of nature"—the plays of the Greeks fall short. The hardihood of Eugenius advances even to an attack on the unities: the rule as to the unity of place is not to be found in Aristotle or Horace; the unity of time is not always preserved by Terence; the ancients sometimes committed absurdities in attempting to observe these rules. Two of the unities, then, lack the support both of the highest authority and of esthetic judgment.

Neander, defending the English as against the French, begins by granting that the French contrive plots more regularly than his countrymen, and observe the laws of comedy and the decorum of the stage with more exactitude. And yet he is of the opinion that neither English faults nor French virtues are sufficient to give his opponent any advantage: "For the lively imitation of nature being in the definition of a play, those which best fulfil that law ought to be superior to others. 'Tis true, those beauties of the French poesy are such as will raise perfection higher where it is, but are not sufficient to give it where it is not; they are indeed the beauties of a statue, but not of a man, because not animated with the soul of poesy, which is the imitation of humor and passions."<sup>2</sup> Thus the word "lively" in the definition is made to furnish the legal defence of romanticism. Continuing in his heterodoxy, Neander next takes up the cause of English tragi-comedy: "A scene of mirth, mixed with tragedy, has the same effect upon us which our music has ~~herewith the acts~~; and that we find a relief to us from the ~~best place~~ and language of the stage, if the discourses have been ~~long~~. I . . . cannot but conclude, to the honor

<sup>1</sup> 1, 68.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 47.



of our nation, that we have invented, increased, and perfected a more pleasant way of writing for the stage, than was ever known to the ancients or moderns of any nation, which is tragi-comedy.”<sup>1</sup> Continuing in the same strain Neander finds the rich variety of English plots superior to the barrenness of the French. The evident foundation of the argument is the revolutionary doctrine that plays are good according to the amount of pleasure they give; and the various types are judged by the actual experience of the spectator. The mirror of nature, rather than conventional standards, contends Neander, should give law to the drama: “It is unnatural for anyone in a gust of passion to speak long together,”<sup>2</sup> therefore the French way of putting long speeches into the mouths of the actors is not to be defended.

In the following passage Neander makes a determined attack on the problem of romanticism: “I dare boldly affirm these two things of the English drama:—First, that we have many plays of ours as regular as any of theirs (referring to the French), and which, besides, have more variety of plot and characters; and Secondly, that in the most irregular plays of Shakespeare or Fletcher . . . there is a more masculine fancy and greater spirit in the writing, than there is in any of the French.”<sup>3</sup> Dryden's esthetic is not deep enough to justify the form of the English drama, but in the “masculine fancy and greater spirit in the writing” he is attempting to discover a new critical principle which will account for the charm which he feels. It is in this same passage that Neander speaks that famous eulogy of Shakespeare: “He was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them, not

<sup>1</sup> I, 70.<sup>2</sup> I, 72.<sup>3</sup> I, 78.



laboriously, but luckily; when he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it too.”<sup>1</sup> A little farther on, speaking of Ben Jonson, he continues: “If I would compare him with Shakespeare, I must acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakespeare the greater wit. Shakespeare was the Homer, or father of our dramatic poets; Jonson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love Shakespeare.”<sup>2</sup> Here we have in 1665 the main idea of the great parallel between Homer and Virgil which is to be found in the preface to the *Fables*, written in 1700; here it is abundance of wit, luxuriance of the creative faculty, that is brought in to justify a feeling that runs directly counter to the conclusions of formal criticism. The *Essay* closes with an elaborate defense of riming plays; which, like the dedication of *The Rival Ladies*, goes to show that Dryden is feeling his way toward the heroic ideal.

But as a whole this work, in its method and spirit, in the underlying feeling of its every part, shows our author in the character of an investigator of the materials of literary criticism. It is to the period of its composition that he referred in his *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* (1692), address to Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex: “When I was myself in the rudiments of my poetry, without name or reputation in the world, having rather the ambition of a writer than the skill; when I was drawing the outline of an art, without any living master to instruct me in it; an art which had been better praised than studied in England, . . . when thus, as I may say, before the use of the loadstone, or knowledge of the compass, I was sailing in a vast ocean, without any other help than the pole-star of the ancients, and the rules of the French stage among the moderns; . . . yet even then, I had the presumption to

<sup>1</sup> I, 79.<sup>2</sup> I, 82.



dedicate to your lordship: a very unfinished piece, I must confess, and which can only be excused by the little experience of the author, and the modesty of the title *An Essay*.”<sup>1</sup> To a young author of unsettled opinions and inquiring mind the intellectual atmosphere of the moment was not unfavorable. In 1660 Dryden wrote an epistle to an archeological work by Walter Charlton in which he spoke of the subjection to Aristotle as “the longest tyranny that ever swayed.” This was decidedly a period of scepticism, a time when old creeds would have to undergo renewed examination. The whole spirit, scientific and philosophical, of the period which coincided with Dryden’s young manhood tended to reinforce the conditions implied in his own description of the circumstances which conditioned his early critical work.

The first of these conditions was the lack in England of a definite critical standard. Ben Jonson had given vogue to the English neoclassic movement, but the Restoration men of letters looked to France for their theory. And in France, during the great discussions of the early part of the period of Louis XIV, all that the most daring moderns had been able to do was to adapt the dicta of the schools to the demands of the French stage. French classicism, merely a thoro-going rationalism of the French type fathered upon Aristotle, had decreed that the three unities, with their accompanying conventions, constituted a code from which there was no appeal. Plays written according to the law were symmetrical, restrained, intelligible, and therefore beautiful; those fashioned without due regard for the law, even though they gave pleasure, were unintelligible, and therefore monstrous. Now this theory, best formulated in France by Boileau, was already beginning to dominate England when Dryden began his critical labors. Modified by the

<sup>1</sup> 2, 16.



English genius, especially by English rationalistic philosophy,<sup>1</sup> it was destined to obtain, in the eighteenth century, almost complete control of English thinking on the subject of art. Naturally this philosophy could make nothing of the great Elizabethans; during Dryden's youth and early manhood Shakespeare was falling more and more under the ban of the intellectuals.

Into the arena where the English literary tradition was giving way before the advance of this neoclassicism came, then, the young poet, Dryden. In the essays which we have just examined we have him, still in the first flush of youth, boldly taking his stand upon his literary instincts. In spite of the dicta of the schools he feels the spell of great literature and is suspicious of the critical theory which cannot make room for it. Without the support of precedent or the aid of adequate method, but with a superb enthusiasm, he is attempting to give theoretic justification to what his feelings recognize as beautiful. The formal results of his attempt are a partial clearing away of the rubbish heaped upon Aristotle, a resort to the historical method,<sup>2</sup> a widening of the theory of imitation, and a determined attempt to judge literature with reference to its social function.

In 1667 when our author revived *The Wild Gallant* he introduced it with a prolog in which he compared his own

<sup>1</sup> This expression I use rather loosely to designate English sensationalism. This kind of materialistic rationalism is represented by the tendency to hold art down to the common-sense standards of ordinary life.

<sup>2</sup> Of course I do not mean to imply that Dryden had a deep, modern sense of historical development of the arts. Now and then, when it suited his occasions, he explained the difference between Greek and Roman art, between French and English, or between ancient and modern, by means of references to the social conditions, or peculiarities of taste, of the nations or periods in question. But any systematic application of the historical method of criticism was out of the question.



evolution with that of "some raw squire, by tender mother bred." The innocent squire comes at length to town :

" Where entered by some school-fellow or friend,  
He grows to break glass windows in the end ;  
His valor, too, which with the watch began,  
Proceeds to duels, and he kills his man."

Though Dryden intended this as an account of his education in obscenity, it is capable of a much wider application. He came to London with his fortune and reputation to make ; a Puritan by birth and early associations, he naturally did all in his power to win esteem in Puritan circles ; after the Restoration he continued his efforts more and more successfully with the new court. But in 1665 there was still something of the raw squire about him ; he was endeavoring to strike in with the fancy of town and court, but had as yet not mastered the trick. In 1667, speaking of *The Indian Emperor*, he said : "It is an irregular piece, if compared with many of Corneille's, and, if I may make a judgment of it, written with more flame than art."<sup>1</sup> That is, in 1665, the time of the writing of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, Dryden had not settled upon his literary aims ; he had not yet brought himself to defend, and work within the limits of, a definite literary form. And on this account his critical genius was left free to give us during this period judgments and appreciations which alone would mark him as the greatest innovator who has thus far appeared among modern critics.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Works, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, II, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is unnecessary to say that I do not attempt to account satisfactorily for the nature of the criticism which Dryden produced during any particular period. The motives which work themselves out in the mind of any great man are naturally complex, and the influences to which Dryden was subject were particularly numerous and varied. I merely attempt to point out the relations of his criticism to certain other features of his life and works.



## THE SECOND PERIOD.

The second period of Dryden's critical activity includes the ten years from 1666 to 1675. Gradually, during the middle of the decade between 1661 and 1670, our author improved his situation; beginning as a struggling unknown, he soon became the most popular poet in England, the favorite of court and play-house. The court was given its intellectual tone by sensual noblemen who could find little pleasure in the genuine tragedy which bases itself upon human life and emotions. Adapting his works, half unconsciously, to the taste of these men, under whose influence he lived and upon whose favor he was dependent, Dryden came naturally to devote himself to the heroic play. And his talent for criticism was turned to good account in the exposition and defense of the heroic literary ideal.<sup>1</sup> This led naturally to a rather mechanical conception of poetry, a fervid defense of rime, apologies for extravagance in character-development, and an undervaluing of the work of the Elizabethans.

From the beginning of his life in London Dryden showed his tendency to swim with the current. Miserably poor,<sup>2</sup> he depended for success on the notice which the efforts of his pen might attract in high places. His career began auspiciously enough. In 1657, when Dryden came up to London, Cromwell was still at the height of his power, and Sir Gil-

<sup>1</sup> Like most critics, Dryden paid little attention to the problems of comedy. In addition to the difficulties presented by the subject his neglect was no doubt prompted by his natural dislike of comedy writing: more than once he lamented the fact that he was forced to this distasteful labor. At any rate it is certain that his comedy is related to his critical theory only so far as it exhibits his general state of mind or throws light on his relations with his public.

<sup>2</sup> Saintsbury, *Life of Dryden*, English Men of Letters Series, p. 10; Christy, *Memoir of Dryden*, Globe edition of works, p. xx.



bert Pickering, Dryden's cousin, stood high in the Protector's favor. Thus our author got near enough to Cromwell to feel something of the magnetism of his personality. Already a Puritan by birth and training, he naturally threw himself into the glorification of the Puritan hero and his cause. There is no reason to doubt that Dryden's eulogy of Cromwell was a sincere outpouring of the young poet's enthusiasm. But at the very time when this poem was written the political tide began to set in a new direction. Weary of constant unrest, practically all England began to look toward the restoration of the house of Stuart for relief. And it is but natural that our versatile young poet, when his powerful friends began to turn royalists, should be thrilled with the common feeling of exultation at the prospect of a settled government and the glories of a new court. So one is not at all surprised at the tone of the extravagant panegyrics with which he hailed the Restoration.

Dryden's facility in adapting himself to changed circumstances is shown also by the rapidity with which he gained friends among the royalists. Chief among his new intimates was Sir Robert Howard. Immediately after the Restoration Sir Robert had prefixed to a volume of verse an epistle by Dryden, "To my Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard." In the epistle which served as a dedication of *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) Dryden wrote to Howard: "You have not only been careful of my fortune, which was the effect of your nobleness, but you have been solicitous of my reputation, which is that of your kindness."<sup>1</sup> In 1663 our author married Howard's sister, Lady Elizabeth Howard, and in 1664 the brothers-in-law produced together *The Indian Queen*. All of this goes to show that even at this early period Dryden was, not entirely without success, bending

<sup>1</sup> L, 10.



every effort toward the attainment of recognition among the satellites of the court.

But the evidence of Dryden's easy adaptation to a changed environment would not be complete without some mention of his earlier plays. Almost from the beginning his dramatic as well as his lyric muse was brought into subjection to his conformist tendency. Tho *The Wild Gallant* (1663) was a dismal failure on the stage, the patronage of Lady Castlemain, mistress to the king, infused new life into our author's "condemned and dying muse."<sup>1</sup> Referring to this play Dryden wrote: "Yet it was received at court; and was more than once the divertisement of his majesty, by his own command; but I have more modesty than to ascribe that to my merit, which was his particular act of grace."<sup>2</sup> In *The Rival Ladies* (1664) and *The Indian Emperor* (1665) Dryden made his first attempts in the direction of the heroic. And that these attempts were conscious efforts to please the king appears from a number of Dryden's own statements. In the dedication of *The Indian Emperor* he wrote: "The favor which heroic plays have lately found upon our theaters has been wholly derived to them from the countenance and approbation they received at court. The most eminent persons for wit and honor in the royal circle having so owned them, that they have judged no way so fit as verse to entertain a noble audience, or express a noble passion."<sup>3</sup> In his epistle dedicatory to *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, written in 1668 when the *Essay* was published, he thus supported his argument in favor of rime: "The court, which is the best and surest judge of writing, has generally allowed of verse; and in the town it has found favorers of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dryden's poem, *To the Lady Castlemain*.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *The Wild Gallant*, Scott-Saintsbury, vol. II, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, II, 285.



wit and quality."<sup>1</sup> Dryden was poor, dependent upon his pen for a livelihood; it is but natural that he should have fallen in with the mode favored by those whose approbation meant success.

Even during his first period, then, Dryden was doing his utmost to gain his way among the great ones of the court. But the court was not yet sure of its own tastes; the norm of the heroic play had not yet been worked out. Dryden was, as yet, unable to command his talents to the best advantage, to cast them into the required mold, to make them respond quickly and faultlessly to the demands made upon them; hence his work was not, during this early period, especially distinguished. It was on account of these facts that he worked for full five years without a settled literary system, and thus was left free to give us at the beginning of his career criticism so remarkable for fresh enthusiasm and unconventionality. But early in the second period our author's efforts to attain distinction began to tell in the most decisive manner. Already allied by marriage to a noble family, he was soon established as a successful playwright. About the year 1667 he entered upon a contract with the King's Theater: in return for three plays a year he was to receive a share and a quarter of the profits of the theater. For some years, it appears, his profits from this source amounted to two or three hundred pounds annually. In 1670 he was appointed by the king to the posts of Poet-laureate and Historiographer Royal with a salary of two hundred pounds a year and arrears amounting to four hundred pounds.

Besides this official recognition evidences of favor with the court are abundant. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen* (1667) Charles graced with the title of "his play."<sup>2</sup> From numerous

<sup>1</sup> I, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, II, 417.



suggestions in the prefaces, dedications, etc., one gathers that the king took a strong interest in Dryden's work, discussed plans with him, and honored him with advice. As to our author's social position in general, Scott's statement seems to be quite within the limits of fact: "Whether we judge of the rank which Dryden held in society by the splendor of his titled and powerful friends, or by his connections among men of genius, we must consider him as occupying at this time, as high a station in the foremost circle as literary reputation could gain for its owner. Independent of the notice with which he was honored by Charles himself, the poet numbered among his friends most of the distinguished nobility."<sup>1</sup> Evidence of Dryden's subservience to the court is abundant. *Tyrannic Love* was written at the request of "some persons of honor;"<sup>2</sup> *Amboyna* was merely a piece of political service. In *The Indian Emperor* there occur numerous discussions of royal authority, all of which turn in favor of absolutism; in *The Conquest of Granada*, after Almanzor has been represented as a being quite apart from ordinary flesh and blood he becomes immediately comprehensible when it is explained that he is of royal lineage. That the heroic drama was developed in response to the expressed taste of Charles II has already been made evident. In the *Defense of the Epilog* (1672) Dryden referred not only the heroic drama but the entire atmosphere of the period, all its tastes and enthusiasms, to the courtly influence.<sup>3</sup> And in *The Defense of an Essay*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 376.

<sup>3</sup> "Now, if they ask me whence it is that our conversation is so much refined? I must freely, and without flattery, ascribe it to the court; and, in it, particularly to the King, whose example gives a law to it. His own misfortunes, and the nation's, afforded an opportunity, which is rarely allowed to sovereign princes, I mean of traveling, and being conversant in the most polisht courts of Europe; and, thereby, of cultivating a spirit which was formed by nature to receive the impressions of a gallant and generous education. At his return, he found a nation lost as much in



of *Dramatic Poesy* he makes a frank confession of personal servitude: "For I confess my chief endeavors are to delight the age in which I live."<sup>1</sup>

barbarism as in rebellion; and, as the excellency of his nature forgave the one, so the excellency of his manners reformed the other. The desire of imitating so great a pattern first awakened the dull and heavy spirits of the English from their natural reservedness; loosened them from their stiff forms of conversation, and made them easy and pliant to each other in discourse. Thus, insensibly, our way of living became more free; and the fire of English wit, which was before stifled under a constrained, melancholy way of breeding, began first to display its force, by mixing the solidity of our nation with the air and gaiety of our neighbors. This being granted to be true, it would be a wonder if the poets, whose work is imitation, should be the only persons in three kingdoms who should not receive the advantage of it; or, if they should not more easily imitate the wit and conversation of the present age than of the past." 1, 176.

In order to appreciate the full significance of this passage one should place in contrast to it the epilog written by Dryden just before his death for a presentation of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Pilgrim* for his benefit. Attempting to defend the stage against Jeremy Collier's attack Dryden wrote on this occasion:

"But sure a banished court, with lewdness fraught,  
The seeds of open vice returning brought.  
. . . . .  
The poets, who must live by courts or starve,  
Were proud, so good a government to serve;  
And, mixing with buffons and pimps profane,  
Tainted the stage for some small snip of gain."

<sup>1</sup> 1, 116. Of course the important point is, not that Dryden was connected with a court, but that he was connected with a court which was, in large measure, cut off from the national life. Compare his situation, for example, with that of Shakespeare or Racine. The case of the first of these, it is true, differs from that of Dryden in that his effort was partially directed toward entertaining the promiscuous crowd of Londoners who flocked to his theater. But there is abundant evidence to show that he took account of the aristocratic part of his audience, and his ardent royalism crops out in nearly everyone of his plays. In Queen Elizabeth's time, however, the best elements in the nation were rallying about the throne; consequently Shakespeare's devotion to the court and things courtly did not lead him outside the main interests of English national life. Tho the relations of Racine with the court of Louis XIV were very different from those of



Fortunately enough Dryden himself noticed the relation between his criticism and the society he kept. Having been attacked, just when or how, is not clear, by the old-fashioned Elizabethans and by the more new-fashioned, but not less straight-laced, classicists he answered by placing himself among the court wits and saying, in substance, These dull fellows never could understand us.<sup>1</sup> So far as this period is concerned, then, it is merely necessary to follow up this clue which Dryden himself has given us. What was the

Shakespeare with the court of Elizabeth, still, thro them, Racine was, like his great English predecessor, kept in vital touch with the life and ideals of his nation. The continuing popularity of his plays proves that they really represent French thought and feeling.

Dryden's position differed from that of Shakespeare and Racine in that for him devotion to the court meant separation from the best traditions and life of his nation. During the time when he was writing his heroic plays the court of Charles II was rapidly alienating, not only the citizen class, but even many among those of noble blood who had at first hailed it with enthusiasm. Its ideals were so largely exotic that plays written to suit its taste could hardly represent the life of England. Hence when one says that the heroic play grew up as a result of the influence of the court of Charles II, his position is not invalidated by the remark that plays of a very different type have been produced under the influence of other courts.

<sup>1</sup>The passage referred to occurs in the dedication of *The Assignation* (1673), addressed to Sir Charles Sedley, the most brilliant and dissolute among the wits of the court: "For this reason, I have often laughed at the ignorant and ridiculous descriptions which some pedants have given of the wits, as they are pleased to call them; which are a generation of men unknown to them, as the people of Tartary, or the Terra Australis, are to us. And therefore, as we draw giants and anthropophagi in those vacancies of our maps, where we have not traveled to discover better; so those wretches paint lewdness, atheism, folly, ill-reasoning, and all manner of extravagances amongst us, for want of understanding what we are . . . I am ridiculously enough, accused of being a contemner of universities; that is, in other words, an enemy of learning; without the foundation of which, I am sure, no man can pretend to be a poet. And if this be not enough, I am made a detractor of my predecessors, whom I confess to have been my masters in the art." Scott-Saintsbury, IV, 373.

For the real characters of Sedley and his associates see Scott-Saintsbury, IV, 373; and Beljame, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres*, pp. 5, 6.



nature of the poems, plays and literary criticism produced by this chief purveyor of literature to a witty court? The first poem of Dryden's second period was *Annus Mirabilis* (1666), an epic narrative of the two great events of the year 1666, the war against the Dutch and the burning of London. Like the more important of Dryden's earlier poems this epic is a tribute to royalty; the Dutch war and the great fire worked together for the glory of Charles II and the Duke of York. But perhaps the work is most interesting from the point of view of technical execution. It is evident that there could be in it little of genuine poetic inspiration; Dryden has selected the subjects which are of public interest and which offer opportunity to serve his master; all his talent is bent to the task of making a beautiful poem out of this unpromising material. In the preface he explains the nature of wit and describes all the processes of poetry-making: and in the poem he exemplifies his theories—he decorates his thoughts with appropriate ornaments, clothes them in sounding terms. And, it must be confessed, especially in the description of the fire, he succeeds to a remarkable degree. ✓

The letter which serves as a preface to *Annus Mirabilis*, evidently an exposition of the methods employed in the writing of the poem, exemplifies, in its main features, the neoclassic manner of thought which is coming into vogue. There is to be found here nothing of the revolutionist. Dryden confesses specifically that in this poem Virgil has been his master; and when one remembers all that Virgil was made to stand for among the neoclassicists this profession prepares him to expect a cut-and-dried poetic theory. The following sentences on the nature of poetry and wit are typical; "The composition of all poems is, or ought to be, of wit; and wit in the poet, or *wit writing*, . . . is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer, ]



which, like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory, till it springs the quarry it hunted after. . . . *Wit written* is that which is well defined, the happy result of thought, or product of imagination.”<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the beginning of the common-sense, mechanical notion of poetry the development of which we shall have to describe when we reach the discussion of Dryden’s work during the decade between 1680 and 1689. Could anything more resemble a passage from a treatise on *The Complete Art of Poetry* than does the following? “So then the first happiness of the poet’s imagination is properly invention, or finding of the thought; the second is fancy, or the variation, deriving, or molding of that thought, as the judgment represents it proper to the subject; the third is elocution, or the act of clothing and adorning that thought, so found and varied, in apt, significant, and sounding words.”<sup>2</sup>

It is to be taken into account that this is but a short epistle, making few pretensions. But it seems to me that if, at the time of its writing, Dryden had been in the state of mind which inspired the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, or even the little preface to *The Rival Ladies*, he would have written something far different. Ker notices that in this letter Dryden admires in the works of Ovid and Virgil chiefly their separate pieces of description. Throughout the entire discussion, one might add, he seems to be thinking of ornaments spread over a work of literature rather than of organic beauties that shine out from within; there is no reference here, as there was in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, to the difference between a man and a statue. The blessed uncertainty and spontaneity of the earlier period have given way to a cold scholasticism.

The first drama of this period, *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen* (1667), was introduced with the following prolog:

<sup>1</sup> I, 14.

<sup>2</sup> I, 15.



## I.

"He who writ this, not without pains and thought,  
From French and English theaters has brought  
The exactest rules by which a play is wrought."

## II.

"The Unities of Action, Place, and Time;  
The scenes unbroken; and the mingled chime  
Of Jonson's humor with Corneille's rime."

## III.

"But while dead colors he with care did lay,  
He fears his *wit*, or *plot*, he did not weigh,  
Which are the *living beauties* of a play."

This remarkable prolog is in the nature of a confession of scepticism. Dryden is saying to his masters: Here is your play; I have fixed it up to suit your taste, but as for me, I am far from being satisfied with it; I demand something more than regularity and ornamentation. As we shall see, the last stanza of this prolog, with a corresponding passage in the preface to *Secret Love*, stands quite alone among the critical works of Dryden's second period. As the anxiety expressed in the prolog might lead one to expect, there is to be found in *Secret Love* more of living beauty than in any other play of this period. In the serious parts there is even less of the heroic than in *The Indian Emperor*, and some of the comic parts are superb. That is to say, we have here in Dryden's actual literary work as well as in his theory, a slight reaction, a deviation from his general tendency.

In 1668, with the second edition of *The Indian Emperor*, Dryden published *A Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, "being an Answer to the Preface of *The Great Favorite, or the Duke of Lerma*." This essay divides itself into two parts, the first, a defense of rime, the second, a defense of



the unities. In his masterly introduction Dryden throws the burden of proof on his opponent, Sir Robert Howard, by representing himself as the humble champion of Aristotle, Horace, and "all poets both ancient and modern." Howard has based his argument on the Aristotelian doctrine of imitation. Dryden admits the principle—" 'Tis true that to imitate well is the poet's work"—but to support rime, which cannot be defended on that basis, he attempts to define the purpose of poetry: "To affect the soul, and excite the passions, and, above all, to move admiration (which is the delight of serious plays) a bare imitation will not serve."<sup>1</sup> But later he has to meet Howard's statement that, "In the difference of tragedy, comedy, and farce itself there can be no determination but by taste," and he answers: "Were there neither judge, taste, nor opinion in the world, yet they would differ in their natures."<sup>2</sup> And taking up the real problem of taste, he adds: "To please the people ought to be the poet's aim, because plays are made for their delight; but it does not follow that they are always pleased with good plays, or that the plays which please them are always good." In defending rime Dryden insisted upon a literary evaluation which bases itself upon, and expresses in terms of, the social purpose of literature: but now, when it better serves his turn, he insists upon principles like Aristotle's. In passing from one of Howard's points to another he has changed his creed. It would be safe to challenge anyone to gather from this essay Dryden's real opinions as to the moot points of seventeenth century criticism: at one moment the principle of imitation is all-sufficient, at another, it is cast aside; at one moment a play is to be judged by the pleasure it gives, at another, it is to be ranked according to some eternal law. Dryden is here

<sup>1</sup> I, 113.<sup>2</sup> I, 120.



defending, not a doctrine, but a thing—the rimed play: this courtly form of amusement has been attacked, and in its defence all doctrines are alike to him; his critical creed changes with the exigencies of controversy. As to the unities, Dryden has merely laid down “some opinions of the ancients and moderns,” together with some of his own. The argument is rather conventional, based, with frequent invocations of the goddess of Reason, on the law of imitation.

The chief significance of this essay lies in the fact that it places Dryden definitely before us as the defender of the reigning modes. Sir Robert Howard, a champion of the old English dramatic traditions, has defended blank verse and utmost liberty in the structure of plots; Dryden exerts all his skill in the defense of rime and the unities. His authorities are Virgil (mentioned as the only perfect poet), Jonson (“in judgment above all other poets”), the ancients, especially Aristotle and Horace (whom he “will still think as wise as those who so confidently correct them”), and Corneille. This array of authorities alone, taken in connection with the apparent humility with which Dryden is willing to submit to them, would be sufficient to show how complete has been his change of heart since the writing of the *Essay* itself. It is especially noticeable that the thorough good-sense which gave tone to the dedication of *Annus Mirabilis* has already been perverted. Dryden is here using the logical methods of the rationalist to defend a sort of play as irrational as can be imagined.

The preface to *An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer* (1668) shows how Dryden's conformity and his resulting popularity even thus early began to color his opinion of the Elizabethans. According to his opening statement he originally intended to discuss in this preface the difference between the plays of his age and those of his predecessors on the English stage, and also the improvement of the language



since Fletcher's and Jonson's day : intentions which he is to carry out in *The Defense of the Epilog*. But even tho he has given over for the present the idea of treating systematically the superiority of his own time, the feeling of this superiority is so strong upon him that it will not be smothered. Ben Jonson comes off pretty well : "But Ben Jonson is to be admired for his many excellencies ; and can be taxed with fewer failings than any English poet. I know I have been accused as an enemy of his writings ; but without any other reason than that I do not admire him blindly, and without looking into his imperfections. For why should he alone be exempted from those frailties, from which Homer and Virgil are not free? Or why should there be any *Ipse dixit* in our poetry, any more than in our philosophy? I admire and applaud him where I ought : those who do more, do but value themselves in their admiration of him ; and, by telling you they extol Ben Jonson's way, will insinuate to you that they can practise it. For my part, I declare that I want judgment to imitate him ; and should think it a great impudence in myself to attempt it. To make men appear pleasantly ridiculous on the stage, was, as I have said, his talent ; and in this he needed not the acumen of wit but that of judgment. For the characters and representations of folly are only the effects of observation ; and observation is an effect of judgment."<sup>1</sup> This is merely patronizing, but when he comes to Shakespeare and Fletcher our author assumes quite a different tone : "I think there is no folly so great in any poet of our age, as the superfluity and waste of wit was in some of our predecessors : particularly we may say of Fletcher and of Shakespeare, what was said of Ovid, *in omni ejus ingenio facilius quod rejici, quam quod adjici potest, invenies*. The

<sup>1</sup> I, 138.



contrary of which was true in Virgil and our incomparable Jonson."<sup>1</sup>

In answer to the charge of plagiarism Dryden modestly refers to King Charles, who has lately remarked that he wishes others would steal him such plays as Dryden's: but his real defense is an analysis of the poet's work, in which he proves that the mere outline which an author can steal is but a small part of a play. This analysis is very like the one which we examined in the preface to *Annus Mirabilis*, but its conclusion seems worth quoting: "But in general, the employment of a poet is like that of a curious gunsmith, or watchmaker; the iron or silver is not his own; but they are the least part of that which gives the value: the price lies wholly in the workmanship."<sup>2</sup> It would hardly be fair to hold Dryden responsible for all the implications of this mechanical figure; but it is surely significant of his general state of mind.

This preface distinctly foreshadows the *Defense of the Epilog* (1672), with its sharp arraignment of the faults of Shakespeare. That is a significant sentence in which Dryden connects philosophy and poetry: "Or why should there be any *Ipse dixit* in our poetry, any more than in our philosophy?" He has lost faith in the traditions which called forth the enthusiasm of his youth, but, like the English philosophers of his time, he has abundant confidence in the principles and methods of the present.

In the critical works just examined Dryden shows that he has been for some time revolving in his mind the various aspects of the heroic drama, and, as one is thus led to expect, it is in plays of the heroic type that the dramatic activity of the period finally culminates. The first of these is *Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr* (1669). Dryden

<sup>1</sup> I, 139.

<sup>2</sup> I, 147.



begins his preface to this drama: "I was moved to write this play by many reasons: amongst the others, the commands of some persons of honor, for whom I have a most particular respect, were daily sounding in my ears, that it would be of good example to undertake a poem of this nature. Neither was my own inclination wanting to second their desires."<sup>1</sup> The drama which was thus written at the suggestion of "some persons of honor" presents most of the features of a typical heroic play: a rather colorless heroine of irreproachable character, a fine code of honor, and a warrior who storms against gods and men. In accordance with Dryden's theories it exhibits, also, miracles, guardian angels, and spirits of divers descriptions. But Maximin, the fearless warrior, is villain rather than hero, and in the end the play is an apotheosis of Christian faith rather than of romantic courage.

It is in the two parts of *The Conquest of Granada* (1670) that the English heroic type reaches its culmination. Here we have the all-conquering hero who whistles fortune after him, makes and unmakes kings, single-handed disperses armies, and, quite contrary to Restoration standards, loves with a nice regard for an extremely conventional code of honor. The other chief characters, the villains, merely male and female devils, and the heroine, spotlessly insipid, are mere abstractions. There are no lights or shades; all the actions are either miraculously heroic or unspeakably heinous. It is really a complete order of things that we have before us here; no one acts or talks like a person in the real world, but, under the conditions of this artificial universe, all is consistent. Every character does what is expected of him, and the whole scheme of things makes it possible to carry out a plot which any relation to reality

<sup>1</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, III, 376.



would render impossible. The polisht versification merely gives a fitting exterior to this material. But what I wish to emphasize is the fact that this whole make-believe universe is a glorification of royalty and nobility. At this time the king and his court are attempting to maintain their position, especially to assert their supremacy over "the town." Thus it may readily be understood how a stage world in which their superiority over the common herd is a fundamental principle, and throughout which is maintained the elevation of thought and conduct to which they lay claim, is as incense in their nostrils. Nothing else could have been so suitable for the entertaining of "a noble audience."

This period reached its dramatic and critical climaxes in the same volume: with the two parts of *The Conquest of Granada* were published in 1672 an essay *Of Heroic Plays* and the *Defense of the Epilog*. The first of these, Dryden's chief apology for a type of literature to which he devoted some of his most ambitious efforts and for which he was the accepted sponsor, begins in a tone of triumph: "Whether heroic verse ought to be admitted into serious plays, is not now to be disputed: it is already in possession of the stage; and I dare confidently affirm that very few tragedies, in this age, shall be received without it."<sup>1</sup> Then, after repeating an argument for rime which we have already heard in the *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, he goes on to relate the history of the heroic play: during the time when plays were prohibited in England Sir William Davenant introduced from Italy "examples of moral virtue, writ in verse and performed in recitative music;"<sup>2</sup> after the Restoration these entertainments developed into heroic plays. But, according to Dryden, Davenant's plays lacked fulness of plot and variety of characters, and something might have

<sup>1</sup> I, 148.<sup>2</sup> I, 149.



been added to the beauty of the style. Here Dryden begins with becoming modesty, to give an account of what he himself has performed. Whereas Davenant took his image of a heroic poem from the drama, Dryden derived his ideal of a heroic drama from the heroic poem. Therefore, it seemed to our author, he was the first to give epic dignity to the heroic play. The inspiration of our author's innovations, he tells us, came from a passage of Ariosto's :

" Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,  
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese io canto." <sup>1</sup>

The ministry of gods as well as of disembodied spirits and the performance of deeds of valor by heroes has always been allowed in heroic poetry, and is, therefore, essential to the heroic play.

A detailed account of this essay is unnecessary : it exhibits an exceptional unity of principle. The heroic play in all its attributes is defended on the basis of the theory of idealization : everything is to be heightened ; or, to use Dryden's own figure, we are to fly rather than walk.

At first thought this essay may seem to stand in direct contradiction to the preface of *An Evening's Love*. In the preface of 1671 we saw Dryden the cool champion of moderation ; and now, in 1672, he is defending excesses which seemed ridiculous even to many of his contemporaries. The apparent anomaly becomes intelligible if we remember that in both, as also in the *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, Dryden is defending at once himself and the literary fashions of the day. There is a tone almost domineering in the concluding sentence of the essay *Of Heroic Plays* : " But I have already swept the stakes ; and, with the good fortune of prosperous gamesters, can be content

<sup>1</sup> I, 150.



to sit quietly; to hear my fortune cursed by some, and my faults arraigned by others, and to suffer both without reply." <sup>1</sup>

In the *Defense of the Epilog* <sup>2</sup> Dryden avowedly sets out to examine the works of his predecessors on the English stage. A passage from the opening paragraph will serve to show the temper of the entire essay. After explaining that he feels obliged to defend the epilog in which he has taxed "the former writing" Dryden fortifies himself against misinterpretation: "Yet I would so maintain my opinion of the present age, as not to be wanting in my veneration for the past: I would ascribe to dead authors their just praises in those things wherein they have excelled us; and in those wherein we contend with them for the preëminence, I would acknowledge our advantage to the age, and claim

<sup>1</sup> I, 159.

<sup>2</sup>

*Epilog*

*To the Second Part of the Conquest of Granada (1672).*

Following are the essential parts of this epilog:

"They, who have best succeeded on the stage,  
Have still conformed their genius to the age.  
Thus *Jonson* did mechanic humor show,  
When men were dull, and conversation low.  
Then, *Comedy* was faultless, but 'twas coarse:  
*Cobb's* tankard was a jest, and *Otter's* horse.  
And, as their *Comedy*, their love was mean;  
Except, by chance, in some one labored scene,  
Which must atone for an ill-written play:  
They rose, but at their height could seldom stay.  
Fame then was cheap, and the first comer sped;  
And they have kept it since by being dead.

If *Love* and *Honor* now are higher rais'd  
'Tis not the poet but the age is prais'd.  
Wit's now arrived to a more high degree;  
Our native language more refined and free.  
Our ladies and our men now speak more wit  
In conversation, than those poets writ."



no victory from our wit. This being what I have proposed to myself, I hope I shall not be thought arrogant when I inquire into their errors. For we live in an age so sceptical, that as it determines little, so it takes nothing from antiquity on trust; and I confess to have no other ambition in this essay, than that poetry may not go backward, when all other arts and sciences are advancing.”<sup>1</sup> And a little later Dryden adds, on the authority of Horace, “that antiquity alone is no plea for the excellency of a poem.” Here again our author brings together philosophy and poetry; the literature of the former age is to be examined sceptically, coldly, in the manner of contemporaneous English philosophy; there are to be no fond enthusiasms here.

Very methodically Dryden goes about his exposition: first he will show that since the age of Shakespeare and Fletcher there has been “an improvement of our wit, language and conversation; or an alteration in them for the better.” Improper words and phrases have been dropped. There is to be found some solecism of speech or notorious flaw in sense in every page of Shakespeare or Fletcher. The times were ignorant wherein they wrote; witness the lameness of their plots; Fletcher understood not correct plotting or the decorum of the stage. “But these absurdities, which those poets committed, may more properly be called the age’s faults than theirs; for, besides the want of education and learning (which was their particular unhappiness), they wanted the benefit of converse.”<sup>2</sup> Poor Ben Jonson’s linguistic sins are dragged to light till our author grows weary of his task: “And what correctness, after this, can be expected from Shakespeare or from Fletcher, who wanted that learning and care which Jonson had?”

Besides rejecting improper words and phrases, continues

<sup>1</sup> I, 162.

<sup>2</sup> I, 166.



Dryden, it is obvious that we have admitted many good ones, some of which we wanted, others of which are rather ornamental than necessary. Our tongue has been beautified by Shakespeare, Fletcher, Jonson, Suckling, and Waller. In addition to refinement of speech there has been a refinement of wit: "The wit of the last age was yet more incorrect than their language. Shakespeare, who many times has written better than any poet, in any language, is yet so far from writing wit always, or expressing that wit according to the dignity of the subject, that he writes, in many places, below the dullest writer of ours, or any precedent age. Never did any author precipitate himself from such a height of thought to so low expressions, as he often does. He is the very Janus of poets; he wears almost everywhere two faces; you have scarce begun to admire the one, ere you despise the other."<sup>1</sup> After stating that even Ben Jonson descended to the "most grovelling kind of wit, which we call clenches," Dryden goes on to say: "But, to conclude with what brevity I can, I will only add this, in defence of our present writers, that, if they reach not the excellencies of Ben Jonson (which no age, I am confident, ever shall), yet, at least, they are above that meanness of thought which I have taxed, and which is frequent in him.

"That the wit of this age is more courtly, may easily be proved, by viewing the characters of gentlemen which were written in the last."<sup>2</sup> And then, after some remarks on Truewit, Mercutio, and Don John: "I have always acknowledged the wit of our predecessors, with all the veneration which becomes me; but, I am sure, their wit was not that of gentlemen; there was ever something that was ill-bred and clownish in it, and which confessed the conversation of the authors."<sup>3</sup> And this leads Dryden to the last and

<sup>1</sup> 1, 172.<sup>2</sup> 1, 174.<sup>3</sup> 1, 174.



greatest advantage of the Restoration literature, which proceeds from conversation: through the influence of the court—there has been added to the drama a touch of gallantry which was quite impossible to the plain-bred Elizabethans.<sup>1</sup>

The essay closes as it began: "To conclude all, let us render to our predecessors what was their due, without confining ourselves to servile imitation of all they writ; and, without assuming to ourselves the title of better poets, let us ascribe to the gallantry and civility of our age the advantage which we have above them, and to our knowledge of the customs and manner of it the happiness we have to please beyond them."<sup>2</sup>

As Professor Hamelius has said,<sup>3</sup> this essay marks Dryden as class-conscious. He has married into a noble family and is on familiar terms with the great; and therefore he represents the tastes of the governing classes. The stage has learned its fine manners from the court, and must be defended against the lower strata of society: "Gentlemen will now be entertained with the follies of each other; and though they allow Cobb and Tib to speak properly, yet they are not much pleased with their tankard or with their rags.

<sup>1</sup> "In the age wherein those poets lived, there was less of gallantry than in ours; neither did they keep the best company of theirs. Their fortune has been much like that of Epicurus, in the retirement of his gardens; to live almost unknown, and to be celebrated after their decease. I cannot find that any of them had been conversant in courts, except Ben Jonson; and his genius lay not so much that way, as to make an improvement by it. Greatness was not then so easy of access, nor conversation so free as it now is. I cannot, therefore, conceive it any insolence to affirm, that, by the knowledge and pattern of their wit who writ before us, and by the advantage of our own conversation, the discourse and raillery of our comedies excel what has been written by them. And this will be denied by none, but some few old fellows who value themselves on their acquaintance with the *Black Friars*; who, because they saw their plays, would pretend to the right to judge ours." I, 175.

<sup>2</sup> I, 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Kritik in der Englischen Literatur*, p. 37.



And surely their conversation can be no jest to them on the theater, when they could avoid it in the streets."<sup>1</sup>

And just as this courtly literature is to be defended against the lower classes of the present, so it is to be defended against the sturdy, human, romantic English literature of the past. It is noticeable that the *Ipse dixit* that Dryden opposes is not that of the ancients: the theories of Aristotle and Horace crop out on nearly every page. "Some few old fellows who value themselves on their acquaintance with the *Black Friars*"—that is, the champions of the Elizabethans—are his real opponents. He has the spirit of English science and philosophy, he delights in breaking from the past; but it is from the past of Shakespeare and Fletcher that he is taking leave. The magisterial tone of the introduction is in itself extremely significant: in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* Dryden loved Shakespeare: here there is no talk of love; instead we are to have a scientific impartiality. But even this profession is hardly justified by what follows. With the exception of a patronizing apology here and there, the entire essay is a piece of fault-finding. Taking for granted, even, that the criticism is just, for us the important thing is that in 1672 Dryden is disposed to pass the virtues of the great Elizabethans without more than a perfunctory acknowledgment. His praise is for Virgil, Jonson, and, above all, for the playwrights of the Restoration. The present is to Dryden a golden age: The heroic play, the polisht versification, the gay and courtly manners mark for him the height of culture and of art.

The *Defense of the Epilog* marks the end of the critical activity of Dryden's second period.<sup>2</sup> It remains only to

<sup>1</sup> I, 177.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the *Defense of the Epilog* was omitted from some copies of the second edition of *The Conquest of Granada* (1673) and from all later editions seems to indicate that Dryden soon became ashamed of it.



make brief mention of two non-critical works which show the transition to the third period. *The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man* (1674) gives evidence of a decided change in our author's artistic purposes. Scott is no doubt correct in supposing that this piece, an opera, could never have been seriously intended for the stage; there could, then, have been very little financial motive for the writing of it. Here we have, it thus appears, an author who has been adapting his work to the taste of king and court following for once the promptings of his own judgment. In taking his material from the still obscure *Paradise Lost* Dryden gives incontrovertible evidence of literary judgment far above contemporary modes. The result of his effort is what we should expect: tho tinged with courtly smartness and adorned with turns of thought and polisht riming verse, *The State of Innocence* contains passages of rare dignity and beauty.

*Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy* (1675) is the last and best of Dryden's heroic plays—best because it is least heroic. It is in the prolog to this play that our author makes the profession of a change of taste which marks the beginning of the third critical period. "Agreeably to what might be expected from this declaration," says Scott, "the verse used in *Aureng-Zebe* is of that kind which may be most easily applied to the purposes of ordinary dialog. There is much less of ornate structure and emphatic swell, than occurs in the speeches of Almanzor and Maximin; and Dryden, though late, seems to have at length discovered, that the language of true passion is inconsistent with that regular modulation, to maintain which the actor must mouth each couplet in a sort of recitative."<sup>1</sup> It may be added that in the more vital features of the play, in the characters and action, *Aureng-*

<sup>1</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, v, 182.



*Zebe* comes nearer to life than any of our author's preceding tragedies. This play, then, like the *State of Innocence*, foreshadows a change in the direction of romanticism.

This period as a whole is best described as one of perfect conformity. We have found in it, especially at first, some of the doctrine and a good deal of the pose of neoclassicism; and in a sense these persist throughout. Nevertheless neoclassicism does not give the key-note to this period. When Dryden had carefully worked up an epic poem in praise of the king he was under the necessity of explaining and defending his method, and, since the poem had been wrought with infinite pains, it was truly represented as a work of the judgment. But once started on the really characteristic work of the period, our author threw his judgment to the winds. It was all to the glory of the king, as had been the poem referred to above, but now the king required extravagance rather than reason, and extravagance was supplied. To be sure it was put into a highly polished and conventional form, but this only served the more to cut it off from life and from the ideals of Dryden's earlier period. And in his criticism our author set himself to justify the form and content of this literature, and to denounce the older English drama, which, of course, stood in direct contrast to it.

Considered from a purely formal point of view, it is true, his critical methods remained those of a neoclassicist, but the plays which he wrote and defended were such as would have put to the blush any French classicist or any good-sense author of eighteenth century England. The English heroic play was, to be sure, related to the French classic drama: its versification, its conventionality of plot and character, etc., were neoclassic traits. In its general spirit, moreover, it was no doubt related to the contemporary baroque architecture and painting of the continent. But it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the form of play



England: the extravagance of the facilities of the court, on the contrary, is necessary to the success of Dryden's poetry. In a large measure, as an organizing force, it was not in fact was not doctrines merely. So when I say conformity I mean to the work—poems, plays, the life of the court. tastes, demanded perfectly adapted to every demand made that literature, the criticism which grew preserving much of the true to its inner surprise.

#### THE CRITICISM.

criticism which Dryden without discovering that looks itself sharply from preceded it. There is inspired the best passages The love for Shakespeare was so strong upon our author the neutral with redoubled force. is noticeable a remarkable



increase in sincerity. Here, as never before, we feel that we are getting at Dryden's inmost convictions.

I shall attempt to show that the new spirit which has come over our author's criticism connects itself with a change in his literary and financial relations—especially his relations with the court. In his second period we have seen Dryden loaded with such favors as had fallen to the lot of no English poet before him. But sooner than one might expect thorns began to appear among his laurels. As early as 1671 was produced upon the stage *The Rehearsal*, ✓ by the Duke of Buckingham and others, in which our author's plays were made a public laughing stock. In 1672 Dryden was violently attacked, again on the score of his plays, by Mathew Clifford in his *Four Letters*. In 1673 came the famous controversy with Elkanah Settle, which ✓ showed Dryden's hold upon the public to be astonishingly precarious. This quarrel was connected with our author's much more important relations with John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. This brilliant young nobleman, an active, though capricious, patron of letters, had bestowed his favor very liberally upon Dryden.<sup>1</sup> But unfortunately the latter formed a connection with the Earl of Mulgrave, an enemy of Rochester's. Rochester, without any better reason than this, introduced Elkanah Settle to the royal favor. Settle's *Empress of Morocco* (1673) was first acted at Whitehall by the Lords and Ladies of the court, an honor which had never been paid to any of Dryden's compositions. On the stage it had an exceptionally long run, and, according to Dennis, it was the first play to be published with cuts and sold for two shillings. After Settle Rochester took up first Crowne and then Otway, each of whom seems to have occu-

<sup>1</sup> In his dedication of *Marriage a la Mode* (1673) Dryden gave Rochester profuse thanks for favors procured at court. Cf. Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 255.



pied for a time the position at court which rightfully belonged to the laureate. Not content with these slights put upon Dryden, Rochester attacked him in an anonymous imitation of Horace, *An Allusion to the Tenth Satire*. Of more importance was Mulgrave's *Essay on Satire*, a piece of sarcasm, frank to the point of brutality, directed against both Rochester and the King. Scott supposes that this was merely revised by Dryden, perhaps about 1675. But when it was anonymously made public in 1679, it was Dryden who was held responsible for it. In consequence, upon the ✓ night of the eighteenth of December, 1679, he was waylaid and beaten by ruffians in the hire of Rochester.

The fact that in 1679 Dryden was readily believed to be | the author of a satire on the King suggests a decline of royal favor. In the dedication of *Aureng-Zebe*, addressing Lord Mulgrave, Dryden wrote: "As I am no successor to Homer in his wit, so neither do I desire to be in his poverty. I can make no rhapsodies, nor go abegging at the Grecian doors, while I sing the praises of their ancestors. The times of Virgil please me better, because he had an Augustus for his patron; and, to draw the allegory nearer you, I am sure I shall not want a Maecenas with him. It is for your lordship to stir up that remembrance in his Majesty, which his many avocations of business have caused him, I fear, to lay aside." <sup>1</sup>

About the time of the appearance of the *Essay on Satire*, says Scott, "Mulgrave seems . . . to have fallen into disgrace, and was considered as in opposition to the court. Dryden was deprived of his intercession and appears in ~~some~~ degree to have shared his disgrace."<sup>2</sup> As to the results

<sup>1</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, v. 196.

<sup>2</sup> As a proof of Dryden's opposition to the court Christie mentions that in a satire against Shaftesbury published very shortly before the appearance of *Adrian and Achitophel* "he is made to figure in Shaftesbury's train, as



of this loss of favor he adds: "It is said distinctly by one libeller, that his pension was for a time interrupted. This does not seem likely: it is more probable, that Dryden shared the general fate of the household of Charles II, whose appointments were but irregularly paid; but perhaps his supposed delinquency made it more difficult for him than others to obtain redress."<sup>1</sup>

It remains only to add to this recital the evidence from Dryden's works. In his dedication of *Aureng-Zebe* (1679) he complained bitterly against the court. In the preface to *All for Love*<sup>2</sup> (1678), and the dedication of *The Kind Keeper*<sup>3</sup> (1678) he returned to the attack with even greater

poet laureate to Shaftesbury, imagined to have been elected king of Poland." The satire referred to is given in a note as "A modest Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, in a Letter to a Friend, concerning his being elected King of Poland." *Poetical Works*, xlv.

<sup>1</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, I, 195-6.

<sup>2</sup> "Men of pleasant conversation (at least esteemed so), and endued with a trifling kind of fancy, perhaps helped out with some smattering of Latin, are ambitious to distinguish themselves from the herd of gentlemen, by their poetry. . . .

"And is not this a wretched affectation, not to be contented with what fortune has done for them, and sit down quietly with their estates, but they must call their wits in question, and needlessly expose their nakedness to public view? Not considering that they are not to expect the same approbation from sober men, which they found from their flatterers after the third bottle. If a little glittering in discourse has passed them on us for witty men, where was the necessity of undeceiving the world? Would a man who has an ill title to an estate, but yet is in possession of it; would he bring it of his own accord, to be tried at Westminster? We, who write, if we want the talent, yet have the excuse that we do it for a poor subsistence; but what can be urged in their defense, who, not having the vocation of poverty to scribble, out of mere wantonness take pains to make themselves ridiculous? Horace was certainly in the right when he said *that no man is satisfied with his own condition*. A poet is not pleased, because he is not rich; and the rich are discontented, because the poets will not admit them of their number." I, 196-7.

<sup>3</sup> "Some few of our nobility are learned, and therefore I will not conclude an absolute contradiction between the terms of nobleman and scholar;



violence. Practically all of the essays of this time breathe a hatred against those in high places which is absolutely out of keeping with the position which Dryden occupied during his earlier period. In accordance with what one is led to expect from our author's changed position is the discovery that the two plays of the period now under discussion were not written with a view to supplying the demands of the market. In 1695 Dryden wrote with regard to the first of these: "I never writ anything for myself but *Antony and Cleopatra*"<sup>1</sup> (*All for Love*). *The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham* (1678), a comedy, he professed to have written as "an honest satire against our crying sin of keeping." It was a complete failure—being acted but three nights. "The crime," says Dryden in his dedication, "for which it suffered, was that which is objected against the satires of Juvenal, that it expressed too much of the vice which it decried." But he will not remonstrate, "for," he continues, "their authority is, and shall be, ever sacred to me, as much absent as present, and in all alterations of their fortunes, who for these reasons have stopt its further appearance on the theater."<sup>2</sup> Christy, in his memoir of Dryden, suggests: "It is to be inferred from Dryden's language that strong remonstrances from powerful friends of his own, probably from the highest placed in the land, led him to withdraw this piece."<sup>3</sup> Since keeping was the vice made popular by the court, this play is first-rate evidence

but as the world goes now, 'tis very hard to predicate one upon the other; and 'tis yet more difficult to prove, that a nobleman can be a friend to poetry. Were it not for two or three instances in Whitehall and in the town, the poets of this age would find so little encouragement of their labors, and so few understanders, that they might have leisure to turn pamphleteers, and augment the number of those abominable scribblers, who, in this time of license, abuse the press, almost every day, with nonsense, and railing against the government." Scott-Saintsbury, VI, 8.

<sup>1</sup> II, 152.<sup>2</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, VI, 9.<sup>3</sup> P. xi.



that Dryden was, at the time of its writing, in a state of rebellion against his royal patron. It is significant that it was acted at the Duke's theater, which was patronized chiefly by the citizen class.

During our author's second period his plays and criticism were given over to the exemplification and defense of the tastes to which the court had given popularity. Now that his relations with the court had altered he returned both in his plays and in his criticism, to greater sanity, genuineness, and real poetic spirit.

It was in the prolog to *Aureng-Zebe, or the Great Mogul* (1675) that Dryden first proclaimed his new faith; the theory of the heroic play, the admiration for rime had gone, and love of Shakespeare had returned. Two years later, in the *Apology for Heroic Poetry*, came an elaborate prose statement of the new doctrines, which, after all, turn out to be but those of the first period clarified and reinforced. One who comes to this *Apology* fresh from the *Defense of the Epilog* may be pardoned for wondering if the two works are from the same hand. In the *Defense* Dryden taxed all his ingenuity to pick flaws in the works of the Elizabethan masters; now, bolstering himself up with numerous quotations from Longinus, he remonstrates with all his force against carping criticism. The critic, so he maintains, should pass his judgment in favor of the sublime genius that sometimes errs rather than prefer the indifferent author who "makes few faults, but seldom or never rises to any excellence." And then follows the beautiful passage, loosely quoted from Longinus, in which the great genius is likened to a man of large possessions who "will not debase himself to the management of every trifle," and the correct author, to a person of mean fortune, "who manages his store with extreme frugality, or rather parsimony." The description of the "correct" author is the classic denunciation of the



entire tribe: "This kind of genius writes indeed correctly. A wary man he is in grammar, very nice as to solecism or barbarism, judges to a hair of little decencies, knows better than any man what is not to be written, and never hazards himself so far as to fall, but plods on deliberately, and, as a grave man ought, is sure to put his staff before him; in short, he sets his heart upon it, and with wonderful care makes his business sure; that is, in plain English, neither to be blamed or praised."<sup>1</sup>

Having, in the first paragraph of the essay, paid a generous tribute to *Paradise Lost*, "undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced," Dryden goes on to make a general plea for the freedom of the poetic imagination. His opponents, interpreting the Aristotelian doctrine of imitation to suit their taste, would keep poetry near to the actualities of life. Dryden holds that poetry which has pleased all ages must be an imitation of nature, and therefore we are justified in giving the principle the most liberal interpretation. That is, he is practically throwing the principle of imitation overboard, and working out new rules on the basis of art history. Relying on these he defends bold figures of speech and the use of fairies and other supernatural agencies; in particular he defends Milton, Cowley, and himself against their detractors. And with full assurance of victory he concludes: "but all reasonable men will conclude it necessary, that sublime subjects ought to be adorned with the sublimest, and consequently with the most figurative expressions."<sup>2</sup>

This essay reminds one strongly of the *Essay of Heroic*

<sup>1</sup> I, 180. In reading this passage one should remember that in 1671, in the preface to *An Evening's Love*, Dryden wrote: "I think there is no folly so great in any poet of our age, as the superfluity and waste of wit was in some of our predecessors."

<sup>2</sup> I, 190.



*Plays* (1672), but in reality it is very different. In the essay of 1672 Dryden defended the heroic play with all its extravagances; but now, in 1677, he is defending the great epic poets, Homer, Virgil, and Milton. Ker describes the situation exactly: "Dryden, like Tasso before him, is compelled to stand up against the scholars who have learned their lesson too well; it is as if he foresaw the sterilizing influence of the prose-understanding, and the harm that might be done by correctness if the principles of correctness were vulgarized."<sup>1</sup> The fact that here for the first time Dryden draws upon Longinus is sufficient to show that a new spirit has come over him.

The *Heads of an Answer to Rymer*, a rough outline of an intended answer to Thomas Rymer's *Tragedies of the Last Age*, was not designed for publication. Written, like the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, without any possible selfish motive, we are justified in supposing that in it we have an especially sincere expression of opinion. From the point of view of the similarity of the circumstances under which the two works were composed, it is interesting to notice that in the *Heads of an Answer* Dryden returns very definitely to the doctrines of the earlier essay. Rymer, a rigid scholastic, has ruthlessly examined the plays of Shakespeare and Fletcher in the light furnished by the strictest pseudo-classic rules. And Dryden, who, in 1672, was himself inclined to carp at these two, now takes up the cudgels in their defense.

His argument as a whole is based on the theory of the historical development of the drama: Aristotle's experience was necessarily limited to the Greek theater, hence his definition of a play is too narrow; if English plays have not the beauties of those of Greece, they have others—perhaps greater. Referring to the success of the English drama,

<sup>1</sup> I, lviii.



Dryden says: "And one reason for that success is, in my opinion, this, that Shakespeare and Fletcher have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for tho nature, as he objects, is the same in all places, and reason too the same, yet the climate, the age, the disposition of the people, to whom a poet writes, may be so different, that what pleased the Greeks would not satisfy an English audience."<sup>1</sup>

In the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, it will be remembered, in attempting to define the quality which distinguished English poetry from French, Dryden hit upon the terms, "masculine fancy" and "spirit in the writing." Here in the *Heads of an Answer*, he is laboring to make clear the nature of the same quality; and the terms which now serve his purpose, e. g. "the genius of poetry in the writing," carry back over the intervening thirteen years to the earlier work. Notice, in this connection, the spirit and terminology of the following passage: "Rapin attributes more to the *dictio*, that is, to the words and discourse of a tragedy, than Aristotle has done, who places them in the last rank of beauties; perhaps only last in order, because they are the last product of the design. . . . Rapin's words are remarkable: It is not the admirable intrigue, the surprising events, and the extraordinary incidents, that make the beauty of a tragedy; it is the discourses, when they are natural and passionate."<sup>2</sup>

Within the year of the writing of the *Heads of an Answer to Rymer* came also the production of *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*, a tragedy on the subject of Antony and Cleopatra, avowedly written in imitation of Shakespeare. Dryden's characters and plot are not up to the Shakespearean standard: neither can his blank verse, as a whole,

<sup>1</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 335.

<sup>2</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 392.



be pronounced equal to that of his great original. But it must be acknowledged that this is the best of all his plays; it is full of noble scenes and of poetical passages which do not suffer by comparison with the best in English literature. Here, in the play which Dryden professedly wrote for himself, the genuinely romantic spirit has replaced the mock-heroic. The preface which introduced this play is chiefly remarkable for a spirited attack on the conventionality of French literature; all the feeling which in the two preceding essays was directed against pedants in general is here turned against the poets of France and their English imitators.

In this period, then, during which Dryden is not writing as the favorite of town and court, during which, it appears, he is even cut off from many of his old associations and put under suspicion, his literary productions show him in a state of revolt. The life of the court nauseates him; the degenerate heroic drama, as it is carried on in the hands of succeeding favorites, he can not endure; and no more can he tolerate the clean-cut and heartless neoclassic criticism as he sees it in the works of Rymer. The three pieces of criticism which mark the culmination of the period exhibit a singular unity of feeling. In all of them Dryden strikes out squarely counter to the current of contemporary opinion. In all of them he warmly upbraids merely rational criticism; he maintains that literary types should be left free to develop, that the critic should draw his rules from literature rather than prescribe laws to literature; he contends most of all for the spirit of poetry, for genius in literary material as against all the conventions of form. These three essays are, perhaps, the most remarkable of all Dryden's prose works. Lacking, often, the refined spirit and elegant form of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, for courage, for refreshing sincerity, for unconventional originality, they can hardly be matched from Dryden's other critical works, or from the works of any other critic of Dryden's time.



## THE FOURTH PERIOD.

The criticism produced by Dryden during the decade between 1680 and 1689 is best characterized as rationalistic. Here we find well formulated, probably for the first time in England, that common-sense system of literary production and evaluation which had been so well organized by Boileau and was to be further developed by Pope. A reading of this criticism in connection with Dryden's biography immediately suggests the thought that his theory was, during this period, very definitely related to the literary occupations to which, thro the pressure of economic circumstances, he was forced to surrender himself.

During Dryden's second period we have seen him the servant of a court which demanded amusement; during his third period we have seen him cast upon his own resources; but during the period under consideration we find him in a new rôle; as during the second period, he is the servant of a court, but of a court which demands—not amusement—but defense against its enemies. Dryden entered upon his fourth period rather poorer than usual. The King's Theater, in the profits of which he had had a share, had burnt down in 1672, and his income had suffered in consequence. After the production of *All for Love* (1677–8) he quarreled with the King's Company and the contract in accordance with which he had shared in its profits was abrogated. The complaint in the dedication of *Aureng-Zebe* and the belief that his pension had been cut off, show at least that it was irregularly paid. One is somewhat surprised, therefore, to learn that as early as 1679 our author was granted by the king a special annual pension of one hundred pounds, and that in 1683 he was appointed collector of customs for the port of London. The Whigs, representing Protestantism, were becoming more and



more of a menace to the royal faction; and in his hour of need Charles did not disdain to assure himself of Dryden's support. And Dryden, as we have seen, was in no position to refuse to give his services. In 1681 our author produced upon the stage *The Spanish Friar*, his "Protestant play"—surely no evidence of loyalty. But later in the same year he published *Absalom and Achitophel*; and from that time to the death of Charles II, in 1685, there was no interruption in Dryden's devoted service; the king was defended against all his enemies, the church of England against all the sectaries.

But during this time important changes were taking place in the life of the court. The Catholic Duke of York was the heir apparent, and the Duchess of York shared his religious faith. Charles himself was under suspicion of a leaning in the direction of Catholicism. The tide was unmistakably setting in the direction of the church of Rome, and the author of the "Protestant Play" could hardly be expected to remain independent of its influence. The fact that Dryden turned Catholic about the time of the succession of James II, when a change in religion was patently advantageous to him, has been interpreted by more than one of his biographers as evidence of rank turn-coatism. The answer to these has been found in the fact that as early as 1682, in the *Religio Laici*, Dryden gave unmistakable evidence of a genuine leaning in the direction of Catholicism.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that we have here merely another case to show Dryden's sensitiveness to his environment. No one who sympathetically reads the *Religio Laici* or Dryden's later religious poems can doubt the sincerity of his conversion: neither can anyone who has taken into account the changing atmosphere of the court imagine that this conversion was quite independent of our author's *milieu*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saintsbury, *Biography of Dryden*, p. 101.



| Dryden's world gradually changed, and he himself, with perfect sincerity, gradually changed with it.

As one result of Dryden's religious conversion he was continued in office as the chief literary representative of the court, his pension of one hundred pounds being guaranteed him by a royal patent. In 1686 he published his *Defense of Papers written by the late King and the Duchess of York*—which papers seemed to indicate (a fact now much to the purpose) that Charles II had been at heart a Catholic. And from this time down to the dethronement of James II in 1688–89 Dryden served his second master as faithfully as he had served his first.

The mere labor demanded by Dryden's new position of chief apologist for the crown, was tremendous. In Ker's list of his publications there are to be found within the limits of this period the titles of fourteen works which formed part of his public service. Among these are registered, first of all, works like the translation of Maimburg's *History of the League* and the *Defense of Papers written by the late King and the Duchess of York*, long and dreary pieces of prose which must have meant to their author weary months of drudgery. But the chief works of the list are the satirical and didactic masterpieces: *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), *The Medal* (1682), *MacFlecknoe* (1682), *Absalom and Achitophel, Part II* (1682), *Religio Laici* (1682), and *The Hind and the Panther* (1687). For us it is merely necessary to notice two things with regard to these supreme works. In the first place not a single one of them was introduced—  
—with a critical dissertation of great importance. The production of this form of literature was not calculated to keep alive in our author's mind his former interest in the vital problems of esthetics. Even the mere quantity of his criticism was cut down; we have only four slender pieces to represent what was Dryden's most productive literary.



period. The other point which demands our attention is the fact that satire belongs distinctly to the rationalistic, rather than to the romantic, consciousness; to the period of Pope, rather than to the period of Shakespeare. Since, then, the characteristic poetic production of this period links Dryden to the eighteenth century, rather than to the sixteenth, one is prepared to expect in the critical essays a predominantly rationalistic tone.

Before entering upon a discussion of the characteristic criticism of the fourth period it is necessary to notice an essay which is clearly transitional. In 1679 Dryden published *Troilus and Cressida*, rather an "improvement" of Shakespeare's play of the same name than a noble imitation like *All for Love*. And with this play, which in itself seemed to indicate a dying down of poetical fervor, he published his *Preface containing the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*—a most interesting composite of the antagonistic spirits of the third and fourth periods. In the introduction, although a high regard for Shakespeare is expressed, the chief emphasis is laid upon his petty faults; his phrases are, some of them, "scarce intelligible," others, "ungrammatical and coarse;" his style is "so pestered with figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure." The essay on *The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy* is introduced with a formal outline: our author thinks it would be neither unprofitable nor unpleasant to inquire "(1) how far we ought to imitate our poets, Shakespeare and Fletcher, in their tragedies; and this will occasion another inquiry, (2) how those two writers differ among themselves." But in order to prosecute these investigations he will first attempt "to discover the grounds and reasons of all criticism, applying them in this place only to tragedy.<sup>1</sup>" Then there follows

<sup>1</sup> I, 207.



one of the most carefully reasoned of all Dryden's essays. Beginning with Aristotle's definition of a play our author proceeds in an abstract, formal manner to discuss the action, the manners, the characters, and the passions. After the regular discussion of each heading Shakespeare and Fletcher are brought up for comparison, and one who has recently read the *Heads of an Answer* may well be surprised to discover that they are often measured by the classical standard as ruthlessly as Rymer himself could have wished. But, happily, this essay is one of those which are remarkable for their "purple patches." It is evident from one of these that tho Dryden's new formalism can make no room for Shakespeare, the old love of him still survives.

In the preface to Dryden's translation of Ovid's epistles (1680) we have the first piece of criticism perfectly representative of the fourth period; it is representative both in its brevity and in its thoroly prosaic tone. The only really significant passage in it is one in which Ovid is guardedly praised for the vivacity of his poetry, but roundly scored for not having been a better master of his wit. "Nothing too much," is our author's law, and it is applied especially to wit, to eloquence, to the inward fire that may now and then strain a conventionality.

In the dedication of *The Spanish Friar* (1681) we might expect a different feeling. The play which it introduced was written, not to support the king, but to catch the public ear; <sup>1</sup> and, despite its faults, one must confess that it has in it some of the life of real comedy. Here, then, if anywhere, we might expect a return to the standards of 1678. But what do we find? First of all, a criticism, searching and just,

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that at this time, just after the "Popish Plots," the Protestant party was so strong that Dryden was risking nothing; and, on the other hand, in case of a Protestant triumph his anti-catholic play would have opened up to him a way into the new court.



of our author's own heroic plays: they cry vengeance upon him for their extravagance, and he wishes them heartily in the fire. His only excuse for them is that they were bad enough to please (*i. e.* to please Charles II); but for the future he is resolved to settle himself no reputation "by the applause of fools." The effect of the "prose-understanding" is not entirely evil; if it condemns the romantic by judicious strictures and faint praise, it damns the heroic utterly.

Dryden was too philosophical to rest content with individual literary judgments; he must give his theory abstract statement. It is significant that when he comes to do this he takes his figure from architecture, of all the arts the one, perhaps, in which a riotous fancy can have least place: "But as in a room contrived for state, the height of the roof should bear a proportion to the area; so, in the heightenings of poetry, the strength and vehemence of the figures should be suited to the occasion, the subject, and the persons."<sup>1</sup> Propriety of thoughts and words is the chief virtue of a play. Here, it thus appears, even in the dedication of a popular play, Dryden's new deity, good sense, is the supreme god.

In the preface to *Sylvæ* (1685) we find that after a lapse of four years our author's esthetic creed has remained unchanged. With great show of erudition, but without touching upon a single vital literary problem, he discusses the four authors he has been translating. In the one passage which has real significance he treats Cowley as he treated Ovid in the preface of 1680. It is true that Cowley had the soul of poetry, the "warmth and vigour of fancy," "but he lacked somewhat of equal thoughts," and "somewhat of the purity of English." And after he has applied his unvarying measure, Dryden peevishly demands what rules of morality or respect he has broken: "There are few poets who deserve to be models in all they write."<sup>2</sup> Horace himself could hardly

<sup>1</sup> I, 247.

<sup>2</sup> I, 268.



have excelled this for classic coolness ; one is instantly reminded of nodding Homer. There is nothing here, except, of course, the over-sensitive apology for irreverence, which, so far as theory is concerned, might not have been written by Pope.

But it is in the preface to *Albion and Albanus* (1685) that Dryden undertakes the formal exposition of his doctrine. The essay begins with a highly significant definition of wit. It will be remembered that in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665) Dryden wrote, referring to Jonson : "I must acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakespeare the greater wit."<sup>1</sup> *Wit*, in this connection, was evidently used to signify the possession of a prolific poetic genius, or an abundance of poetic material. In the preface to *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) this notion was decidedly modified : "wit-writing" was there defined as a nimble spaniel, which "beats over and ranges through the field of memory, till it springs the quarry it hunted after ;"<sup>2</sup> and "wit-written" was described as that which is "well defined, the happy result of thought, or product of imagination." This confusing division is evidently a compromise ; wit is thought of as being at once the creative quality of the imagination and the well-defined product of the judgment. In 1677, in the *Apology for Heroic Poetry*, Dryden formally defined wit as "a propriety of thoughts and words,"<sup>3</sup> but used this two-edged definition to show that in the treatment of great subjects the poetic imagination should be allowed free rein. But now, in the preface to *Albion and Albanus*, he develops this definition and attempts to show on the strength of it that all poetic beauty depends upon the exercise of the judgment. Thus in the course of twenty years one of the most important terms of seventeenth century criticism, following the evolution of our author's mind,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> I, 190.



has exactly reversed its meaning. With its new definition it is made to cover a complete system of poetic theory. The thoughts are to be proper to the subject, the words, to the thoughts, "and from both of these, if they be judiciously performed, the delight of poetry results."<sup>1</sup> Pope, in the *Essay on Criticism*, seems merely to return an echo :

"Expression is the dress of thought, and still  
Appears more decent as more suitable."

The criticism of this period, it thus appears, is rationalistic. In its general spirit it bears some resemblance to that of the second period, nevertheless the two should be sharply distinguished. The critical theory of the second period, it will be remembered, was characterized as pseudo-neoclassic; that of the period now under consideration is best defined as English rationalistic. The English heroic play which furnished the occasion for the characteristic criticism of the second period was a natural outgrowth of the life of the Restoration, and with the passing of that life, it, too, past away with all its related theory. Even before it had reached its zenith there had appeared in England the beginnings of a school of critics, best represented by Hobbes, who introduced into their thinking about literature the spirit and doctrines of English sensationalistic philosophy. The French neoclassicists, we have seen, made literature rational and intelligible by working it out in accordance with an *a priori* scheme attributed to the ancients. The English rationalists, thoroughgoing sensationalists in philosophy, achieved practically the same result by bringing art down to the actualities of life.<sup>2</sup> To them prose furnished an ideal

<sup>1</sup> I, 270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Preface to Ovid's Epistle, I, 233. Here, speaking of Ovid's descriptions of the passions, Dryden says he needs no other judges of them than the generality of his readers: "for, all passions being inborn with us, we



form and, in the eighteenth century, the realistic novel, an ideal content: even in Dryden's day they were dubbed "prose-critics." Under the predominance of these prose-critics the heroic play fell under constantly increasing condemnation. Dryden's unequivocal denunciation of it in the dedication of *The Spanish Friar*, furnishes a measure of his evolution: during his fourth period he was, at least in his general spirit, a rationalist. The worship of good sense had become his controlling motive.

This rationalism is precisely what an examination of Dryden's life during this period would lead one to expect. We have seen him constrained by circumstances to throw the chief energy saved from uninspiring hack-work into a series of poetical satires. The first result of this new direction of his activity was naturally a diminution of his interest in critical problems. But the second result was more important. A man like Dryden, versatile, easily adapting himself to new conditions, could hardly be imagined dividing his mental life; doing his daily stint of toil for the royal cause and then taking up the consideration of literary problems with his old romantic fervor. On the contrary, he gave himself up wholly to the required labor. So thoroly did he fuse his personality with the cause of his party that in *MacFlecknoe*, passages of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and in other poems, he paid at once his own scores and those of the king. Satire had become his natural mode of expression. But satire is itself but a sort of criticism; it has always been the form assumed by the highly trained, versifying prose-understanding. If, then, while satire was Dryden's natural mode of expression his critical essays

are almost equally judges when we are concerned in the representation of them." And a little later he criticizes Ovid for leaving "the imitation of nature, and the cooler dictates of his judgment, for the false applause of fancy."



became eminently rationalistic, it is merely because they were of a piece with his whole mental life.<sup>1</sup>

### THE FIFTH PERIOD.

The fifth period of Dryden's critical development includes, approximately, the last decade of his life. With the revolution of 1688-9 our author lost at once his offices and his pension; but what was apparently a crushing reverse proved to be a boon—at once to Dryden and to English literature. His position now became practically that of a free man of letters. And in this character he was left at liberty to give himself up to literary labors of his own choice. Under these circumstances his critical faculty naturally regained free play. The result is noticeable, first of all, in the imposing amount of criticism written during this period. But the quality is more remarkable than the quantity; beginning the period as a rationalist, Dryden gradually developed in the direction of the theory and feeling of the first and third periods. The old love for the spirit of great literature returned, and more and more dominated the good-sense mood and method. The criticism is distinguished from that of the first and third periods by a broader, steadier grasp of esthetic problems and by a beautiful evenness of feeling. It is, to be sure, a sort

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the reader does not need to be again reminded that I do not pretend to have accounted completely for all the differences between the various periods of Dryden's critical development. The causes for the transition from the third to the fourth period seem to have been especially complex. I have my attention drawn to the fact that during the third period Dryden leaned pretty heavily on Rapin and that, although he was using his contemporary French critic in the support of romanticism, Rapin may have influenced him in the direction of rationalism. Rapin had after all more affinity to Rymer than to Dryden. It is not impossible that our author's very attacks on Rymer may have reacted in favor of Rymer's own doctrines.



with the coat of arms of the subscriber to each cut," were subscribed for at five guineas apiece; another lot were taken at two guineas the copy. In a letter to Jacob Tonson<sup>1</sup> Dryden stated that he had just finished the seventh *Aeneid* and expected soon to start the eighth, and continued: "when that is finished, I expect fifty pounds in good silver." The number of books for which this sum was to be received is not clear. A little later in the same letter Dryden added: "but the thirty shillings upon every book remains with me." Pope had heard that the Virgil translation as a whole brought Dryden the sum of 1,200 pounds. For the *Fables* (1700), according to a signed agreement still extant,<sup>2</sup> Dryden was to receive from Tonson the sum of three hundred pounds.<sup>3</sup>

✓ In connection with our author's changed position there is noticeable a general elevation of his moral standards. This is to be remarked, first of all, in his attitude toward his art. In his dedication of the *Examen Poeticum* (1693), after a discussion of the corruption of governments, he continued: "These considerations have given me a kind of contempt for those who have risen by unworthy ways. I am not ashamed to be little, when I see them so infamously great; neither do I know why the name of poet should be dishonorable to me, if I am truly one, as I hope I am; for I will never do anything that will dishonor it."<sup>4</sup> In Dryden's view of the moral aspects of literature, also, there took place a notable alteration. In the last paragraph of his last critical work, the preface to the *Fables*, he replied to Jeremy Collier's attack on him: "I shall say the less of Mr. Collier, because in many / things he has taxed me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Beljame, pp. 198 ff.<sup>4</sup> *ib.*, 2.



obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and retract  
 he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my  
 friend, I have given him no personal reason to be other-  
 wise. I will be glad of my repentance.”<sup>1</sup>

Our author's literary activity under the new circum-  
 stances, the first thing to demand notice is a decline in his  
 poetic production and a consequent falling off of interest  
 in the problems of the stage. The five plays which came  
 from his pen between 1690 and 1694 attained dramatic and  
 literary merit to a rapidly diminishing degree. At the begin-  
 ning of this, his last period of play writing, Dryden wrote:  
 “Having been longer acquainted with the stage than any  
 other poet now living, and having observed how difficult it  
 was to please; that the humors of comedy were almost spent;  
 that love and honor (the mistaken topics of tragedy) were  
 quite worn out; that the theaters could not support their  
 charges; that the audience forsook them; that young men,  
 without learning, set up for judges, and that they talked  
 loudest who understood the least; all these discouragements  
 had not only weaned me from the stage, but had also given  
 me a loathing for it. But enough of this: the difficulties  
 continue; they increase; and I am still condemned to dig  
 in those exhausted mines.”<sup>2</sup> And in 1692 he protested:  
 “Nobody can imagine that, in my declining age, I write  
 willingly, or that I am desirous of exposing, at this time of  
 day, the small reputation which I have gotten on the theater.  
 The subsistence which I had from the former government is  
 lost; and the reward I have from the stage is so little, that  
 it is not worth my labor.”<sup>3</sup> The story of Dryden's dramatic  
 degeneration, then, may be summed up as follows. In  
 1690, having been cast upon the resources of his pen, he  
 turned to the public, especially to the citizen class, which,

<sup>1</sup> II, 272.

<sup>2</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, VII, 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 221.



with the coming of William and Mary, had gained a decided ascendancy. The public was most easily reached thro the theater; hence *Don Sebastian* (1690), worked out with extraordinary care. But Dryden soon discovered that times were changed. Citizen morality was more and more making itself felt, and plays were more and more subjected to sharpest criticism.<sup>1</sup> In fact the theater seemed to be sinking into a certain decline. Thus dramatic work, never to Dryden's taste, grew constantly more irksome; and at last, according to his own statement, the economic motive for continuing it well nigh disappeared. But for us the important thing to notice is, that Dryden lost interest in dramatic problems. Not one of the five plays of this period is preceded by a critical dissertation of any importance. The change which began in 1684 with the publication of *Miscellany Poems* is now complete, and it is chiefly in connection with his translations that we must henceforth follow the development of Dryden's critical theory.

The translations of this period include selections from Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid, the works of Virgil, and the so-called fables from Homer, Boccacio, and Chaucer. Four of the five volumes in which these translations appeared Dryden introduced with critical prefaces. Occasionally, notably in the dedication of the *Examen Poeticum* (1693), he wandered back into the discussion of the drama, but for the most part his attention was given up to the poetic forms, especially to the epic. A chronological list of the translations of the last seven years of Dryden's life shows that his interest developed steadily in the direction of really poetic appreciation. After his long period of satire writing Juvenal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. James Wright: *Historia Histrionica* (1699); *An Apology for the life of the Colly Cibber by himself*, ed. by Robert W. Lowe, London, 1889, I, 187; Beljame, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres*, 2nd ed., 1897, pp. 198-224, and 244-59.



... interested him; but, left free to follow  
... he translated Virgil, whose formal vir-  
... able to appreciate more sincerely, and  
... years worked over with amazing freedom and  
... from Homer, Boccacio, and Chaucer.<sup>1</sup> Thus  
... of his criticism during this period seems to  
... a development in his poetical activity.

... important critical work of this period is,  
... ough, on satire. *A Discourse concerning the*  
*and Progress of Satire*, published in 1693 with a  
... of the satires of Juvenal, is a long and formal  
... liberally padded with borrowed learning. Dryden  
... y announces his purpose to give, "from the best  
... , the origin, the antiquity, the growth, the change,  
... the completement of satire among the Romans; to  
... ribe, if not define, the nature of that poem, with its  
... eral qualifications and virtues, together with the several  
... ts of it; to compare the excellencies of Horace, Persius,  
... and Juvenal, and show the particular manner of their  
... satires; and, lastly, to give an account of this new way of  
... version, which is attempted in our performance."<sup>2</sup> Forti-  
... fied with an imposing list of authorities, Dryden executes  
... his plan with more than customary method and care. Only  
... in the wanderings of his introduction does he express

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that studies of Dryden's translations do not furnish sufficient material to warrant a generalization as to his tendency as translator. It seems extremely probable that he allowed himself constantly increasing liberties with his originals. Francis H. Pughe, after an examination of a part of the material involved, comes to the following conclusion: "Wir sehen also, kurz gesagt, Dryden am Anfang seiner Uebersetzerthätigkeit von dem Vorsatz ausgehen, wörtliche Uebersetzung, ebenso wie Nachahmung zu vermeiden, um später einen zwischen Paraphrase und Nachahmung schwankenden Weg einzuschlagen." *John Dryden's Uebersetzungen aus Theokrit*, Breslau, 1894, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> II, 42.



himself on any vital literary problems. As to the war between ancients and moderns, he maintains that in drama and satire the moderns have excelled; Milton is searchingly criticized, but admired for his elevated thoughts and sounding words. It must be confessed, however, that this essay as a whole exhibits more keen discrimination than real literary enthusiasm.

In the epistle dedicatory of the *Examen Poeticum* (1693) we recognize again the Dryden of the first and third periods. It is significant that the immediate occasion for the greater part of this essay is identical with that which we noticed in connection with the *Defense of the Epilog*. In 1672, being attacked by the old-fashioned devotees of the Elizabethans, Dryden replied by belittling Shakespeare's virtues and enlarging upon his faults: in 1693, under exactly the same circumstances, our author gracefully acknowledges the superiority of his great predecessors and challenges the sincerity of his critics.<sup>1</sup> But, recalling in this the spirit of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, he will defend the English Drama against all comers: again the English genius comes to its own; again Dryden searches for words with which to characterize that vital thing which is the heart of English poetry.<sup>2</sup> The passages in question are distinguished from

<sup>1</sup> "'Tis not with an ultimate intention to pay reverence to the Manes of Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Ben Jonson that they commend their writings, but to throw dirt on the writers of this age. . . . Peace be to the venerable shades of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson! none of the living will presume to have any competition with them; as they were our predecessors, so they were our masters.'" II, 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> "As little can I grant, that the French dramatic writers excel the English. Our authors as far surpass them in genius, as our soldiers excel theirs in courage. 'Tis true, in conduct they surpass us either way; yet that proceeds not so much from their greater knowledge, as from the difference in tastes in the two nations. They content themselves with a thin design, without episodes, and managed by few persons. Our audience will not be pleased, but with variety of accidents, an underplot, and many actors.



our author's previous expressions on the same subject only by an evident desire to do justice both to the faults of the English and the virtues of the French. A denunciation of Homer's "ungodly man-killers" (heroes) and a tacit commendation of a "more moderate heroism" seem to indicate a temperate, Virgilian state of mind. But if this essay is milder than the great documents of our author's third period, it is filled with the same fine independence.

Dryden's next piece of criticism, the famous *Parallel between Poetry and Painting*, prefixed to a translation of Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica* (1695), is unique among his works in its purpose and scope. It resembles most the preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), but in the actual nature of its material it is much more abstract. Here Dryden starts out with the set purpose of laying down the rules of art which belong to poetry and painting in common. In no other work has he undertaken a task so entirely formal; here, then, if anywhere, one might expect a cold outline of the artist's activities approximating, perhaps, the good-sense doctrine of the fourth period. And it must be confessed that in its general tone this essay is far more rationalistic than the one which preceded it. But, nevertheless, a close reading reveals something like an attempt to harmonize the formal conception of literature with the intuitions of a genuinely poetic consciousness. Naturally our author begins the systematic part of his treatise with a statement of rules: this is in the very nature of the case; if there are no accepted laws applying to the artist's methods, then no such treatise as this can be written at all.

| They follow the ancients too servilely in the mechanic rules, and we assume too much licence to ourselves, in keeping them only in view at too great a distance. But if our audience had their tastes, our poets could more easily comply with them, than the French writers could come up to the sublimity of our thoughts, or to the difficult variety of our designs." II, 7.



From the practise, then, of "the poets and painters in ancient times and the best ages" rules have been drawn, and these are to furnish the basis of our discussion. Treating the steps of a poet's or painter's work in order, Dryden begins with a discussion of invention, and we are relieved to read: "Invention is the first part, and absolutely necessary to them both; yet no rule ever was or ever can be given, how to compass it."<sup>1</sup> But the disposition, or arrangement, of the work is to be according to law. Coming to the description of the passions, Dryden again admits the inadequacy of rules: "This, says my author, is the gift of Jupiter; and to speak in the same heathen language, we call it the gift of our Apollo—not to be obtained by pains or study, if we are not born to it; for the motions which are studied are never so natural as those which break out in the height of a real passion."<sup>2</sup> When he comes to the principles of ornamentation Dryden finds the abstract rule too much for him and, with evident compunction, admits the formal indefensibility of the English tragi-comedy. One remark on the chromatic, or coloring, the last step in the production of an art work, shows again that Dryden is attempting to maintain an esthetic balance: "A work may be overwrought as well as underwrought; too much labor often takes away the spirit by adding to the polishing, so that there remains nothing but a dull correctness, a piece without any considerable faults, but with few beauties; for when the spirits are drawn off, there is nothing but a *caput mortuum*."<sup>3</sup> Taking into account such passages as these it seems to me that whereas we found in the preface to *Troilus and Cressida* a formal treatment of the rules of the drama with here and there an outbreak of romantic feeling, we are justified in describing the *Parallel* as a studied attempt to harmonize

<sup>1</sup> II, 138.<sup>2</sup> II, 145.<sup>3</sup> II, 152.



the formal, practical, working conception of an artist's labors with the intuitions of a poetic appreciator of the finished art-product. Dryden's theory, it is true, is inadequate to his purpose; he is still bound by the principle of imitation and the allegorical conception of art. But the attempt is none the less evident: an inexplicable genius produces the material, and the judgment disposes it; genius describes the passions, while study and care polish the language.

The dedication with which Dryden introduced his translation of the *Aeneid* (1697) naturally concerns itself with the old question of the relative advantages of drama and epic and the defense and praise of the poetry of Virgil. So it happens, as has been the case with more than one of Dryden's essays, that the really significant passages of this work are in the nature of digressions. In general these significant passages are pretty much of a piece with those which we examined in the dedicatory epistle of the *Examens Poeticum*. Their chief value lies in the fact that, like the epistle of 1693, they exhibit Dryden expressing with his old-time freedom the doctrines of his earliest period. The figure once before used to define his feeling as to the nature of the English poetic spirit is further developed: "For, impartially speaking, the French are as much better critics than the English, as they are worse poets. Thus we generally allow that they better understand the management of a war than our islanders; but we know we are superior to them in the day of battle. They value themselves on their generals, we on our soldiers."<sup>1</sup> In another spirited passage on the same subject he characterizes the informing spirit of English poetry as "a masculine vigor," recalling forcibly his earlier expressions, "masculine fancy" (1665), and "genius of poetry in the writing" (1678). Our author

<sup>1</sup> II, 178.



has consistently maintained, especially in the *Parallel*, that the epic is farther from life than the drama, and thus better adapted to ornamentation; but now he demands, even in the epic, something of genuine virility and passion.<sup>1</sup>

It is in the preface to the *Fables* (1700), Dryden's last essay, that the criticism of this period culminates. Here, more than in any other work of the period, we get warm, spontaneous appreciation unmixed with empty formulas. Homer, Chaucer, Ovid, and Boccaccio are the natural subjects of the essay; but it is the first two that call forth the best passages. Here concludes, so far as Dryden is concerned, that long conflict between Homer and Virgil. The result is, first of all, an attempt to estimate the virtues of each without injustice to the other. But one cannot help feeling that, as Homer was Dryden's favorite in youth, so he is at the last. In fact our author states specifically that he has found Homer more according to his genius than the Latin poet. And in passages like the following the nature of his feeling can hardly be mistaken: "The action of Homer, being more full of vigor than that of Virgil, according to the temper of the writer, is of a consequence more pleasing to the reader. One warms you by degrees; the other sets you on fire all at once, and never intermits his heat. 'Tis the same difference which Longinus makes betwixt the effects of eloquence in Demosthenes or Tully; one persuades, the other commands."<sup>2</sup> Comparing Chaucer

<sup>1</sup> "Let the French and Italians value themselves on their regularity; strength and elevation are our standard. I said before, and I repeat it, that the affected purity of the French has unsinewed their heroic verse. The language of an epic poem is almost wholly figurative: yet they are so fearful of a metaphor, that no example of Virgil can encourage them to be bold with safety. Sure they might warm themselves by that sprightly blaze, without approaching it so close as to singe their wings; they may come as near it as their master." II, 229.

<sup>2</sup> II, 253.



with Ovid, Dryden comes upon the subject of the much admired "turn of words;" as the poet of Charles II he had much admired this taking ornament, but in his present mood he sees that in strong passions it is always to be shunned. As to Chaucer he speaks praise which can only be compared with his eulogy of Shakespeare: "He must have been a man of most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his *Canterbury Tales* the various manners and humors (as we now call them) of the whole English nation, in his age."<sup>1</sup> "He is a perpetual fountain of good sense; learn'd in all sciences; and, therefore, speaks properly on all subjects."<sup>2</sup> Even the verse of Chaucer, the meter of which, because of changes in pronunciation, Dryden was quite unable to appreciate, seemed to him to have the "rude ✓ sweetness of a Scotch tune in it." Coming at a time when Chaucer was considered "a dry old-fashioned wit,"<sup>3</sup> the exclusive property of "some old Saxon friends," this frank and hearty appreciation has an astonishingly modern ring. Here is a poet who seems to lack most of the qualities of form which have sometimes appeared to Dryden as the essentials of poetry: and yet he is praised and loved for the truth of nature in him and for his abundance of wit.

This preface, written only a few months before Dryden's death, is, from nearly every point of view, one of his best critical works. There is little theorizing here, to be sure, but there is an abundance of original comparison and sincere appreciation. And the favorites of our author's last days are Homer and Chaucer. It is the inner spirit of poetry ✓ which seems now to attract him, rather than niceties of versification. It is noteworthy that the material which he

<sup>1</sup> II, 262.<sup>2</sup> II, 257.<sup>3</sup> II, 264.



is treating here is all of the epic kind ; and it has been for the epic that he has heretofore so steadily insisted on formal virtues.

During his fifth period Dryden has, more than at any other time of his life, been left free to develop his personality. Except for the pressure exerted by the necessity of writing for the public, he has been at liberty to choose his form of activity and to express with perfect sincerity the literary tastes which, in a man of his type, naturally developed under favorable influences. Besides being free from any sort of restraint Dryden has been writing during his last years as the recognized master of English poetry ; this, joined perhaps, with the fact that he has dealt chiefly with classical material, has given him a fine dignity of manner and catholic breadth of feeling. This, then, is the Dryden of the last phase ; and the criticism we have examined is just what one would expect from such a man. Of the five critical documents of the period, the first, we have seen, was transitional : the other four, it seems to me, are related in spirit and material to the essays of the first and third periods. In one respect they indicate a distinct advance over all their predecessors : Dryden has gained in judicial poise, and logicity of thought ; he is trying to bring together his instinctive feelings for literature and his reasoned theory. This very effort, to be sure, savors of the eighteenth century, but Dryden has not again struck the dead-level of the "prose-critics." He has still, especially during the latter part of the period, the fine, free spirit of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and the preface to *All for Love*. It is mellowed a bit by age, and there is not now so much of the fire of conflict in it, but it is still the same in its nature.



## CONCLUSION.

## I.

The results of this investigation may be summed up in the statement that Dryden's critical activity was an organic part of his life. And it follows as a corollary of this statement that, since his life, because of its intimate connection with the vicissitudes of the age, divides itself into periods, his criticism, together with his entire literary activity,<sup>1</sup> falls into approximately corresponding periods. During the first

<sup>1</sup> John Stuart Collins, in his extremely valuable work, *Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Praxis* (Leipzig, 1902), makes an elaborate comparison of Dryden's critical theory as set forth in the prefaces and his practise in the plays. The prefaces, especially the passages dealing with rime, the unities, the decorum of the stage, and the like, he examines in order, and in connection with each tries to make out whether the theory enunciated is developed in the accompanying play or in other plays of the same period. His general conclusion is as follows: "On the whole, I fail to discover any such intimate connection between theory and praxis in Dryden's dramatic authorship as might reasonably be expected. Nowhere does he say: 'thus and thus shall be written' and then follow up these exact lines." After recognizing a distinct connection between Dryden's theory and practise during the heroic period, Mr. Collins proceeds. "A comparison of such statements of individual opinion as are to be found in Dryden's essays, prefaces, and dedications regarding points of dramatic technic, with his practise in dramatic composition, leads to the discovery of the lack of any *exact* organic connection in *every* particular between the two: an attempt to show either a complete reconciliation between theory and praxis or a complete divergence of each from the other leads to no precise results."

The obvious comment on this is that the connection which was sought in certain details of dramatic theory and practise might have been found in the general spirit of the two. Dryden was far too careless a play-wright to work out every detail according to theory: but the essays and plays of any particular period were acted upon by the same general influences, were expressions of the same personality at a particular stage of its development, and one would expect to find in them substantial agreement as to mood and purpose.



of these Dryden, with the fine enthusiasm of a young poet still upon him, has not yet settled upon a literary ideal, has not yet submitted himself to the dominance of a formal scheme of theory ; and the criticism of this time is full of genuine appreciations of literature and remarkably modern discussions of literary problems. The second period exhibits a striking unity of development : Dryden becomes the great literary favorite of the court ; in his serious plays he furnishes precisely the heroic literature which the court demands ; and in his criticism, being obliged to defend this literature, he stretches the doctrines of neoclassicism to include the theory of it, and, in self-defense, attacks the rival drama of the great Elizabethans. During the third period our author's central motive is rebellion against all that he has lately believed in and supported : attacked by numberless foes, he is neglected, if not actually discountenanced by the king ; in his serious plays he discontinues the heroic manner for imitation of Shakespeare, while in his comedy he attacks a notorious court vice ; in his criticism he returns to the enthusiasms of his first period, making it his special concern to defend real poetry, above all that of the Elizabethans, against carping fault-finders. At the beginning of the fourth period Dryden is called back, in time of need, to the service of the court ; but now, instead of being expected to write plays for the royal amusement, he is set to produce in rapid succession, pamphlets and satires in defense of his master's cause : and the criticism produced during this period is, as one might expect, meager in quantity, and as to its spirit, coldly rationalistic, approximating the character of eighteenth century English rationalism. During his fifth period our author gains his livelihood chiefly by catering to the constantly growing literary public, and thus gains moral and intellectual independence ; after having failed at play-writing he gives almost undivided attention to his translations : his



time and energy being now entirely taken up by purely literary labors, his critical dissertations, some of them long and carefully worked out, gradually increase in spirit and originality till they resemble those of the first and third periods; they differentiate themselves from these by an evenness of tone and a certainty of grasp, and, more especially, by an evident attempt on Dryden's part to harmonize his instinctive feelings toward literature with his reasoned judgments.

## II.

I have not been able to discover a clean-cut, logical development either in Dryden's critical methods or in his formal literary creed. In 1665, when he wrote the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, he seems to have been master of all the critical tools which he was to use during his long and active career. He never formally adopted and defended the doctrines of any critical school. The periods in his critical evolution which I have attempted to define are, at least in chief part, the results of his adaptation to changing conditions. But these changing conditions did not impose upon him a profession of faith in abstract principles. Each new environment called for defense of, or opposition to, certain literary men or literary types; and though the development of critical theory is of the utmost importance to the student of esthetics, it made little difference to Dryden, or to those whom he tried to please, just how he went about his task. Therefore it is his literary allegiances, rather than his literary methods or theories, which divide our author's criticism into periods.

In stating that abstract theories did not furnish the points of departure for Dryden's critical development I do not wish to imply that the periods of this development are



formally indistinguishable. With our author's changing environment and the consequent variation in his literary motives and purposes there naturally went alterations in spirit more or less clearly mirrored in his formal critical theory. Before attempting formally to characterize Dryden's critical periods it will be necessary to make a classification of critical methods. The history of criticism may be roughly represented as a long conflict between two parties: on the one side are those who insist on understanding what they enjoy, or, as it has often worked out in practice, enjoying only what they understand; on the other are those who allow full play to their instinctive feelings, either making no inquiry for systematic explanations, or, when these are given, attempting to bend them to the task of justifying the pleasurable emotion already experienced. These parties represent two opposite types of mind—the rationalistic and the romantic.

In Dryden's time the rationalists were, as has been remarked above, of two sorts: on the one hand were those of the French school, usually called neoclassicists, rationalizing literature by creating it in accordance with logical principles; on the other were the representatives of the English school achieving much the same result by holding literature down to the good-sense standards of ordinary life.<sup>1</sup> The real romanticist, of course, has no critical method; absence of method is the very essence of his way of looking at art. When he begins to account for the charm of romantic literature, as did the critics of the nineteenth century, he develops in the direction of a larger rationalism. A really romantic critic, in the sense in which I am using the term, is not merely one who defends romantic literature—the most cold-blooded modern rationalist can do that—but one who defends

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 117, note.



it, as Matthew Arnold so often did, by an immediate appeal to the emotions.

Looking back on the long struggle between romanticism and rationalism, we usually give our sympathy to the former, while we visit with something like scorn the dogmatic blindness of the latter. And it must be confessed that, judged by the standards of our taste, the rationalist of the past has usually been in the wrong: he has habitually supposed his analysis complete when, perhaps, the very heart of the matter has escaped him. But although the rationalist of outlived periods loses nearly all the cases which he pleads before the jury of modern opinion, it is true, nevertheless, that in one sense the history of criticism exhibits him in the character of victor. His analyses have never been complete; he has never been able, either to justify the literature which instinct has recognized as great or to outline a successful theory for the production of such literature. But, from age to age, his critical scheme of things has widened tremendously. The very attacks of the romanticists have forced upon him doctrines which have permitted the formal recognition of the romantic types of literature. The majority of modern critics, pouring out the vials of their wrath upon seventeenth century rationalists, are merely later rationalists with a widened scheme of esthetic theory.

It is true that during the seventeenth century the rationalistic creed seemed to be narrowing itself down, crystalizing itself. Just at this time, nevertheless, men like Dryden, largely romantic in their temperament, were attempting to force upon it the historical manner of looking at literature.<sup>1</sup> In one sense the historical method combines, and mediates between, rationalism and romanticism:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 74, note 2.



it attempts, by historical analysis, to explain all types and view-points. But in another sense it is merely a rationalism made broad enough to include everything else ; its attempt is always to make intelligible the creation and character of works of art.

In attempting to give formal characterization to the periods of Dryden's critical development we should bear in mind these four methods of criticism, with the definitions which have been given to them : the romantic, the French rationalistic, or neoclassic, the English rationalistic, and the historical. One should also remember that Dryden's transitions were not conscious and formal, that he was always bent on vindicating his man, his poem, his type of literature, never on exhibiting a method of criticism. With the reservations which these statements imply the following generalizations are approximately accurate. During his first period Dryden used practically all four of the methods which have been defined above ; but the period is given its prevailing character by the fact that the English rationalistic way of looking at literature played a decidedly subordinate part, and that the romantic method stood out prominently above the others. The second period was characterized by a kind of pseudo-neo-classicism—a classicism stretched and perverted into a defense of the English heroic play. It was in the third period that the romantic method came to its own : this is the only stage in the evolution of Dryden's theory at which the rationalistic spirit approached the vanishing point. The fourth period belonged entirely to the rationalistic mood ; and, though the distinction is sometimes difficult to make, it seems to me that it was English rationalism, rather than French, which dominated during this time. The fifth period resembles, in a limited sense, the first : in both of them we have all of Dryden's methods and theories side by side. The difference between the two lies in the fact that whereas in the first



period all of these methods and theories flourished simultaneously without any attempt, on Dryden's part, at a logical coördination, during the last, our author, with the spirit of the rationalist still strong upon him, toned them all down and attempted to bring them into harmony. Nevertheless the last period was marked, especially toward the end, by a decided dominance of the romantic manner. The historical method was not especially characteristic of any period : it was conspicuous at all the stages of Dryden's development except the fourth, the rationalistic stage.

WM. E. BOHN.



#### IV.—ITALIAN PROTOTYPES OF THE MASQUE AND DUMB SHOW.

##### I. HISTORY AND DEFINITION OF THE WORD MASQUE.

As the Italian origin of the Masque has been questioned in the latest and most elaborate investigation of the subject (R. Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, Wien und Leipzig, 1902), it seems worth while to examine the history of the word and the circumstances of its introduction into English. Brotanek thinks that it came from the French, but it is to be borne in mind in the first place that the form *masque* is not found in sixteenth century English; and in the second place, that the French *masque* has never meant the performance but always the performer or the domino worn. Cotgrave gives *masque* as the synonym for “a maske, *for a woman*,” but for “maske” without this qualification “*masquerade, masquerie, barboire*,” just as he gives for “mumery or mumming” “*mommerie, masquerade, barboire*.” Littré cites only one example of the use in French of *masque* for a form of entertainment, and that is from a modern author, with special reference to the English masques, which are elaborately described. It has hitherto been held that the first use of the word in English in the sense of an entertainment occurs in an entry in the *Liber Numerator. Scacarîi* of Henry VIII under date Easter, 1515, quoted by Collier, I, 78, n: “Johi Farlyon Custod. Vestuarum sive apparatusum omnium singulorum jocorum larvatorum vocat. Maskes Revelles and Disguysings.” But Mr. E. K. Chambers has made it clear in his *Notes on the History of the Revels Office*, just published, that John Farlyon was not appointed yeoman or keeper of the King’s vestures or apparel of masks, revels,



and disguisings till 1534,<sup>1</sup> and that Collier's 6 Henry VIII (1515) should be 26 Henry VIII (1535). Similarly the mention of the Palmer's mask, which Brotanek ascribes to 1518, must now be placed after Farlyon's death and the appointment of his successor, Bridges, in 1539, both these events being referred to in the document itself.<sup>2</sup> The first use of the word "maske" that I have found is in the Revels Accounts for 1527,—"6 [yds] for the black maskelers, and 6 for the great maske."<sup>3</sup> The court entertainment of Epiphany, 1512, later described by Hall as "a maske," is stated in the Accounts of that year to have been performed by "12 nobyll personages, inparylled with blew damaske and yelow damaske long gowns and hoods with hats after the maner of meskelyng in Etaly."<sup>4</sup> Another "maskalyne" after the manner of Italy is recorded under date March, 1519,<sup>5</sup> and Collier extracts from "The Kynges boke of payments" one made in December of the same year "opon a warraunt for the revells called a maskelyn."<sup>6</sup> We have also in the Accounts "4 pr. of hosen for the 4 maskellors" (1514), "the meskeler of New Hall," "maskeling gowns and hoods," "meskellyng hood," "meskellyng apparel," to prepare a meskeller," "four gentlemen in blue satin with meskelyn," (all in 1520), "a maskellar held at Greenwich" (1521) afterwards described three times in the same document as a "maskeller," "8 maskeler coats," "18 garments for the maskeller (1522), "a meskeler of 6 gentlemen" (1526).<sup>7</sup> *Mask* seems to come from a Teutonic root meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, vol. VII, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1517.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pt. II, p. 1605.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1497.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. I, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> I, 76, n.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I, p. 718; vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1550, 1552, 1556, 1557, 1558; vol. IV, p. 838.



a net, represented in O. E. by *max* (\**masc*) and in M. E. by *maske* (*Prompt. Parv.* *maske* of a *nette*, *macula*); in both M. E. and O. F. we have *mascle*, meaning a mesh or stain. It was perhaps through a confusion of native and foreign forms that these various uses arose. Hall, whose *Chronicle* was first published in 1542, uses in general the term "maske," but he has also "maskery" and "maskeler." Hall calls the performers "maskers," but a letter of 1519 quoted by Ellis uses the phrase "in maskyr." More in 1532 writes "their maskers taken of," and in Thomas's *Italian Grammar* (1548) *masker* translates *maschera*. In the face of this diversity of usage it appears impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the degree of influence exercised by French, Italian, and the older elements of English. But it seems probable that "maske" was preceded by "maskeler" and "maskelyn" as the name of the entertainment, and by "maskyr" for the domino worn.

When we pass from the origin of the word to the origin of the thing we reach surer ground. Brotanek, indeed, contends that the phrase, "after the manner of meskelyng in Etaly," quoted above from the *Revels Accounts*, refers only to the costumes, and he points out that at similar entertainments in 1510 Turkish, Russian, and Prussian costumes were used. But the *Accounts* show that in February, 1511, 21½ yards of blue velvet were used "for bonnets, Milan fashion," and at Christmas of the same year six ladies appeared "in Melen apparel,"<sup>1</sup> so that the Italian costume in 1512 was in itself no novelty; nor does Brotanek's theory explain why the revel held on March 7, 1519, is also called a "maskalyne" *after the manner of Italy*,<sup>2</sup> although the articles furnished include ladies' petticoats of Spanish work. But the really decisive authority

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 1496-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. I, p. 35.



on this issue is the fuller description in Hall's chronicle of the entertainment of 1512 referred to in the extract from the Revels Accounts quoted above :—

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold and after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silk bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leave and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

In the passage in Holinshed in which this paragraph is reproduced, the words "that knewe the fashion of it" and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen" are omitted, and Brotanek thinks the omission significant. As his explanation is vital to his whole theory of the origin of the Masque, it is only fair to give it in his own words :—

Offenbar empfand er [Holinshed] also den scheinbaren Widerspruch, der zwischen diesen beiden Sätzchen und dem vorausgehenden besteht, und fragte sich : wie sollten die Damen den Brauch bei diesen Unterhaltungen kennen, und wie darf die Aufführung plötzlich als etwas nur Ungewöhnliches bezeichnet werden, wenn es sich eine ganz neue Form handelte—denn so verstand schon er den Ausdruck "*a thyng not seen afore*."

Wenn wir aber, wie vorgeschlagen, den letzteren Ausdruck einzig auf das Costüm beziehen, die Bemerkung "*not a thyng commonly seen*" dagegen auf die Form der Maskerade, so fällt jeder Widerspruch sogleich hinweg, und die Weigerung einiger Damen erklärt sich folgendermassen : sie wussten von früher her, dass es zum guten Ton (*the fashion of it*) gehört und die Illusion aufrecht erhielt, wenn sie über den ungewöhnlichen Anblick der Vermummten (*a thing not commonly seen*) erschrocken thaten.

Now whatever may have been the motive of the omissions from Holinshed—and such omissions are not unusual in the copying of Abraham Fleming, who supplied the extracts from Hall—it must be said, with all respect to Brotanek,



whose investigation is a thoroughgoing and valuable one, that the English words will not bear the interpretation he places on them. "That knewe the fashion of it" does not mean "dass es zum guten Ton gehört," and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen" cannot be explained by a pretended terror of the ladies "über den ungewöhnlichen Anblick der Vermummten."

But why is it necessary to take Hall's words in any other than their obvious meaning? He evidently intended to establish a distinction between the court entertainment of Epiphany, 1512, and preceding entertainments of a similar character. He was not unaware of the general similarity, for immediately preceding the paragraph above quoted we have the following:—

And against Newyeres night, was made in the halle a Castle, gates, towers, and dungion, garnished with artillerie, and weapon after the moste warlike fashion: and on the frount of the castle, was written *le Fortresse dangerous*, and within the castle were vi. Ladies, clothed in Russet Satin, laide all over with leues of Golde, and evry owde, knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their heddes, coyfes, and cappes all of gold.

After this castle had been caried about the hal, and the quene had beheld it, in came the kyng with five other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangels of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of russet satin, embroudered with workes of fine golde bullion. These vi. assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, wer content to solace with them, and upon farther comunicacion, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knights into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished, out of their sightes.

Hall continues: "On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande." The obvious meaning is that the maske was "a thyng not seen afore in Englande," and the question arises, what was the novelty which distinguished this maske, in Hall's mind, from the entertainment he had just described? Disguisings, dances in costume with torches and dialogue,



had been known in England from the reign of Edward III, and are abundantly described by Hall himself. It is best to let him tell his own story, in spite of repetition: "These Maskers came in . . . . and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen." There seems no difficulty in understanding these lines. The maske was a novelty, although not unknown by hearsay, and because it was "not a thyng commonly seen," *i. e.*, not an established court usage, some ladies declined to take part in it. The phrase "the fashion of it" is sufficiently explained by the sentence: "thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is." This element of dancing and conversation between the maskers and selected spectators was new,<sup>1</sup> and is regarded by Hall as the characteristic feature of the maske. Thus he says of the eight maskers with white beards at New Hall, Essex, in September, 1519, that "they daunsed with ladies sadly, and communed not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers." When the Queen plucked off their visors it appeared that they were all "somewhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers." In the King's Maske, which followed, "every Masker toke a ladie and daunsed: and when they had daunsed and commoned together a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe them." So

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to be able to confirm this conclusion by the following extract from an unpublished doctoral thesis by John Chester Adams (May, 1904) in the Yale University Library, to which I had not access at the time the above paper was written:—"A scrupulously careful examination of all the existing evidence on the subject fails to reveal the slightest indication of any earlier masquerade at court in which the maskers, as on this occasion, in Hall's words, 'desired the ladies to daunce,' and 'daunced and commoned together' with them 'as the fashion of the Maske is.'" Dr. Adams and I, on this and other points, have arrived independently at the same conclusions.



Cavendish says in his *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*: "There wanted no dames, nor damoseles, meete or apt to daunce with the maskers."

We arrive then, relying mainly on Hall, at the following definition: "The masque was an evening entertainment in which the chief performers were masked courtiers, accompanied by torchbearers, all in costumes appropriate to the device presented: the elements of song and dialogue were developed later, the original nucleus being dances and conversation with spectators selected by the masquers."

When we consider the slight difference between the masque as thus defined and the earlier English entertainments known as disguisings, it is not surprising that the distinction Hall established should have been lost sight of by his successors. In Holinshed entertainments before 1512, extracted from Hall, are described in the side-notes as "maskes," and the term is even applied to a "mummerie" of 1400. Bacon, summing up the character of Henry VII at the end of his History, writes of him: "In triumphs of justs and tourneys and balls and masks (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator than seemed much to be delighted." Jonson in *The Masque of Augurs* (1623) makes Notch say to the Groom of the Revels: "Disguise was the old English word for a masque, sir, before you were an implement belonging to the Revels," and the groom replies: "There is no such word in the office now, I assure you, sir. I have served here, man and boy, a prenticeship or twain, and I should know." In *A Tale of a Tub* (1634), v, i, we have the following:—

*Pan.* A masque! what's that?

*Scri.* A mumming or a shew,  
With vizards and fine clothes.

*Clench.* A disguise, neighbour,  
Is the true word.



Still, the tradition of the foreign origin of the masque was not entirely lost. Marlowe makes Gaveston say in *Edward II*, I, i: "Music and poetry is his delight; Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night." And in Chapman's *Monsieur d'Olive*, I, i, Rhoderique looks back to the time "when Coaches, when Perwigges, and painting, when Maskes, and Masking: in a word when Court and Courting was unknowne."

## II. EARLY ITALIAN EXAMPLES.

If court entertainments of the kind described above were unknown in Italy before the sixteenth century, or if the means of communication between Italy and England at the time were slight, there would be some reason for rejecting the testimony of Hall's Chronicle and the Revels Accounts as to the Italian origin of the Masque. But the means of communication between the two countries were abundant, as every student of the Renaissance knows. The travels of Englishmen in Italy are frequently commented upon by the English and Italian writers of the time, and there had been for many years a steady stream of Italians to England. Brotanek himself, following Collier and other authorities, gives a list of Italians employed by Henry VIII, some of them in the preparation and performance of court entertainments. One of these, Leonardo Friscobaldo, gentleman usher of the Chamber, was granted an annuity of fifty marks in January, 1513,<sup>1</sup> and in January, 1515, was paid £247.12.7 for "diverse velwets, and other sylks for the disguysing."<sup>2</sup> Later in the same year Friscobaldo and Antonio Cavalero were employed in the decoration of a pageant to be called "the Pallys Marchallyn."<sup>3</sup> In 1517 there was

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer, vol. I, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, I, 75, n.

<sup>3</sup> Brewer, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1503.



also at the English court a musician Masacone, who later returned to Italy and composed a five-part song for the marriage entertainment of Duke Cosimo de' Medici (1539).<sup>1</sup>

The means of communication being admittedly ample, it remains to be proved that entertainments such as are described above had earlier parallels at the Italian courts. The use of the mask at Carnival time was common in Italy from a very early date, and allegorical entertainments or dances in costume, similar in character to the English pageants or disguisings, are found in Italy as early as the fourteenth century, when Uberti included a section *Del modo di triumphare* in his *Dittamondo*. But it is unnecessary to go so far back. Entertainments more nearly contemporary are likelier to have given the suggestion for the English masks. At the third marriage of Lucrezia Borgia (1501-2), there were elaborate masked dances in costume by torchlight at the Roman court, in which her brother Cesare took part,<sup>2</sup> and at the Carnival of 1501 the Venetian ambassador in vain tried to engage the Pope's attention on the subject of war against the Turks, because the latter was amusing himself by watching the maskers from a balcony (*quel stava a un balcon a veder mascare*).<sup>3</sup> A day or two later we read: "Si sta a' piaceri di far mascare, e il Papa non dà audientia." In 1503 even Cardinals appeared in masking costume (*da mascara*) and an allegorical entertainment was given which Burchard thus describes in his diary:—"Post prandium, in prima aula, factum fuit quoddam spectaculum ad instantiam Cucholi calcetarii, quod non erat neque Tragedia, neque Comedia, sed quedam inventiva ad laudem Papae et gloriam suam." Nor did Rome stand alone in these amusements. The Florentines were famous

<sup>1</sup> D'Ancona, *Origini* (second edition), II, 352, n.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, pp. 207-8, and 416-7 (Italian edition).

<sup>3</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, quoted by D'Ancona, II, 73.



for them, and the Venetians took their *momarie* with them even as far as Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> At Mantua in 1495 two representations were given at court, in the first of which the Ambassador of the Duke of Calabria appeared gorgeously attired to represent Virtue. The second was done entirely by Messer Zafrano and his family. In the triumphal car of Modesty he had his four children, and the elder daughter recited verses, in Latin and in the vulgar, all in praise of the reigning Marquis. Then the dancing was renewed, and lasted till eight hours after sunset to the great delight of all.<sup>2</sup>

This last entertainment is called a *Farsa*, and the same name is given to one devised by Sannazaro for Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, in 1492, which offers the closest parallel to the English masks "after the manner of Italy." In the midst of the hall a temple was built with twenty columns, upon which the sign of the cross with the arms of Castile was flown as Mahomet was driven out lamenting the recent victories of the Catholic kings in Granada. Then came Faith, richly dressed and crowned with laurel, celebrating the same, and next Gladness (Letizia) gorgeously clad, with three companions, playing on the viol, cornemuse flute, and rebeck. After a harmonious concord of voices and instruments, Gladness made a speech, concluding thus :—

A balli e canti  
Venite tutti quanti :—or giochi e risi.  
A che pur state assisi ?—O lieta schiera,  
Ecco qui Primavera :—ecco qui fiori,  
Ecco soavi adori ;—ecco diletto ;  
Ridete voi, e pianga sol Maometto.

"When Gladness had finished her speech, she scattered flowers and sweet herbs, and returned singing into the

<sup>1</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, quoted by D'Ancona, II, 124, n.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Johannes de Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, given in Torraca, *Il teatro italiano dei secoli XIII, XIV, XV*, pp. 326-7.



temple. Thence issued suddenly the trumpets playing, all richly clad after the same fashion, and after the fool, the most illustrious Prince of Capua with the others in masquerade (*mumia*), delicately clad after the fashion of the Lord of Castile in green and scarlet, with long robes of crimson silk, black bonnets, and their other garments, down to the feet, of damask and beaten gold, scarlet and green, and richly embroidered stockings, dancing with torches in their hands. Then each took a lady by the hand, and danced with her high and low (*ballò la sua alta e bassa*); and with torches in hand they returned, and so ended the feast for that evening.”<sup>1</sup>

Here we have an exact parallel with the English masque—disguised courtiers with torches, who dance with ladies selected from the spectators. In the entrance of the fool we have a prototype of the later English anti-masque.

### III. THE INTERMEDII.

In addition to these Representations and Farces, it was the custom, from the very beginning of the regular drama in Italy, to have allegorical dances between the acts. In studying this subject we have not only the invaluable help of D’Ancona, but more recent works by Angelo Solerti (*Le origini del melodramma. Testimonianze dei contemporanei*, 1903. *Gli albori del melodramma*, 1904–6). In both these works he quotes the remark of Giovan Battista Doni that “it has always been the custom to introduce into dramatic performances some kind of song, either in the form of *intermedii* between the acts, or within the act itself in connection with some event represented.” Thus the *Orfeo* of Poliziano (1471), which had originally the form of a *Sacra Rappresentazione*

<sup>1</sup> *Le opere volgari di Sannazaro* (1783), II, pp. 112–121.



or Miracle Play, ended with a kind of Carnival song by the Bacchantes, who carry off the head of Orpheus in triumph. The *Fabula di Caephalo* (1487), has songs and dances at the end of each of its five acts. A Florentine Farsa, attributed by D'Ancona to the end of the fifteenth century, has at the end of each act the direction : *suonasi o cantasi*. When the performance of Latin comedies became a regular feature of court life at Ferrara, these intercalated selections of vocal and instrumental music were elaborated into *intermedii*, in which dances in costume were the chief attraction, especially for spectators of small erudition. Those at the performance of the *Menaechmi* in 1491 are described by the Milanese ambassadors in a letter to their Duke: the first was a Morris dance with torches ; the second, Apollo with the Nine Muses, who sang to the accompaniment of the lute ; the third, a Morris dance of peasants with implements of labour, with which they beat time to the music. In 1499 there were still more elaborate *intermedii*, presented by 144 performers, all gorgeously attired. When the first Italian comedy, Ariosto's *Cassaria*, was acted in 1508, there were, of course, *intermedii*, and the spectators were especially pleased with a Morris dance of cooks, warmed with wine, wearing pans on which they beat time with wooden sticks. At the performance of Ariosto's second comedy, *Gli Suppositi*, in 1509, a spectator writes : "The *intermedii* were all of songs and music, and at the end of the comedy Vulcan with the Cyclops forged arrows to the sound of fifes, beating time with hammers and with bells attached to their legs, and having finished this business of the arrows with the blowing of bellows, they made a Morris dance with the said hammers."

There were new *intermedii* at the first performance of *I Suppositi* in verse at Rome in 1519, the last being a Morris dance representing the story of Gorgon. Elaborate



*intermedii* setting forth the myths of Jason, Venus, Neptune, Juno, and Cupid adorned the first representation of Bibbiena's *Calandra* at Urbino in 1513, and at the same time two other comedies were performed of which we know nothing beyond the names of the authors, Nicola Grassi, the Duke's Chancellor, and Guidobaldo Rugiero. But the writer of the ms. (probably the Duke's librarian) gives a full account of one of the *intermedii*, which had the rare distinction of being performed twice. In Grassi's comedy Italy appeared in this *intermedio*, tormented and despoiled by barbarians, and attempted to recite some lamentable verses. Twice, as if in an extremity of sorrow, she stopped in her recitation, and, as if bewildered, went off the stage, giving the spectators the impression that she had lost the power of speech. But in the second performance of this *intermedio* for the comedy of Rugiero, a few days later, as Italy called to her aid the Duke of Urbino, an armed man appeared in a splendid Morris dance, with a drawn sword in his hand, with which he drove away from about Italy the barbarians who had despoiled her. Then he turned to her while a most beautiful Morris dance was played, replaced her crown upon her head, and accompanied her in time to the music off the stage—a most magnificent spectacle. D'Ancona gives (II, 105–6) some of the verses recited by Italy on this occasion, and attributes them to Baldassare Castiglione, who visited the English Court in 1506 to receive the Order of the Garter on behalf of his master, the Duke of Urbino.

The *intermedii* were developed to such an extent that they distracted attention from the play, to the disgust of dramatists and critics. Trissino in his *Poetica* says: "Instead of choruses, there are introduced into the comedies of to-day music and dancing and other things required for *intermedii*, things altogether unconnected with the action of the comedy, and then so many buffoons and jesters are introduced that



they make another comedy, a most inconvenient thing, preventing the appreciation of the meaning of the play." Ingegneri in his *Discorso della Poesia rappresentativa* (1568) writes: "Comedies, however laughter-provoking they may be, are no longer appreciated, unless attention is drawn to them by sumptuous *intermedii* and very expensive shows." Grazzini (Il Lasca) in the Prologue to *La Strega* (1582) says: "There is no doubt that the splendour and beauty of the *intermedii*, which for the most part represent Muses, Nymphs, Loves, Gods, Heroes, and Demigods, injure comedy, and make it appear poor and ugly. . . . They used to make *intermedii* to help out the comedies, but now they make comedies to help out the *intermedii*." In a Madrigal by the same writer comedy complains of the *intermedii*, which were introduced for her adornment, and will soon deprive her of life unless Phoebus comes to her aid:—

*La Commedia che si duol degli Intermedii.*

Misera, da costor che già trovati  
 Fâr per servirmi e per mio ornamento  
 Lacerar tutta e consumarmi sento.  
 Questi empî e scellerati a poco a poco  
 Preso han lena e vigore  
 E tanto hanno or favore  
 Ch'ognun di me si prende scherno e gioco ;  
 E sol dalla brigata  
 S'aspetta e brama e guata  
 La maraviglia, ohimè ! degli intermedii.  
 E se tu non provvedi  
 Mi fia tosto da lor tolta la vita ;  
 Misericordia, Febo, aita, aita !

#### IV. RELATION TO ENGLISH DUMB SHOWS.

While the dramatists and critics lamented, the public were evidently at least as much interested in the *intermedii* as in the plays. Whether we take the account of the



Milanese ambassadors who were at Ferrara in 1491;<sup>1</sup> or Jano Pencaro's letters to Isabella d'Este Gonzaga in 1499;<sup>2</sup> or Isabella's own letters to her husband in 1502,<sup>3</sup> it is always the *intermedii* that are described at full length and lauded to the skies. When Alfonso Pauluzzo writes to the Duke of Ferrara in 1519 as to the performance of Ariosto's *Suppositi* in Rome, it is the *intermedio* that he singles out as the occasion for telling his master how much superior are the dramatic performances at Ferrara.<sup>4</sup> Now if this was the point of view of the educated Italian of the time, one can imagine what an impression would be made upon a travelling Englishman, by whom the spectacle of the *intermedii* would be much more readily appreciated than the complicated intrigue and witty dialogue of Italian comedy. Indeed in the preface to d'Ambra's *Cofanaria* (1565), acted at Florence with *intermedii* by Giovambattista Cini to celebrate the marriage of Don Francesco de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany, the custom of presenting *intermedii* is especially commended on the ground that it afforded pleasure to foreigners ignorant of Italian.

It will be noted that in what has been said above, the *intermedii* are associated with comedy. Ingegneri, in his *Discorso della poesia rappresentativa*, already quoted from, says that while *intermedii* are not only suitable to comedy, but are a very great ornament to it, in tragedy they can by no means be admitted: for the chorus must not leave the stage, and it is not becoming for an *intermedio* to perform

<sup>1</sup> *Nozze e comedie alla corte di Ferrara nel Febbraio 1491*—*Archivio storico lombardo*, Serie seconda, vol. I, Anno XI, pp. 751–3.

<sup>2</sup> *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XI, 177–189.

<sup>3</sup> *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice No. 11, Documenti LXVII–LXXIII.

<sup>4</sup> L'ultimo intermedio fu la moresca, che si representò la *Fabula de Gorgon*, et fu assai bella; ma non in quella perfectione chio ho visto representare in sala de Vostra Signoria.—Notes to *Supposes* in Heath's *Belles-Lettres Series*, p. 108.



its antics in their presence, seeing that they are grave persons overwhelmed by some national calamity. But this rule was not without exception, for we find that Lodovico Dolce, the Italian tragic writer best known in England,<sup>1</sup> introduced the following *intermedii* into the performance of the *Troiane* in 1566:—(1) discourse of Trojan citizens with the chorus about the national misfortunes; (2) appearance of Pluto and ghosts of slain Trojans; (3) Neptune in the Council of the Gods manifests his joy at the destruction of Troy; (4) appearance of other gods and goddesses, especially Venus and Juno.<sup>2</sup> When Dumb Shows were introduced into the first English tragedy, the authors of *Gorboduc* (1561–2) departed further from the Italian custom<sup>3</sup> by making the allegorical representations precede the various acts and explain the significance of each. A further difference has been sought in the lack of dialogue in the English counterparts of the *intermedii*, but this was not unusual in Italy, and while it is true that the Dumb Shows of *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta* (1566) answered to their name, in *Gismond of Salerne* (1567–8) Cupid and Megaera, who fulfil the same office, have speaking parts.

In connecting the mythological and allegorical figures with the action of the play, as in elaborating the construction of the later Masques, some of which had at least the semblance of a plot, the English dramatists improved upon

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Supposes* and *Jocasta* u. s., p. xxviii. To the evidence there given it may be added that Gabriel Harvey had copies of Dolce's *Medea* and *Thyestes* in his Library. See Todd's *Spenser*, Introduction, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinando Neri, *La tragedia italiana del Cinquecento*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> This again was not without exception. In Alamanni's *Flora* (1556), published in *Teatro italiano antico*, vol. IV, the *intermedii* by Andrea Lori precede the acts, and in this case, as in some others, they are connected with the plot of the play.



their Italian models; but the similarity of the English forms to the earlier Italian entertainments, and the abundant opportunities for contact and imitation leave no doubt as to the fact of their indebtedness, especially when, as in the case of the Masque, it is supported by direct contemporaneous evidence.

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.



## V.—THE SEGE OF TROYE.

### INTRODUCTION.

The hitherto unpublished English version of the Trojan war entitled *The Sege of Troye* exists in the unique Oxford ms., Rawlinson D 82. *The Sege of Troye* occupies second position in the manuscript, being preceded by a brief prose redaction of Statius' *Thebaid* and followed by an extract from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.<sup>1</sup> The version in question is an anonymous prose text of the fifteenth century,<sup>2</sup> written in the Southern dialect.<sup>3</sup> The story, which is told in simple,

<sup>1</sup> The redaction of Statius' *Thebaid*, entitled *The Sege of Thebes*, extends from fol. 1a to fol. 10a; *The Sege of Troye*, from fol. 11a to fol. 24b; the extract from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, entitled *The Court of Venus*, from fol. 25a to fol. 34a. The Court of Venus opens with v. 2377 of the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis* (ed. G. C. Macaulay, E. E. T. S., ex. ser., LXXXII) and extends, with the omission of the lines to Chaucer (vv. 2941–2959), to v. 2970.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence that *The Sege of Troye* was written in the fifteenth century is to be found in the appearance of aphetic forms, such as crece (175, 14), longing (187, 32), lighting (194, 25), like (195, 22); of double consonants after a short vowel, as in goddis (179, 35), shippes (183, 5), fressh (188, 33), ravesshing (190, 3), and grettest (194, 34); in the survival of the strong conjugation in flowe (180, 32); of intervocalic *d* in fader (177, 23), togidre (179, 23), weder (188, 14); in the concurrence of the adverbial endings *es* and *st* in myddes (184, 22) and ayenst (175, 24); of *s* and *ce* in adverbs and nouns of French extraction, such as hens (176, 29), thens (187, 28), malis (176, 13), licens (179, 30), and licence (176, 17), defence (179, 20), avice (181, 13); of *h* and *th* in the third person pronoun (cf. p. 1, note 3); and of early and late French formations, such as aventur (180, 1), avice (181, 13) and aduerting (174, 22).

<sup>3</sup> The dialect of *The Sege of Troye* is shown to be Southern by the appearance of *ō* as representative of W. G. *ǣ* in londe (175, 32), holding (189, 16), won (189, 26) and stone (199, 26); of *ū* as representative of the *i*-umlaut of O. E. *u* in lust (177, 2); of *ē* as representative of O. E. *ēa* in sle (183, 2), sleing (183, 23); of *ch* as representative of O. E. *č* in eueryche (180, 28), moche (189, 29); of O. E. *th* in writeth (174, 4), axeth (196, 23); of O. E. *n*



almost naive, language, and in a brisk, lively fashion, opens with the Argonautic Expedition and ends with the Destruction of Troy.

In the course of his narrative the author cites Guido five times (p. 174, l. 1; 175, 31; 177, 12; 184, 26; 199, 33), Dares twice (174, 2; 199, 32). A comparison of the English text with the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne indicates that the former is, in the main, an epitomized redaction of Guido. The exact relation of *The Sege of Troye* to its Latin original is indicated in the following detailed comparison between the two.

*The Sege of Troye.**Guido.*<sup>1</sup>

p. 174, l. 5	<	Sig. a 1 rect. col. 2, ll. 23-30.
174, 5-175, 2	<	a 1 vers, 2, 29-a 2 rect. 1, 34.
175, 2-10	<	a 2 vers. 1, 17-2, 9.
175, 11-12	<	a 2 vers. 2, 13-16; 25-27.
175, 12-16.	—	No parallel.
175, 16-18	<	a 2 rect. 1, 34-41.
175, 19-22	<	a 2 vers. 1, 32-2, 9.
175, 23-27	<	a 2 vers. 2, 13-28.
175, 27-28	<	a 3 rect. 1, 8-13.
175, 29-31	<	a 2 vers. 2, 28-a 3 rect. 1, 2.
175, 31-32	<	a 3 rect. 1, 3-5.
175, 32-35	<	a 3 rect. 2, 25-28; a 3 vers. 1, 7-8.
176, 1-5	<	a 3 rect. 1, 11-15.
176, 5-7	<	a 3 rect. 2, 18-22.
176, 7-12	<	a 3 vers. 1, 10-24.
176, 12-31	<	a 4 rect. 1, 20-2, 8.
176, 32-177, 2	<	a 4 rect. 2, 8-a 4 vers. 1, 15.
177, 3-9	<	a 4 vers. 1, 34-a 5 rect. 1, 4.
177, 10-11	—	No parallel.
177, 11-18	<	a 5 rect. 1, 23-37; a 5 vers. 1, 25-34.

in the infinitive, beñ, (175, 7; 185, 16), and in the preterit plurals, werenñ (174, 8), tokenñ (177, 5); of the third person pronoun here (177, 5), her (178, 8) and hem (178, 7); and of the plurals, childerenñ (185, 24), and breþerenñ (182, 10).

<sup>1</sup> All references to Guido are made to the Strassburg 1486 impression of the *Historia Trojana*.



*The Sege of Troye.**Guido.*

177, 19-178, 3	<	a 6 vers. 1, 37-a 7 rect. 1, 9.
178, 3-15	<	a 2 rect. 1, 34-vers. 1, 2.
178, 16-19	<	a 6 vers. 1, 26-32.
178, 19-35	<	a 6 vers. 2, 33-a 7 rect. 1, 8.
178, 35-36	<	a 7 rect. 1, 39-2, 10.
179, 1-9	<	a 7 vers. 2, 8-b 1 rect. 1, 1.
179, 10-13	<	a 6 vers. 2, 41-a 7 rect. 1, 9.
179, 14-16	<	a 7 rect. 1, 35-19; a 7 vers. 2, 40- b 1 rect. 1, 1.
179, 17-28	<	b 1 vers. 1, 17-2, 37.
179, 29-180, 6	<	b 2 rect. 1, 1-2, 38.
180, 7-8.	—	No parallel.
180, 9-35	<	b 2 rect. 2, 27-b 3 rect. 1, 40.
180, 35-181, 2	<	b 2 rect. 1, 43-2, 24.
181, 3-5	<	b 3 rect. 1, 33-2, 4.
181, 6-8.	—	No parallel.
181, 9-21	<	b 3 rect. 2, 5-32.
181, 21-25.	—	No parallel.
181, 26-30	<	b 3 vers. 1, 12-42.
181, 30-31.	—	No parallel.
181, 32-182, 3	<	a 3 vers. 1, 20-a 5 rect. 1, 15.
182, 3-14	<	b 3 vers. 1, 35-b 4 rect. 1, 38.
182, 14-19	<	b 4 rect. 2, 13-32.
182, 20-183, 29	<	b 4 vers. 1, 9-b 6 vers. 2, 1.
183, 30-33	<	b 6 vers. 2, 1-7.
183, 33-34	<	c 1 rect. 2, 1-3.
183, 34-184, 14	<	c 1 vers. 1, 24-2, 15.
184, 14-185, 9	<	c 1 vers. 2, 15-c 2 vers. 1, 39.
185, 10-12	<	c 1 vers. 2, 12-15.
185, 12-14	<	c 2 rect. 1, 38-42.
185, 14-15	<	c 2 rect. 2, 28-30.
185, 15-17.	—	No parallel.
185, 17-18	<	c 2 rect. 1, 3-10.
185, 18-19.	—	No parallel.
185, 19-22	<	c 2 rect. 2, 35-c 2 vers. 1, 3.
185, 22-29	<	c 1 rect. 2, 17-c 1 vers. 1, 21.
185, 30-186, 21	<	c 3 rect. 1, 21-c 3 vers. 2, 21.
186, 22-25.	<	No parallel.
186, 26-187, 1	<	c 3 vers. 2, 29-c 4 rect. 2, 22.
187, 1-4.	—	No parallel.
187, 5-10	<	c 4 vers. 1, 25-2, 31.
187, 11-26	<	c 5 rect. 1, 34-c 6 rect. 2, 21.
187, 26-28	<	c 6 rect. 2, 35-c 6 vers. 1, 2.



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... 39; d 3 vers. 2, 19-  
... 165 ff. ).  
... 38.  
... 165 ff. ).  
... 27-e 1 rect. 2, 20.  
... 2, 10.  
... 24-e 3 vers. 2, 8.  
... 35-39; f 6 rect. 2, 12-  
... 12-24.  
... 1-16.  
... 2, 19-26.  
... 2, 22-g 2 vers. 1, 37.  
... 6-33.  
... parallel.  
... 1, 40-2, 2; g 4 vers. 1,  
... parallel.  
... 2, 1-10; g 3 rect. 1, 2-3;  
... rect. 2, 25-28; g 4 vers. 2,  
... 18.  
... rect. 1, 40-2, 14; g 4 vers. 2,  
... 38; h 4 rect. 2, 43-49; i 1  
... 1, 14-16; k 5 vers. 2, 1.  
... rect. 1, 8-15; g 5 rect. 2, 6-8.  
... vers. 2, 20-22; g 5 vers. 1, 23-  
...  
... vers. 2, 19-24; k 5 vers. 2, 1-5.  
... vers. 2, 25-27; k 5 vers. 2, 5-8.  
... rect. 1, 16-19.  
... parallel.  
... 4 vers. 1, 8-16; k 5 rect. 2, 39-  
42



*The Sege of Troye.**Guida.*

192, 21	<	h 4 rect. 2, 10-18.
192, 22	<	g 5 rect. 1, 8-15; h 6 rect. 2, 20-21.
192, 22-28	<	i 4 vers. 2, 19-24; k 5 vers. 2, 1-5.
192, 29-31	<	i 4 vers. 1, 3-9.
192, 31-33	<	k 2 vers. 1, 13-15.
192, 34-193, 9	<	e 6 rect. 1, 23-2, 23.
193, 10-14	<	i 1 rect. 1, 14-18.
193, 15	<	h 6 rect. 1, 33-41; h 6 vers. 1, 1-2; i 5 rect. 1, 21.
193, 15-17	<	h 6 rect. 2, 28-30; h 6 vers. 2, 35-43.
193, 17-20	<	i 1 rect. 1, 14-17.
193, 20-22	<	i 1 rect. 1, 16-18.
193, 23-35	<	i 1 rect. 1, 20-i 1 vers. 1, 8.
193, 35-37	<	m 1 rect. 1, 5-m 4 rect. 1, 31.
194, 1-5	<	i 5 rect. 1, 16-17.
194, 5-6	<	i 5 rect. 2, 29-15 vers. 1, 2.
194, 16-21.	—	No parallel.
194, 21-22	<	i 3 vers. 1, 5-10.
194, 22-24	<	k 4 vers. 2, 2-4; i 6 rect. 1, 11-14.
194, 24-26.	—	No parallel.
194, 27-195, 3	<	i 6 rect. 1, 16-i 6 vers. 1, 4.
195, 3-5	<	k 1 rect. 1, 29-40.
195, 5-8.	—	No parallel.
195, 9	<	i 4 vers. 1, 11-24.
195, 10-28	<	i 6 vers. 1, 4-k 1 rect. 1, 16.
195, 29-197, 3	<	k 2 vers. 1, 4-k 3 rect. 1, 10; k 3 rect. 2, 9-k 4 rect. 1, 36.
197, 1-3	<	k 4 rect. 2, 24-28.
197, 4-9	<	k 5 vers. 1, 17-42; k 5 vers. 2, 8- k 6 rect. 2, 11.
197, 10-16	<	k 6 vers. 1, 33-36; k 6 vers. 2, 6- 17.
197, 27-198, 7	<	l 3 vers. 1, 20-l 4 rect. 1, 6.
198, 8-20	<	l 4 rect. 2, 26-l 4 vers. 2, 13.
198, 21-199, 3	<	m 1 rect. 1, 38-m 1 rect. 2, 8; m 1 rect. 2, 41-m 2 rect. 1, 36; m 3 rect. 2, 5-10, 30-41.
199, 4-20	<	m 4 vers. 2, 25-m 5 vers. 2, 26.
199, 21-23	<	m 5 vers. 2, 27-m 6 rect. 1, 14.
199, 24	<	m 6 rect. 1, 42-43.
199, 24-26	<	n 1 rect. 1, 8-21.



<i>The Siege of Troye.</i>		<i>Guido.</i>
199, 26-28	<	m 5 vers. 2, 6-25.
199, 30-31	<	n 1 rect. 1, 38-n 1 vers. 2, 16.
199, 31-33	<	n 3 vers. 1, 23-o 6 rect. 2, 17.
199, 33-200, 3	<	Dares (cf. pp. 165 ff.).
200, 3-4.	—	No parallel.
200, 4-6	<	n 2 rect. 1, 34-n 2 vers. 1, 8.
200, 6-8	<	n 2 rect. 1, 12-28.
200, 8-9.		No parallel.

As may be gathered from the foregoing table, the English redactor has abridged the contents of his original throughout. Of Guido's sixty-four books<sup>1</sup> he has consulted but thirty-seven, leaving the twenty-seven that remain entirely unheeded. Of the thirty-seven books consulted he has, moreover, reproduced to a degree at all approaching fulness but four (lib. I, II, V, VI), the remaining thirty-three being either epitomized, as in the case of twelve (XXXIII-XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII, XLIV, XLVII-XLIX), or reproduced only in part, as in the case of the other twenty-one (III, IV, VII, IX-XI, XIII-XV, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVI, XXXI, XXXIII, XLVI, L, LI, LIII-LV). In general the redactor omits and abbreviates more and more as his story advances. Thus he reproduces much less fully the Latin account of the Siege of Troy (chaps. IX-XV; Guido, XXXIII-LIV) than he does the Latin account of events prior to the Siege (I-VIII; Guido, I-XXXII) and entirely omits Guido's concluding account of the Return of the Greeks (LVII-LXIV).

The character of the redactor's abridgments is not, however, such as to indicate that he was at all deficient as a story-teller. With a due sense of the natural limitations of his theme he has omitted all needless digressions and episodes, such as Guido's moral reflections and learned dis-

<sup>1</sup> The number of books found in the Strassburg 1486 impression. The numbering differs in different impressions.



quisitions,<sup>1</sup> his personal descriptions of the principal Greeks (e 1 vers. 2, 3—e 2 rect. 2, 31) and Trojans (e 2 rect. 2, 33—e 3 rect. 1, 40), and his story of the love of Troilus and Briseida (i 2 rect. 1, 25—i 4 rect. 2, 15), of the displacement of Agamemnon by Palamedes (k 1 rect. 1, 21—k 1 vers. 2, 17), and of the Return of the Greeks. A desire for brevity and dispatch appears, in like manner, to have dictated his omission of a large number of Guido's repetitious speeches and tedious accounts of battles, and his reduction of the remainder to a much smaller compass than they occupy in his original.<sup>2</sup> In short, by skilful excision and judicious fusion the redactor has boiled down the contents of Guido to less than one-tenth of its original bulk.

Save for this constant habit of abbreviation, the English author, except in two passages shortly to be considered, reproduces his Latin text with essential fidelity.<sup>3</sup> Such

<sup>1</sup>Such as Guido's reflections upon the sudden passion of Medea for Jason (a 5 vers. 1, 37—a 6 rect. 1, 31) and of Helen for Paris (d 3 rect. 2, 32—d 3, vers. 1, 41), and upon Jason's faithlessness to Medea (b 1 rect. 1, 1—2, 15); and his disquisitions upon the origin of various proper names (a 1 vers. 1, 28—2, 28; a 3 vers. 2, 14—a 4 rect. 1, 17), upon the golden image of Apollo (e 4 vers. 1, 34—2, 43), and the beginnings of idolatry (e 5 rect. 1, 1—e 6 rect. 2, 23), etc.

<sup>2</sup>He reduces, for example, Guido's innumerable speeches to four and his nineteen distinct engagements to six. The speeches of Antenor to Peleus, Telamon, Castor and Pollux, and Nestor (c 3 vers. 1, 38—c 4 vers. 1, 22), of Deiphobus, Helenus, and Troilus to Priam (d 1 rect. 1, 19—d 2 rect. 2, 43), of Priam to the Trojan princes (d 2 vers. 1, 26—2, 21), and of Agamemnon to the Greek leaders (e 3 vers. 2, 28—e 4 rect. 2, 22) are omitted outright. All the others are greatly abridged. Only in two instances does the translator introduce additional speeches of his own. Thus he makes Jason repeat to Peleus (181, 30—182, 4) the account of the indignities sustained by the Argonauts at the hands of Laomedon already related (176, 7—177, 2), in accordance with Guido (a 4 vers. 2, 32—a 5 rect. 1, 3), and represents (187, 20—24) Hector as addressing to Paris a portion of the speech which in Guido (c 5 vers. 2, 14—c 6 rect. 2, 15) he directed entirely to Priam.

<sup>3</sup>Cases of close verbal parallelism are not infrequent. The English "viol" (179, 21) translates the Latin "fiam" (b 1 vers. 2, 19); the



variations in substance as he allows himself are of very minor importance and appear to indicate that he read large sections of Guido at a time and then reproduced them from memory.<sup>1</sup> Only on three occasions does he introduce details for which no hint exists in Guido. Thus (180, 27) he designates the dragon's teeth "cursed seed," and states that armed men sprang up therefrom through "might of þe deuell;" he relates (181, 21-25) that Jason afterwards de-

English "þe withholding" (186, 19), the Latin "detentor" (c 3 vers. 2, 13); "restitucion" (186, 36), the Latin "restitutione" (c 4 rect. 2, 19); "if hit lust you" (187, 26), "si placet" (c 6 rect. 2, 36); "in a poer ~~andilours~~ array" (195, 34), "inermis" (k 2 vers. 1, 18).

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the English text (179, 19-20) Medea does not, as in Guido (b 1, vers. 2, 21-22), instruct Jason to anoint himself with a certain salve when about to encounter the bulls, but performs this office for him herself prior to his departure for the isle of the Golden Fleece; Jason (180, 3-5) does not set forth to the isle alone, as in Guido (b 2, rect. 1, 34-38), but is attended by Hercules and other companions; Hercules (182, 5-11), instead of going of his own accord to report to Telamon, Castor, Pollux, and Nestor the injuries sustained by the Argonauts at the hands of Laomedon (b 3, vers. 2, 3-8), is sent on that errand by Peleus; the name Pylos (182, 11) is applied by the English redactor to Nestor, not, as in Guido (b 4, rect. 1, 23-28), to the kingdom of Nestor; the Greeks (182, 15), about to depart on their first expedition against Troy, assemble "in a faire grene playne," not, as in Guido (b 4, rect. 2, 13-14), at the port of Thessaly "cum . . . virent prata variorum florum coloribus illustrata"; after the Greeks have landed at Simois, Castor (182, 29) advances against Troy while Peleus (183, 16-17) remains behind by the ships, whereas in Guido (b 4, vers. 2, 41-43) the case is exactly reversed; in the English text it is Hercules (183, 4), not Peleus (b 4, vers. 1, 38-2, 2), who promises rich booty to the Greeks in case they capture the city; it is Castor (183, 10-13), not Nestor (b 5, rect. 1, 26-2, 10), who is the first to engage the Trojans, and Telamon, not Nestor, who comes to the rescue; finally, Hercules (183, 22) does not, as in Guido (b 5, rect. 2, 8-22), slay Laomedon unaided, but with the assistance of other Greeks; though a mistaken identification of Hector's dead body with a golden statue of Hector (i 6, vers. 1, 40-2, 2), the English redactor is led (196, 5-7) to represent the body, not the statue, as gazing "fresshly and sternely" upon the beholder "with sword drawne in honde"; Achilles (198, 4-5) is slain by an unnamed warrior "vnder fote," not, as in Guido (l 3, vers. 2, 26-28; l 4, rect. 1, 3-5), by Paris and his attendants.



serted Medea and her two children "and toke anoper lady;" and (185, 25-26) that Ganymede and Polydorus were sons of Priam. These details he evidently extracted from current tradition.<sup>1</sup> To an evident misreading of Guido's account (n 2 rect. 1, 34 ff.) of the quarrel between Æneas and Antenor is to be ascribed the incorrect statement (200, 4) that Æneas slew Antenor.

In two passages, however, the author of *The Sege of Troye* has, contrary to the practice of any other English redactor of Guido,<sup>2</sup> made direct use of Guido's ultimate source, the

<sup>1</sup> Thus the devilish origin of the dragon's teeth was unquestionably suggested by the Christian tradition with regard to the seed of Cain (cf. O. F. Emerson, *Modern Lang. Publ.*, xxi, No. 4, 1906, pp. 831 ff.); the story of the fate that overtook Medea and her children is, of course, told by Euripides; and mention of Polydorus as a son of Priam is made by Virgil, *Aen.*, iii, 43, and Dictys, ii, 20, 22, 27. From what source the author derived his notion that Ganymede was also a son of Priam it is not possible to determine. According to one tradition (Cicero, *Tusc.*, i, 22, Euripides, *Troad.*, 822), Ganymede was son to Laomedon, from whom the transfer to Priam might easily have been accomplished.

<sup>2</sup> All other English versions of the story of Troy are derived either from Benoît or Guido or both. From Benoît come *The Seege of Troye*, ed. C. H. Wager, New York, 1899, and the Troy materials in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 1901, E. E. T. S., ex. ser., lxxxix, lxxxix; from Guido *The Gest Historiale* of the Destruction of Troy, ed. Panton and Donaldson, 1869 and 1874, E. E. T. S., xxxix and lvi, the two anonymous metrical fragments formerly ascribed to Barbour, ed. K. Horstmann, 1886, "Barbour's des schott. Nationaldichters Legendensammlung," ii, 217 ff., Lydgate's *Troy Book*, now in process of preparation for the E. E. T. S., and the anonymous poem contained in ms. Laud 595, ed. J. E. Wülfing, 1902-3, E. E. T. S., cxxi, cxxii; and from both these authors Chaucer derived the materials which he used, to supplement Boccaccio, in his *Troilus and Criseyde*. Vid. E. T. Granz, 1888, "Ueber die Quellengemeinschaft des me. Gedichtes *Seege oder Batayle of Troye* u. des mhd. Gedichtes vom troj. Kriege des Konrad von Würzburg" and Wager, "*The Seege of Troye*," p. xli ff.; G. L. Hamilton, 1905, "Gower's Use of the Enlarged *Roman de Troie*," *Modern Language Publications*, xx, 179 ff.; W. Boch, 1883, "Zur Destruction of Troy," pp. 5 ff., and H. Brandes, 1885, "Die me. Destruction of Troy u. ihre Quelle," *Englische Studien*, viii,



*De Excidio Trojae Historia* of Dares Phrygius.<sup>1</sup> Evidence of this supplementary reversion to Dares is to be found, not in the English author's two references to Dares, which were, in all probability, simply copied from Guido,<sup>2</sup> but in the presence in the two passages in question of details absent in the latter but present in the earlier historian.

Thus in the first of these two passages (188, 13-189, 35), which treats of the Rape of Helen, the English author agrees with Dares<sup>3</sup> and differs from Guido in respect to the following particulars. He states (188, 15-24), in the first place, that Paris, on his arrival in the isle "Citheron̄," visits "a temple of Diane, the grete goddess." Guido (d 3 rect. 1, 20-21) represents this temple as sacred to Venus ("Erat autem in hac insula citherea quoddam templum in honore veneris"); Dares (cap. ix), who likewise mentions a "fanum Veneris," alone adds the significant remark that Alexander there sacrificed to Diana ("Dianae sacrificavit"). In the second place, the English description of Paris' demeanor in the temple after the arrival of Helen finds an exact analogue in Dares, none whatsoever in Guido. Thus Paris (188,

398 ff. ; G. L. Hamilton, 1903, a note on Lydgate's sources, "Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne," p. 14, note 1 ; D. Kempe, 1901, "A Middle English Tale of Troy," *Englische Studien*, xxix, 1 ff., and E. Wülfing, "Das Laud *Troy book*," *ibid.*, 374 ff. ; J. W. Broatch, 1898, "The Indebtedness of Chaucer's *Troilus* to Benoît's *Roman*," *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, No. 1, 14 ff., and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Guido derived the main substance of his *Historia* from Benoît de Ste. More, who, in his turn, based the earlier portion of his *Roman de Troie* upon Dares, the later portion upon Dictys.

<sup>2</sup> In both instances Dares is cited in immediate conjunction with Guido, first (174, 2) as authority for the story of Jason and Pelleus, and secondly (199, 82) for the story of the Return of the Greeks. Since Dares (cap. i) devotes but a few lines to the story of Jason and Pelleus and says nothing whatever of the Return of the Greeks, it is quite evident that the English author has simply borrowed his Dares citations from Guido who cites that author constantly.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. F. Meister, Leipsic, 1873.



29-189, 1) "made his walke and stacions" in the temple, "casting alwey his eye and sight priuely toward the fayre Elyn̄." The latter, on her part, "seing this fressh lusty Paris so wel demenyng in his aray, walking alwey beside to and fro, sodenly was so sette in hir hert þat all oþer thinges she foryete." Just so Dares (x): "[Alexander] conscius formae suae in conspectu eius ambulare coepit cupiens eam videre." Guido, on the other hand, has nothing whatsoever to say of Paris' walking up and down in the temple, but writes (d 3 vers. 2, 27 ff.) merely "quam vt vidit inuidit dum de facili facibus accensis veneris in veneris templo desiderio fluctuat anxioso." In the third place, Dares (x) alone presents a parallel to the English statement (189, 14) that, when Paris and Helen had exchanged greetings, Paris charged "his shipmen̄ that his shipp were vnder saile." Finally, the source of the English passage (189, 27-28; 32-33), "Priamus ful glad in hert fore þe taking of Elyn̄, trusting by hir to haue hadde ayeñ his suster . . . . lete aray and ordeine þe mariage bitweñ Paris and Elyn̄" is clearly to be found in Dares' words (xi), "Priamus gavisus est sperans Graecos ob causam recuperationis Helenae sororem Hesionam reddituros. Helenam . . . . Alexandro conjugem dedit." Guido mentions neither the marriage nor the hope expressed by Priam with regard to the return of Hesiona.

Still further evidence of the dependence of the English text upon Dares occurs in a second passage, in which the author, like Dares, ends his story of the Trojan war with an exact summary of the Greek and Trojan slain. Compare the English words (199, 33-200, 3), "But fro þe lying of þe sege into þe ende weʀ slayñ oñ þe Grekes party viij<sup>c</sup>M<sup>l</sup> vij<sup>c</sup> xvj meñ; and oñ þe Troians party weʀ slayñ vj<sup>c</sup>M<sup>l</sup> and ix<sup>c</sup> meñ" with the Latin (XLIV) "ruerunt ex Argivis . . . . hominum milia DCCCLXXXVI et ex Troianis ruerunt . . . . hominum milia DCLXXVI." This summary of the slain does not occur in



Guido, who derived his account of the Capture of Troy from that later portion of Benoît which is based upon Dictys.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing investigation of the sources of *The Sege of Troye* has, for purposes of clearness, been conducted upon the assumption that the English author had direct recourse to Guido and Dares, and that he was himself responsible for the evident union therein of materials extracted from these two authors. There are, however, strong reasons to believe that such was not the case, but that the author was simply translating a French original in which this same combination of materials derived from two separate sources had already been effected.<sup>2</sup> Presumptive evidence of the French origin of the English text is to be found in the general prevalence of translation from the French in fifteenth-century England; in the fact that the only other English prose version of the story of Troy, viz., Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* is itself a fifteenth century translation from the French;<sup>3</sup> in the absence of any indication of the use of Dares in any other English version of the tale of Troy;<sup>4</sup> and in the known existence of contemporary French versions of that

<sup>1</sup> Benoît abandons his earlier source, Dares, before the point at which that historian ends and relates (*Roman de Troie*, vv. 24329-30108) the story of the Capture and Destruction of Troy, as well as of the Return of the Greeks, according to Dictys.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer has as yet made no search for a possible French original, but he hopes to do so in the near future.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., from Raoul Lefevre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troie*.

<sup>4</sup> Although English authors down to the time of Lydgate constantly cite Dares, it is clear that, with the exception of Joseph of Exeter who wrote in Latin, no one of them ever possessed a first hand acquaintance with that author but that each of them derived his knowledge of the earlier historian only through the medium of Benoît and Guido. Only in the case of the author of *The Seege or Batayle of Troye* has any attempt been made to demonstrate a direct acquaintance with Dares. Zietsch's contention in favor of this position (op. cit., p. 10, note 5) has, however, been sufficiently refuted by Granz and Wager (op. cit. ibid).



author.<sup>1</sup> More positive evidence to the same effect is afforded by the presence in *The Sege of Troye* of a large number of French words and phrases, and of other indications of French extraction. Among the less common French words used by the author are: abasshed (196, 8); amenesed (193, 20); aspies (192, 7); bussument (182, 31); certē (174, 16); cofre (179, 5); contremured (184, 31); dewtees (188, 22); distroubled (184, 2); dyueneras (185, 27); enbasset (186, 14); englewe (179, 22); enyoyse (174, 23); eschue (195, 7); flawme (178, 5); fraunchise (174, 30); gouernaunce (193, 4); governour (175, 32); harneys (191, 17); importable (177, 34); iourneyes (177, 27); large (177, 33); logges (197, 7); magre (176, 26); mascolde (184, 30); oynement (179, 20); perish (178, 12); planchettes (185, 2); possede (174, 23); posternes (185, 1); preised (177, 21); purchas (185, 28); reward (177, 23); saue condite (176, 18); sepultu<sup>r</sup> (195, 10); sermonyng (180, 3); skarmeshith (183, 1); sollempnite (188, 30); stacions (188, 30); stuff (184, 23); supportacio<sup>n</sup> (175, 13); turmentyng (189, 2); verry (175, 5); voide (176, 21); ymagened (175, 26).<sup>2</sup> In all, the proportion of French to

<sup>1</sup> P. Meyer (*Romania*, xiv, 42) quotes the opening portion of a French prose translation of Dares contained in a fourteenth century compilation of ancient history (ms. Bibl. Nat., fr. 12586.)

<sup>2</sup> Other French words are, accorded (198, 24); achewe (175, 9); aggreued (176, 23); apese (190, 8); askope (200, 6); assay (191, 10); assent (179, 1); astonyed (196, 8); avayle (178, 2); aventu<sup>r</sup> (185, 1); avice (175, 25); avised (177, 33); batail (183, 2); causes (177, 26); certefying (189, 26); chamb<sup>r</sup> (181, 15); charge (177, 34); chef (190, 16); chere (177, 9); colored (195, 23); comons (198, 26); compasse (184, 21); compassed (174, 25); conceyving (175, 15); conseruing (195, 14); corage (183, 10); crece (175, 14); damage (198, 24); demenyng (188, 34); despite (184, 7); disconfite (183, 16); disconfitu<sup>r</sup> (194, 24); disporte (177, 9); ei<sup>r</sup> (180, 21); enprice (178, 20); ensurans (179, 10); ensured (178, 30); entent (178, 33); ese (185, 32); feld (195, 6); fers (183, 16); fortune (188, 16); fortunēd (189, 26); gise (176, 17); grisfull (180, 12); infortune (176, 25); inspexio<sup>n</sup> (175, 34); labored (176, 8); laboure (176, 11); leysour (181, 19); licence (176, 17); malis (176, 14); maner (178, 9); mased



English words in *The Sege of Troye* is, exclusive of words that express grammatical relationship, in the neighborhood of three to one.

Indications of French origin are likewise to be found in the French phrases in the English text. Such are "at þe last" (174, 7), cf. O. F. "au derrenier;"<sup>1</sup> "maner of"<sup>2</sup> (174, 10), cf. "de maniere;"<sup>2</sup> "hole estat rial" (174, 11); "blode rial" (177, 20); "toke to wife" (174, 15), cf. "prendre à feme;" "do make" (175, 30), used by Caxton in his *Eneydos*<sup>3</sup> (87, 32) to translate "auoit faict;" "toke leue" (188, 13), cf. "prendre congie;"<sup>4</sup> "of malis" (176, 12), "of newe" (184, 11), "of fortune" (188, 16), cf. "de malice," "de fortune;" "malgre oure lust" (176, 26); "stonde at large" (177, 34), cf. "au large;"<sup>5</sup> had leuer (178, 22), used by Caxton ("had lieuer," *ibid.*, 34, 1) to translate "ayma mieulx;" "was in keping" (180, 6), "were in doing" (196, 3), cf. the French gerund construction (en + pres. part.), employed, of course, in a different sense; "by craft of" (181, 7), cf. "par force de;" "in þe poynte of the day" (189, 15), cf. "au point du jour;" and "like as" (196, 10), cf. "come se." To a translator's attempt to mediate between the French and

(184, 2); menys (178, 31); meued (187, 7); meyne (180, 33); moustred (182, 15); myspleased (187, 2); nevowe (174, 24); noyse (194, 30); ordeyning (195, 10); ordenaunce (188, 11); paas (180, 12); part (192, 5); party (198, 11); passeden (183, 23); passing (177, 13); peraventure (183, 3); perfite (174, 9); performed (185, 10); peyne (194, 16); playne (183, 29); plesaunce (177, 11); poynte (189, 15); prece (196, 11); preue (182, 24); priuely (179, 18); prosses (199, 33); pursute (190, 16); purveied (191, 29); rased (180, 25); releve (192, 16); reme (174, 9); remeve (176, 18); repaired (190, 14); repreue (178, 23); resonable (174, 9); rial (174, 12); simple (187, 33); sotel (184, 19); sowdiours (195, 34); strange (176, 31); terme (192, 26); trete (192, 15); vengeable (186, 16); vitaille (188, 11); volunte (193, 29); werre (176, 17); yssed (183, 10).

<sup>1</sup> Vid. F. H. Sykes, *French Elements in Middle English*, Oxford, 1899, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by W. T. Cully, *Early English Text Society*, ex. ser., LVII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.



native idiom appears due a large number of anacolutha (182, 14; 196, 14; 199, 27) and of participial (177, 31; 185, 22; 188, 1; 188, 13) and ablative absolute (178, 8; 178, 12; 183, 32) constructions, which are neither French nor English.

Presumably due, in part at least, to the exigencies of translation is, finally, the large number of doublets or word pairs in *The Sege of Troye*. These doublets consist (1) of two French words, (2) of one French and one native word, and (3) of two native words. Instances of (1) are possede and enyoise (174, 23); supportacioñ and labour (175, 13); failed and cessed (180, 16); avise and counsell (186, 7); message and enbasset (186, 3); sollempnite and vigil (188, 20); costumes and dewtees (188, 22); assembling *and* mostring (191, 14); rule and governaunce (193, 4); obsequijs and vigiles (195, 11); sacrafices and obseruaunces (196, 4); asstonyed and abasshed (196, 8); basshed and exiled (200, 6). Instances of (2) are menys and weyes (178, 31); fulfill *and* acheue (179, 8); othe and ensurans (179, 10); tyme and leysour (181, 19); distroubled and mased (184, 2); reedefy and bilde of newe (184, 10); markes and mesures (184, 20); ese and welthe (185, 32); perteyning and longing (188, 4); hate *and* envy (192, 24); skarmished and fought (192, 25); name and fame (193, 2); did and performed (193, 9); amenesed and lost (193, 20); destroyed and lost (193, 35); false bileue and idolatri (194, 11); porters and kepers (199, 19). Instances of (3) are blode and berthe (177, 26); named and knowen (186, 11); wil and lust (186, 21); foryete and leide aside (188, 32); sorowe and caṛ (194, 32).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although the employment of doublets occurs in original as well as in translated texts, it is quite possible that the practice may, in part at least have originated and it is certain that it prevailed more generally in the latter case than in the former. Thus as a general rule doublets occur less frequently in original works, as the *Hymn of Caedmon* and the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (examined by O. F. Emerson, *Modern Language Notes*,



It accordingly appears probable, from the frequent employment of Gallicisms in the English text, from the occurrence of such unnaturalized expressions as *malgre* (176, 26), *sermon-yng* (180, 3), *sollempnite* (188, 30), *amenased* (193, 20), and *sepultu* (195, 10), and from the peculiarly sprightly and vivacious tone of the narrative, that *The Sege of Troye* was derived from Guido and Dares not directly but through an intermediary French version.

1893, pp. 403 ff.), than in translations, as the Alfredian Bede (cf. J. M. Hart, *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1901), the Romaunt of the Rose (cf. Kittredge, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I, 61 ff.), Berner's translation of Froissart (cf. W. P. Ker, *Studies in Medieval Literature*, p. 165), and the Book of Common Prayer (cf. Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 407). Caxton in his translations from the French regularly renders one French word by two English synonymus. In the *Encydos* (E. E. T. S., ex. ser., LVII), for example, "la force troyanne" is translated "the force and the strengthe of the troyians" (13, 9); "peu de dommaige," "lytyl damage and hurte" (13, 12); "magnifeste," "shewe and manyfeste" (19, 27); "dabbandoner," "to habandonne and leve" (29, 4); "naissance," "nayssaunce and byrthe" (27, 1); "chacer," "chasse and hunte" (51, 36); "prins en grant hayne," "hate and haue enuye" (68, 7). Moreover, this practice of writing doublets abounds, as we know, in Old French (cf. R. Grosse, "Der Stil Crestien's von Troies," *Französische Studien*, I, 238; F. Heinrich, "Ueber den stil von Guillaume de Lorris und Jean de Meung," *Ausgabe u. Abhandlungen*, XXIX, 42, and Caxton himself frequently retains these French doublets as when he translates "rompu, viole, ne brise," "rented, vyolated ne broken" (*En.*, 36, 33); "construed, edyfyed, and made" (*ibid.*, 59, 19); and "voulu subinger a servir et soubzmectre," "subdued and submitted herself" (*ibid.*, 111, 20). While, therefore, there can be no doubt that the practice of using doublets had from very early times become a recognized feature of native style—Caxton, for example, making free use of them in his original preface to *Lefevre's Recueil*, as well as in his translation of that work—and may have been originally employed, as Dr. G. P. Krapp of Columbia has suggested, by pulpit orators, it is nevertheless clear that the effort of the translator to find a word adequate to render his original frequently resulted in the employment of doublets and that the conspicuous presence of this phenomenon in *The Sege of Troye* may therefore be regarded as one among the many indications of his use of a French source.



## TREATMENT OF MS.

In the text all manuscript contractions have been expanded in italics, the use of capitals has been normalized, paragraphs and punctuation introduced, and the separated elements in compounds such as “where vppon,” “with stonde,” “thorgh oute,” written as one word. Otherwise the reproduction of the manuscript is exact, save that no attempt has been made to reproduce a horizontal stroke through the loop of final b’s, h’s, and ll’s, and an occasional flourish above final pp’s. Three special letters were cut to represent  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{m}$ , and  $\bar{n}$ , which regularly replace the plain letter at the end of words.



## THE SEGE OF TROYE.

[NOW FIRST PRINTED ACCORDING TO THE UNIQUE MS.  
RAWLINSON D 82.]

[I. Of Eson and his brother Pelleus, and how Pelleus sent  
his nephew Jason in search of the Golden Fleece.]

[\*Fol. 11a.]

\* Here bigynneth the Sege of Troye.

As the noble and worthi clerke Guydo writeth in his boke  
5 and declareth, and so doeth þe famous clerk Dares also, how  
that soȃ tyme in Thesaile there was a king called Esonȃ, which  
list not in his yonge and lusty daies to take no wife, but at þe  
last was so ferre growenȃ in age that his wittes werenȃ not moost  
perfite ne right resonable for to rule and gouerne his reme ne  
10 his peple, but he was fall in a maner of dotage fore age. ffor  
which cause he resigned bothe crowne and septre with hole  
estate rial to his broþer called Pyllios.

But as clerkes seyȃ þat after by enchauntement and craft of  
medecyȃ he was restored ayeȃ to youth and lustynesse, and  
15 toke to wife one Medea, vppoȃ whomȃ he gate a soȃ þat was  
called Jasonȃ, þat, whaȃ he drewe to a certenȃ of age, was com-  
mitted to þe rule and gouernaunce of his vncle Pelleus. The  
which bi prosses of yeris was holdeȃ so noble and worthi of  
honde þat his name spronge so wide *and* ferre that euery maȃ  
20 had grete ioye to here speke of his worthinesse *and* of his  
persone.

Pelleus, aduerting and casting in his mynde howe himself  
and his yssue might possede and enyoysc þe crowne and dig-  
nite perpetualli, and to exclude his nevowe Jasonȃ foreeuer,  
25 compassed ful many a diuerse wey in his mynde to þe confusion  
and destruxionȃ of his seid cosyȃ, holding him vpp alwey with



faire flatery, and shewed hole love outward where there was  
ful dedely hate inward, saying to him vppon a day in the  
presence of al his barons in this wise : “ Nevowe Jason, thy  
grete renowne and worthinesse sprongen so wide in euery  
contrey causeth me euery <sup>1</sup> heavenly <sup>2</sup> and erthly ioy. But, 5  
Jason, for to haue thi worthinesse sprongen wider, and more  
largely and oponly to beñ knowe, and as a conquerour for-  
\*Fol. 11b.] euer to beñ dredde in euery contrey,\* I haue founde a wey,  
trusting fully that thorgh thi manhode hit shall well acheue  
within short tyme.” 10

Jason, ful desirouse of manhode an worthinesse, thonked  
gretly his vncle, praying him to late him haue knowlage  
thereof so þat by his supportacion and labour he might be  
thefeat in crece and forthering of his name.

Pelleus, conceyving well his corage and manhode, seid to 15  
him in this wise : “ Cosyn, hit is oponly knowen in many a  
londe that within þe ile of Calcos there is a ram that bereth a  
fleece of golde which is more worth then eny man can telle, and  
if thou by thi myȝt and manhode mightest wyn and conquere 20  
that ram, thi renowne and name shal spring vp to heuen and  
as þe worthiest foreuer to beñ put in remembraunce.”

Jason, fulfilled with knightly corage and innocent of his  
fayre and false compassed treson ayenst him by þe flatery of  
his vncle, withoute avice of eny man hath vndertake þis perlious 25  
emprise, [which] was fully ymagened *and* purposed fully for  
his destruxion and ende, praying his vncle to ordeyne for him  
in al hast men and aray after his estate.

Pelleus full ioyfull in hert, trusting fully hit shuld be his  
confusion *and* ende, lete do make in haste possible a shipp 30  
redy for him. As Guydo seith hit was the fairest shipp that  
euer sailed vppon þe water fro lond to londe. Gouvernour  
þereof was þe wise and redy Pilotes that hadde redi knowlage  
and inspexion of euery storme or tempest appering on þe sky 35  
and also of sterre, stoñ, and nedle.

<sup>1</sup> Ms. verry.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. heuen.



[II. How Jason and Hercules are summarily ejected from the coast of Phrygia by Laomedon, king of Troy.]

Jason, also havynge with him in his vessell as his felawe þe stronge and mighti Ercules with many anoper lusty and  
 5 manly mañ of Grece, with ful leve take of his vncle, was vnder saile, ful worthely taking his iournay, sailing oñ þe salt see toward þe ile of Calcoys where a tempest sodenly arose and so hurled and labored þe ship til he was dryven into the ile  
 [\*Fol. 12a.] of Troye, whereof Jason and his felaship weren right \* fayne  
 10 eny succour of the londe for to haue som ese and rest after þeir perilous laboure oñ the see.

King Lamedon, being in his cite of Troy, was enformed of malis þat þere was a shipp stuffed with meñ of werre arryved in his londe and come oute of Grece supposing for som malis  
 15 ayenst him or his peple, and anone sent messengers to Jason and seid to him in this wise: "fforasmuche as ye that beñ strangers beñ arryved heʒ in gise of<sup>1</sup> werre withoute licence or saue condite, þe king chargeth you that in al hast ye remeve his grownde; ffor if ye disobey and kepe not his commaunde-  
 20 ment ye be of to feble power for to resist and to withstonde his wil of you. Wherefor we counsel you to voide in hast."

Jason and Ercules, hering his message fro the king, weren som dele aggrieved in hert, answhering in this wise: "Sirres, sith hit is þe kinges lust þat we so sodenly shull departe, we  
 25 shul not longe sojourne heʒ; but of infortune we beñ dryven hider magre oure lust; but we had supposed that þe king of his goodnesse wold rather haue send fore vs strangers for to haue som dele refresshed vs then in this wise to baunessh vs hens, thenking him ne none of his harme in goode feithe,  
 30 praying you to sey to him oñ oure part that sith we finde his kindnesse so strange to vs at þis tyme and wol not suffre vs in no wise to rest oñ his lande, onys or þis day iij yere, if fortune wol suffre, we shall aryve somwhat nere him withoute licence, save condite, or protexion of him or eny of his; 3e,

<sup>1</sup> Ms. or.



and in suche wise that hit shal not be in his might ne power to resist ne lette oure aryvaile ne taryng while vs best lust."

[III. Of Jason's arrival at Colchis, and how by the aid of Medea he won the Golden Fleece.]

Thus token̄ þei here leve and streite to shipp and winde at 5  
 wil tyl þey come to þe hauen̄ of Calcos, where anone Sithes  
 king of lond come himself in right gentil wise, brynging  
 þeym into Jaconytes his cite where his palis was, as for that  
 tyme making al þe disporte and chere that might be doñ,  
 charging al maner officers so to attende abought them þat þey 10  
 'Fol. 12b.] lakke no \* thing that may be to þeire plesaunce, bidding also  
 the faire Medea his doughter and heire, which, as Guydo  
 writeth, was passing eny other as wel of beute (as) of persone  
 as of konnyng, norture, and knowing of al the sciences, nigro-  
 mancy, magyk, sorcery, and oþer enchauntementes that nowe 15  
 beñ forbode, that she shuld do al þe disporte and chere to  
 Jason̄ and his felashipp that she coude or might in performyng  
 of hir fader wil.

[Medea], avising alwey þe persone of Jason̄, considering his  
 worthi berthe of blode rial and his grete renowne and name 20  
 of worthinesse preised in many a londe, hath take to ful  
 purpos to finde þe menys *and* weyes, if fortune wol, fore to be  
 his wife, taking no reward to fader, heritage, ne none other  
 worldely riches, but within short tyme hath founde a tyme,  
 place, and leysoure to þe execucioñ of hir entent, ffirst enquer- 25  
 ing of him of his blode and berthe, afterward of his causes  
 and journeyes into þat contrey; wher̄to he alwey made his  
 answere and told hir þe trouthe of al þat she axed him and  
 of the emprise that he had take oñ honde. To whom̄ she yaf  
 anshwere in maner as she þat had lost hir fraunchise and in 30  
 maner stode vnder his power and he innocent and not knowing  
 thērof, saying to *him* in þis wise: "Hit is goode þat so noble  
 and worthi as ye be to be right wele avised while ye stonde at  
 large to take vppon̄ you so importable a charge which is vn-



likely and impossible for eny erthly man for to acheue ; ffor truly in þat case there may no manhode avayle, and armour and wepon seruen for noȝt ; ffor er that ye come to þe raṁ, ye most fight with ij bolis of brasse, either casting oute at þe mouthe  
 5 fire and flawme that wol breṁ and consume eny erthly mater ; which bolys ye most in suche wise ouercome that ye shal take hem by the hornes and so lede hem to þe yok and eṛ þe londe with heṛ laboure. That doṁ and ouercome in suche wise, ye shal mete and fight with a dragoṁ, maner of a serpent, whos  
 [\*Fol. 18a.]  
 10 venyṁ is so contagious þat þeṛ \* may no maner of metall abide the malis theṛof. The breth of hit is worse þeṁ eny pestilens, and þere may no wepon made of mater perish the skales. This ouercome and doṁ, ye shal come to the raṁ, which is withoute defence or resistens. But for to atteyne so ferre, hit is  
 15 impossible fore eny erthly man."

Jason, remembring well euery worde and perell, stode soṁ dele asstonyed of himself, answhering ayeṁ and seid : " Truly, my lady Medea, of your gentil warnyng and counsell y thonke you as your owne man in al þat I caṁ or may. But, truly,  
 20 sith that I haue so ferreforth take oṁ this enprice, I shall do my ful besynesse and power to acheue it, if fortune wol assent ; ffor y had leuer ende and die with worshipp þeṁ endure and leve in repreue and shame ; ffor theṁ might euery man sey þat Jason had vndertake emprise which fore couardise  
 25 [he] durst not holde ne complete."

Medea, seing his manful corage reioysed gretly within her hert, seying to him in this wise : " Right worthi Jason, sith ye list in no wise to leve your yournay for the grete worthinesse and manhode that I haue herd of you, so that ye  
 30 wol be ensured to me to be ruled and gouerned after me, I trust verely to shewe you suche menys and weyes that ye shall acheue youre purpos, and truly withoute me ye may neuer have your entent in that mater." To whom Jason answered and seid that truly with hert and wil he wold be ruled as she list  
 35 to gouerne him. Wheṛof she, right fayne and glad, founde a place and tyme at more leysoure to enforme him.



The night next folowing she, having a woma<sup>n</sup> of hir assent, sent priuely vnware of eny ma<sup>n</sup> after Jason<sup>e</sup>, which was right glad and fayne to obey hir wil [and] come to þe chambre of Medea þat also was fayne of his commyng, setting him down o<sup>n</sup> hir beddes side, and anone vnclosed a litul cofre and brought 5 bifore him a litul ymage of golde wherevppon she made him to swere that he shuld folowe hir entent and wil in al thing.

Fol. 13b.] Jason<sup>e</sup>, alwey desiring to fulfill *and* acheue \* his purpos, folowed hir wil and lust in al thing.

This othe *and* ensurans made, she seid to him : “ Jason<sup>e</sup>, ye 10 knowe wele that I a<sup>m</sup> doughter and hei<sup>r</sup> to þe king my ffader, and I desire none oþer thing for my labour in saving of your life and worship but þat ye wold take me before al other.”

Jason<sup>e</sup>, thenking o<sup>n</sup> hir noble berthe, grete beute, and worthi estate, graunted thereto with ful glad che<sup>r</sup> and hert, and 15 [they] were the<sup>r</sup>vppon ensured o<sup>n</sup> þe newe.

Then she toke him a litul ymage of golde þat he shuld bere priuely o<sup>n</sup> him : þe which was a siker defence ayenst eny spirit. Also she annoynted his body ouer al with a precious oynement,<sup>1</sup> þat was a noble defence ayenst al maner of venym. 20 She toke him also a viol with a oynement for to cast in þe protes of þe bolys wha<sup>n</sup> þey gape vppon hym, which shall englewe þeire chaulyys togidre and bireve they<sup>m</sup> he<sup>r</sup> might. Also she toke him a ringe with a stone called Achenes, which shal cause him to be invisible so neþer bolle ne drago<sup>n</sup> shuld 25 haue no sight of him. She toke to him also a charme writen that first wha<sup>n</sup> he come to þe sight of þe fendis kneling with good deuocion shuld sey it.

All þes thinges receyued and tauzt, [he] toke his leve of Medea, and went to hir ffader for his licens to go toward his 30 iournay.

The king seing his manly corage seid to hym : “ Jason<sup>e</sup>, beth right wele avised er that ye procede eny ferther in iournay. Consider wel þat hit is impossible for eny ma<sup>n</sup> for to acheue that purpos. And the<sup>r</sup>for my counsel is that 35 ye cese þerof ; ffor I take al þe goddis to recorde and witnesse

<sup>1</sup>, *ma. oynement.*



that hit is not my wil þat ye shuld so put *your* body in aventuŕ to be spilt, of which truly I am right sory."

Notwithstanding all the *sermonyng*, Jason̄, Ercules, with all þeiŕ lusty company, taken̄ theiŕ leve and went streite to  
 [\*Fol. 14a.] bote, rowing forthe into a litul \* ile where þe raṁ with þe  
 5 ffles of gold was in keping. Jason̄, entring into þe lond alone, leving Ercules with al his peple within the bote, charging theym to abide theŕ stil vnto þe tyme þat he come ayeṁ, taking his passage ful manly vnto þe tyme that he come to the  
 10 sight of the dredeful bolys, where anone kneling oṁ his knees seid this charme as he was taught and arose vp, taking his paas touard þe bolis, which with horrible and grisfull gaping cast oute fire and flawme. Jason̄ ful wisely and manly toke his viol with his licour and boldely cast it into þeiŕ throtes,  
 15 wheŕwith all sodenly theiŕ chaulyſ englewed togidre so þat al theire might *and* power failed and cased. Jason̄ ful boldely toke þeim by þe hornes. Þey enclined and obeied his lust to þe yok and plogh, with whom̄ he ered þe londe as paciently as eny oþer beest.

20 That emprise doṁ, [he] toke his wey streite to þe dragon̄, which anone cast oute suche an eiŕ with venym̄ that wold enfecte al a contry. Jason̄, holdyng his ring oṁ his honde, went streite to him, and anone þe dragon̄ lost sight, power, and might. Where Jason̄ toke his swerd and be good leysour  
 25 smote of his hede, and anone rased oute al þe tethe oute of his hede and cast hem oṁ þe londe that he had plowed with þe bolys. Of which cursed sede spronge vp anone thorgh might of þe deuell meṁ armed, which eueryche slewe oþer anone in þat tyde.

30 That so doṁ, he went streite to þe raṁ, which made no defence ayenst him, which he toke by þe hornes and with a knyfe kutte his throte; and so at his owne leysour flowe of his riche skyṁ, taking hit with him, and went to his bote, wheŕ Ercules with his meyne was abiding vppon̄ his com-  
 35 myng; þe which were right glad and ioyful of his commyng, seyng him save of body. During al which tyme Medea, being in aṁ hie toure, sawe him fro pointe to poynte, howe he per-



\*Fol. 14b.] formed his emprise, alwey praying \* to hir goddis fore his goode spede.

Jason̄, entering his bote with his flece and felaship, returned ayeñ to king Sithes, þe which was right sory þat Jason̄ hadde woñ so þe flees; but alwey made him faire cheṛ outward. 5 But soñ clerkes seyn þat king Sithes lete make þat bolles *and* dragon̄ in so horrible wise by craft of nigromancy to kepe his grete tresour.

But for that worthi conquest Jason̄ was renowned and named as for þe worthiest conquerour in eny londe bycause 10 theṛof specially. Vppoñ which gilden̄ flece al the courte and peple come rennying fore to mervaile and wonder theṛvppoñ, euery mañ seying his avice þervppoñ.

The night folowing, after his commyng ayeñ, Medea, being in hir chambṛ alone, sent priuely after Jason̄, which with ful 15 hert and will come to hir vnware of eny persone, telling hir euery dele of his iourney, of which she was right glad and joyfull, so þat he last within hir chambre al þat night, wheṛ betweñ hem two they founde a tyme and leysour fore to stele away be night into Grece with the flece of golde and al þe 20 tresour of þe king hir ffader, which was to þe confusioñ of Medea; ffor afterward he left hir in grete myschef, and toke anoþer lady. And he hadde by Medea ij sones. And bycause they were so like Jason̄, Medea slewe hem bothe. But of hir I speke no more at this tyme. 25

[III. How, at Pelleus' bidding, Hercules and his comrades sack and destroy the city of Troy.]

And whañ Jason̄ and Ercules were come to Grece, Pelleus to al mennys sight made hem þe grettest cheer that euer mañ might, but in hert hit was þe contrary. Jason̄, telling Pelleus 30 his vncl̄e of al his adventures wheṛof he made him full ioyfull, (and) told him also howe he was in a tempest dreven̄ into Troy where Lamedoñ king sent anone charging vs to voide his lond oñ peyn̄ of deth, which was to vs a ful grete discomfort after oure grete labour in þe see. Wheṛvppoñ we made oure 35



grete othes and by his messengers sent him worde þat er thre yere were passed we wold arvye a litul nere him to his disese  
 Fol. 15a.] and harme if that we might. Wherefor \* we pray you, vncle, of your goode help and succour in this mater.

5 Pelleus anone with good hert graunted theire desire, saying þat he wold go himself with þeim in þat iournay, sending Ercules to his cosyn Thalamon king of Messene with certen lettres and tokenes that he shuld come with al þat he might gete, sending him also to the two worthi kingges and bretheren  
 10 Castor and Pollux, king[s] of Sparrus and breperen to Elyn quene of Tyndarus, and also to duke Philon, that was lorde of the grete prouince of Grece. And al with goode wil graunted euerychone at Pelleus desire to go with him to Troy.

Pelleus in al hast possible made his retenue. And with al  
 15 þes worthi lordes moustred in a faire grene playne, which was an honge multitude of peple, taking theiŕ shippes they<sup>1</sup> had wedur and winde at will til þey come to þe riall haven called Symeont or Tenadoun, right nygh þe noble cite of Troy, which haven þey toke within þe nyght.

20 Pelleus anone assembled his lordes togidre and seid to theym in this wise: "Sirres, ye knowe þe cause of oure comyng hidre, and for what purpos, and þenk well þat Lamedon is right manly and wise and cruel of honde. Wherefor but we preve wele oure manhode oure name is lost foreeuer."

25 Ercules answering ayeñ seid: "Yif ye wol be ruled be myñ avise and counsel, I trust fully to acheue oure purpos." To whom þei graunted euerychone to beñ ruled. "Then my counsell is that king Castor take with him a suffisant felaship and be putte oute bfore, shewing him oponly bfore þe cite  
 30 with baners displaied; king Thalamon with anoper felashipp priuely as hit weŕ in a bushement if nede be to succour; Pelleus with al his peple abiding her still. And if hit nede, to be succour and rescue to theyñ bothe, Jason and I with anoper meyne all priuely or the day spring ley vs all priuely vnder  
 35 the vyues vnder þe wallis of þe cite, so that whan Lamedon

<sup>1</sup> Ms. and.



skarmeshith with you, we shal fal bitweñ theym̄ and þe towne; and so bitweñ you and vs for to take and sle hem  
 [\*Fol. 15b.] and \* perauenture wyñ the towne also, that is so richely stuffed with al maner of tresour, wherewith we may freight al oure shippes and lede into Grece." Al the lordes, thenking his 5 counsell goode, folowed his entent.

Castor in þe mornyng shewing him oponly bifore þe cite with baners displaied in the felde in the sight of Lamedoñ and al þe cite, anone Lamedoñ assembled his peple and with manly corage yssed oute at the yates, meting with Castor, and 10 in suche wise skarmeshed with him that he slewe grete parte of his peple and, had not Thalamoñ come the rather with succour, hadde slayne Castor. But Thalamoñ brak so sodenly vppoñ Lamedoñ þat he slewe grete peple of Troy. But alwey thei of þe cite yssed out, and at þe last put Thelamoñ and 15 Castor to disconfite. Then̄ Pelleus brak oute with a fers company, skarmeshing ful longe tyme with þe Troians, sleying ful moche peple oñ bothe parties. Then̄ brak oute Jason̄ and Ercules and weṛ sodenly in þe bak of þe Troians that so bitweñ Ercules and þe Grekes þe Troians weren̄ slayñ and 20 disconfite, Jason̄ keping still the yatis of the cite, where þey smeten̄ of the hede of Lamedoñ and cast hit vnder horse fete, sleing al þe remenaunt. And so passeden̄ into þe cite, where they left oñ lyve noþer mañ, womañ, ne childe, dispoyl- ing al þe cite of theiṛ richesse and tresoure, stuffing ful her̄ 25 shippes therwith, preseruyng Exeona daughter of king Lamedoñ oñ lyve bycause of hir beute. But they casten̄ downe þe cite and laft no stone standing vppoñ other, but made hit playne euen̄ with the soyle.

[V. How Priamus, son to king Laomedon, rebuilds the city 30 of Troy.]

This vengeance so cruelli doñ, token̄ theiṛ shippes, ledyng Exeona with al oþer tresoure with theym̄ into Grece. At which tyme was Priamus, soñ and eiṛ to king Lamedoñ, lying



at þe sege bifer a castell, whether tydinges come to him of al  
 þis strong vengeau[n]ce. He, al distroubled and mased of  
 al thes sorowful tydingges, sodenly laft þe sege and come  
 [\*Fol. 16a.] home, wher he fonde no stone stondyng \* vppoñ other, but  
 5 al was playñ leyde with the erthe, for sorowe of which, as wel  
 for ffader, suster, and oper ffrende, and fore all the other harme,  
 despite, and shame he toke suche añ hevinesse that longe  
 tyme he was oute of himself. But by prosses of tyme with  
 confort of frendes he was drawen to sadnesse ayeñ. And  
 10 anone theraft̃ he toke to ful purpose to reedefy and bilde  
 þe cite of newe, and in suche wise that hit shuld not so lightly  
 beñ lost, and in al hast sende into many a contrey and diuerse  
 londe for þe moost prudent and wisest meñ of craft that might  
 be founde and gete, sparing for no cost ne expense, purposing  
 15 fully to make suche a cite and so strong that he wold neuer  
 drede for none enemy noþer for werre ne pees. To which  
 ther cam ful many a crafty mason, carpenter, smyth, and al  
 oper þat longeth to suche occupacion that hadden ful redy  
 knowlache and konnyng as wel in gemetry as in other sotel  
 20 insight of werkes, where they toke her markes and mesures  
 of lengthe and compasse of the cite, the which was made so  
 large that a grete ryver ran þorgh the myddes, wherōn was  
 sette many a mylle and stuff of fissh ynogh within þe same,  
 al maner of cornes and frutes growing within þe cite, pastures  
 25 wode, and medewe, so that þey shuld neuer nede of no thing  
 withoute; ffor, as Guydo seith, hit was iij daies iourney  
 about the wallis. Which wallis were reysed of <sup>xx</sup>iiij cubites  
 of heȝt, and toured so thik that euery toure might succour  
 other, and euery toure lx cubites hier þen þe wallis, and bothe  
 30 wallis and toures ful bigely mascolde with depe dicke and  
 double, ful mighty contremured so that if eny mañ were  
 [\*Fol. 16b.] within he might neuer oute withoute help. \* On which cite  
 was sette vj yates, of which þe first hight Dardanydes, the  
 second Tymbria, the third Elias, the iiij<sup>th</sup> Sethas, the fift  
 35 Tamydes, the vj Troianañ. And bifer euery of thes was  
 set a strong bulwerk as mighti as eny castell with barres and



heps for a sure defence. There were also many smale posternes with planchettes, if nede were to issue oute as wel in tyme of pes as of werre. He lete make also bi the one side of the towne an houghe and a miȝti dungeon, a toure that was hie and thik þat no ordenaunce shuld hurt him, diked and counter- 5 mured strongely, within which Priamus held his palis, and [it] was called Ilyon. He lete make also his worþi temple of his goddis, ful richely arraied, where he made his rites and sacrafices.

This cite fully made and performed, Priamus sending into 10 many a londe and towne for the moost subtile men of all maner of craftes that might be gete and founde, yeving þeym bothe house and londe fre as fore þeiȝ owne lyves, setting euery craft by þeymselȝ, stuffing the cite also with laborers and comeners for to labour and plogh, sending also into 15 many a contrey for the manlyest men of werre þat might be goten, stuffing euery toure about þe cite with theym to defende the cite if nede weȝ, assignyng to euery toure a certen of lyvelode for theiȝ wages eternaly to endure. Within which cite there was al maner of commoditees so that theym nede 20 no thing to seche withoute while þe worlde may endure, neȝer for man ne beest. This cite so worthely made and stuffed, Priamus ful rialli dwelling in his palis with Ecuba his quene, having about theym heȝ childeren Ector, Parys, Deyphebus, Elacyus that was a noble clerk, Troylus, Pallio- 25

[\*Fol. 17a.] dorus, \* and Gamenede that died; of doughteres, Granchia that was married to Eneas, Cassandra a ful grete dyueneras, and Polixene, and also of oper sones goten on purchas xxx<sup>u</sup> ful worthi knightes.

[VI. How Antenor is sent to Greece to regain his aunt 30 Hesiona, and of his failure to achieve his purpose.]

Priamus, thus being in his grete ese and welthe, remembring him vppon a day on þe grete cruelte don to him, [called] his lordis euerychone saying to þeim in this wise: "Sirres, ye



knowen well of þe grete vengeance and cruelte don to our  
aunceters and destruxion of oure cite and tresoure by þe  
Grekes and of þe taking and ravesshing of my suster Exeona,  
þat is yit holden and vsed of king Talamon to hir opon  
5 and grete disclaundre and shame and oures also, the which  
greueth me more then al the oper harmes. Wherefor, be  
your goode avise and counsell, I am fully purposed for to  
sende vnto þe Grekes to wite whether they woll reforme and  
amend eny of þes grete wronges other no." To which  
10 purpose al the lordes consented and saiden hit were wel  
don to assay ther wil therein.

Then, forasmuche as Antenor was named and knowen for  
the moost prudent and wisest man of al þat contrey and in  
many anoper londe also, Priamus sent him vppon his message  
15 and enbasset into Grece vnto Pilleus, saying in this wise :  
" Priamus king of Troy wold þat ye remembre on þe grete  
wronge and vengeance cruelte don to king Lamedon his fader  
and to his cite of Troy, and praied som dele to amende and  
reforme his grete wrong and destruxion and taking away of al  
20 þeire tresoure, and in especyall þe withholding so longe of his  
suster Exeona to his grete shame and al hir kyn and frendes."

To whom Pelleus answered and seid : " If that Priamus  
hold him greued or displeased of eny thing don by vs bfor  
this tyme, sey to him that he take amendis therfor where that  
25 he may ; for truly of vs gete he nouȝt."

Antenor, seing that hit was no bote to tary ther no lenger,  
(he) went streite to king Thalamon, and on Priamus bihalf  
[\*Fol. 17b.] praied him to restore ayen his suster Exeona \* that he had so  
longe bothe vsed and occupied, taking no reward of hir berth  
30 ne of the goddis. To whom he yaf answere and seid : " Sey  
to Priamus þat ayenst his wil and lust I brought hir hider,  
and at his desire y wol never sende hir ayen, and for his sake  
she shal fare the worse."

Antenor, having his answere, went streite to Castor and  
35 Pollux, praying theym on Priamus bihalf somewhat for to  
make restitution of the grete wronges and harmes don to



theym̄, to his fader, and oper of Troy. Which yauen̄ answer̄  
and seiden̄ that if Priamus held him myspleased for oure dedis  
doñ at Troy bifer this tyme, byd him hold him wel thēto  
lest he take more hēaft̄ if he noyse it to moche.

Antenor, having thes finel answeres, toke his shipp and 5  
returned to Troy, and made ful report of al þeī answeres.

Priamus, right gretly meued of þes answeres, called bifer  
him Ector and al his sones with all his oper lordes, making  
Antenor declā to hem al þe croked answeres, whēof they  
were al greued sore. 10

[VII. Of the rape of Helen by Paris.]

Priamus, calling his soñ Ector, seying to him that foras-  
moche as þe Grekes have doñ vs þes grete wronges and harmes  
and also eternal shame and taking and yit withholding of thi  
aunte Exeona, and for all this haue y but short answer̄, I 15  
am̄ avised to ordeyne a retenue of manly and worthli men̄,  
and to send the thider with theym̄ as hī capteñ for to be  
avenged vppon̄ the Grekes and bring fro thens Exeona thyne  
aunte.

Ector answer̄ing his ffader seid: "Hit is well doñ to be 20  
wel avised or ye sende in suche [wise] thidre, and to take so  
grete a purpos and emprise into suche a londe as Grece is hit  
wē gode to thenk on̄ the ende: ffor þe shame of my aunte  
is moche lesse þeñ the losse of many a thousand lyves."

His brother Paris hering him sey þes wordes seid vnto his 25  
fader: "If hit lust you to late me haue a retenue, I wol  
vndertake to fecche home my aunte, oper I wol do theym̄ as  
grete shame or that I departe fro thens."

[\*Fol. 18a.] Ector answer̄ing his brother seid: \* "Broþer, hit is goode  
to be wele avised, for al þe might of Europ and Aufrik beñ 30  
allied and vnder subieccioñ to Grece and many another mighti  
regioñ, and to vs is noþer help nor succour longing saue only  
þe province of Assie which is right simple ayenst al oure  
enemyes."



Paris, taking no reward to þe wordes of Ector ne to no thing þat foloweth, (but) hath fully taken his purpos, þe iournay, vppoñ him, praying his fader that peple and shipping might be redy in hast with suche stuff that nedeth therefor  
5 pertheyning and longing for his estate.

Of which enprise and coragious wil his ffader þe king was right glad and fayne, and in al hast sent into al the parties of his londe for þe best and manliest meñ that he might finde, and made vpp his retenue, ordeynyng shippes and al oþer  
10 stuff that shuld long to him so þat hit was al redy, as wel stuff of vitaile as oþer ordenaunce, for þe werre, bothe for water and for lond.

Paris mostring his peple toke leve and blessing of ffader and moder and went to shipp and hadde weder and winde at  
15 wyll, arryved in añ ile of Grece called Citheron, of which þe worthi king Menelaus was lord (of), and of fortune at that tyme was from home for a tittle that he claymed in Tesaile. Paris with his felashipp being in this ile, in which there was a temple of Diane the grete goddess, at þe which tyme þe grete  
20 sollempnite and vigil of þe seid goddes was holden. To which sacrafices and offering al þe peple of þe contrey abought was come thider fore to do þeiʀ olde costumes and dewtees. To which temple Paris with a certen of his felashipp come for to se þe vsage of þat contrey.

25 ffayre Elyn quene and wife to kyng Menelay, hering of þe commyng of Paris into þe temple, come with a certen of hir maidones pryveli to haue a sight of that yonge lusty Paris, taking hir place oñ þe one side of the temple wheʀ Paris with one suche as him lust of his felashipp made his walke and  
30 stacions, casting alwey his eye and sight priuely toward the  
[\*Fol. 18b.] fayre \* Elyn, which sodenly was so planted in his hert þat al other besynesse was foryete and leide aside.

Elyn, being in heʀ closet, seing this fressh lusty Paris so wel demenyng in his aray, walking alwey beside to and fro,  
35 sodenly was so sette in hir hert þat al oþer thinges she for-



yete, stryving with hirsself how to finde a mene for to be in speche with him, Parys in like wise turmentyng in his mynde howe to finde a wey to come to hir presence. Amonge which brennyng thoughtes sodenly he laft his felawe and went streite into þe closet of Elyn̄, wherof she [was] þe gladdest womā 5  
 oñ live, having him in hir presence, they two holding þeym̄ so longe togider in the temple þat either hadde ful knowlache of operis hert; where there was no ioy to seche. Atte which tyme hit was fully appoynted and accorded bitweñ þeym̄ two þat she shuld go with Parys to Troy. They sette hir tyme 10  
 and houre of þeir̄ going.

Parys taking his leve of hir went streyte vnto his shipp charging al his peple in heṛ best array to wayte vppon him and also his shipmen̄ that his shipp were vnder saile.

In þe poynte of the day Paris with his felashipp taking his 15  
 wey ayeñ to þe temple, taking Elyn̄ by the honde, dispoiling þe temple of all þe jewelles *and* relikes founden̄ therin, holdyng his wey streite vnto þe palis of king Melany, robbing, dispoiling, and taking away with him all þe riches and tresoure founden̄ therewithin, carying hit to shippes with all 20  
 hole oper riches and goodes founde within þe ile, Elyn̄ and he with all þeir̄ felashipp entring their̄ vesselles, drowen̄ vp saile, with winde at wyll went þeir̄ wey, holding þe hie see til they come to þe lordes of Troye into añ ile called Tededon̄, where they loded and rested theym̄, sending to his ffader 25  
 king Priamus certefying him holy as hit was fortunēd.

Priamus ful glad in hert fore þe taking of Elyn̄, trusting by hir to haue hadde ayeñ his suster—but hit turned afterward to moche more myschef oñ bothe parties—Priamus, taking with him Ector, Troylus, *and* all his oper childeren̄ and lordes, 30  
 \*Fol. 19a.] (and) come to þe ile of Teledon̄, wher̄ Paris,\* Elyn̄, and al heṛ oper felashipp was abiding þe wil of Priamus; the which anone lete aray and ordeine þe mariage bitweñ Paris and Elyn̄. After which they anone conveied hir ful rially into Troy, where they begon̄ hir ful lusty lyfe.



[VIII. How the Greeks, at Menelaus' bidding, collect a fleet and sail against Troy.]

After which ravesshing of Elyn̄, þe grete noyse arose sodenly thorghoute þe ile of Sithereñ and so thorgh al þe londe of  
 5 Grece vnto þe tyme that hit come to þe eris of king Menelay where he was in strange contrey. ffor sorrowe of which he fell in suche a sodeñ rage that he had ny destroyed himself. But as sone as he myȝt apese his mortal sorrowe he returned home into Sitheroñ wheȝ he fonde his palis, the temple, and  
 10 al þe ile abought clene dispoyled of al þe richesse, tresour, and oper goodis that was within; þe which in suche wise renewed his sorowes that he was ny fal into dispaire. But by prosses of tyme, with grete confort and labour of frendes, he was repaired to his wisdom̄ and sadnesse, sending in all hast  
 15 vnto Castor and Pollux, bretheren of quene Elyn̄, þat must be chef fore the pursute of Elyn̄, sending also vnto al þe frendes that they might gete in eny contre to beñ venged oñ þe Troians.

The Grekes, holding hemself so rial and worthi, had ful grete despite þat eny Troians shuld be so hardy to do eny so  
 20 grete outirage and shame within theiȝ londes. Wherevppon they holy toke fully to purpose, euery lorde at his owne cost and charge, to be avenged of that grete despite in al þe hast possible, commyng to king Menelay in this wise: ffirst þe worthi Achilles, Dyomedes, king Tendalus, the worthi king  
 25 Agamenon̄ that was made *gouernour* of þe Grekes oost, king Patroclus, king Cylyus, king Arax, king Telamus, Vlixes, king Prothesilaus, Neptolomys, king Pallamydes, king Pollydamus, Makary, þe king of Parce, the king of Daymes, Amphimachus,<sup>1</sup> king Pollibete, Mathaon, and Pollidrus, duke  
 30 Antiphis of Esida and of Eriale, Polliphebus, Carpenor king of Capady, Trerarius king of Beysa, þe king of Barbary, \* Cariac þe king of Coloson̄, þe king Philex of Trace, duke Ampheus, duke fforcunus of þe ile of Bosy, king Philanyme of Tigre, king Porces, king Sygamon̄ with his two bretheren

Ms. Amphmachus.



of Ethiope, Terenes king of Dares, Archiligus, king Epistrophus. All which kinges euerych brouzt a grete nombre of shippes stuffed sufficiently in þe moost mighti wise as well of mañ as of vitayle, beside many anoper lorde that come at þe desire of þes said lordes to beñ avenged vppon þe Troians. 5

The king Priamus, having knowlage of þis grete purpos taken ayenst him in so feruent wise, ordeined full manly and wisely by þe counsell of Ector to resist þeire malis in stuffing þe cite with vitaile; þeñ ordeynnyng so grete a nombre of meñ of werre so that he hadde of kingges, dukes, and oper grete 10 lordes of name iij and xiiij, bringing with theym v<sup>c</sup> thousand and xxiiij thousand beside al oper stuff of þe cite, repayring ful strongly al þe defence of the cite.

The Grekes, assembling *and* mostring al þeir miȝti *and* houghe power in a day vppon a faire playne which was ful 15 mervelouse to beholde; where anone was ordeined euery mañ to beȝ harneys to shipp, and euery capteñ their vesselles assigned. Drawing vp ancre and sayle, having weder and winde at will, oñ añ hole flete sayling togidȝ vnto þe tyme that they come within þe bondis of Troy into the haven of 20 Symeont.

[IX. Of the various battles between the Greeks and the Trojans, and of the signal prowess of Hector.]

Of which arryvale anone king Priamus having ful knowlage, purposed fully to lette þeir arryvale, ordeynnyng Ector, 25 Paris, and Troilus with grete nombre of peple to lette þeir aryvale if they might.

The Grekes, having knowlage of þeir purpos ayenst theym, purveied their londing in ful wise aray and goode ordenaunce in saluacion of theymself. Notwithstanding which, Ector 30 with his felashipp yaf þeim suche batayle at þeire landing that ther was slayne oñ þe Grekes part xxiiij m<sup>l</sup> and iiij<sup>c</sup> meñ. And Ector himself there slewe king Protheselay and mo þeñ a thousand meñ with \* his owne honde. After which Ector returned ayeñ to Troy.

[\*Fol. 20a.]



The Grekes al þat night commyng to londe, (and) in þe poynte of þe day come in hole batail bifore the cite with so grete multitude of peple that they made xvij grete wardes with ful mighti ordenaunce in euery warde. And chef capteñ  
 5 and chefteñ of al þe Grekes part during þe sege was king Agamenon and on þe Troians part was Ector chosen.

Having ful grete aspies of their commyng that mornyng befor Troy, ordeynyng a certen of peple with him, [Hector] met þeym in þe felde, skarmeshing togider til derk nyȝt,  
 10 where Ector himself slewe ij kinges, and grete parte [were] slayne on bothe parties, but þe more part on þe Grekes side. After which day þere was daiely skarmeshing during viij month and grete slaughter on bothe parties, and namely on þe Grekes part.

15 Afte which feruent werre was taken a trete during xl<sup>u</sup> dayes for to releve men hurt on bothe sides.<sup>1</sup>

[\*Fol. 21a.] \*Atte which trety Ector ordeined vpon on day with him his bretheren, Paris, Troilus, and Deyphebus, with a grete nombre of peple to fight with hem. Atte which skarmyssh  
 20 was slayn xxx M<sup>l</sup> and vij<sup>c</sup> on bothe parties. And ther was Deyphebus slayn, and on þe Grekes part king Archiligus, Potroclus, and king Amphimachus. But alwey þe Grekes turned home at nyght with the worse. Which skarmeshing engendred so grete hate and envy on bothe parties that þey  
 25 skarmeshed and fought dayely togidre withoute eny speche of trety ij yere and iij monthe; within which terme was grete multitude slayn on bothe sides, and principally on þe Grekes side.

King Agamenon, seing þe grete myschef and losse of peple, sending into Troy to Priamus for a trety that endured vj  
 30 monthe; within þe which either party had her disporte with other, as well þe Grekes into þe cite as þe Troians amonge þe Grekes.

Vnder which trete Calcas of Troy, a bisshopp, a grete clerk, a devinour, founde by his calculacion and by þe answeȝ of  
 35 his goddis that Troy shuld be destroyed within short tyme.

<sup>1</sup> Half of fol. 20a and the whole of fol. 20b are blank.



Taking fulli to *purpos* to leve þe Troians and to go to þe Grekes which was ful wortheli and nobely receyued of þe Grekes for his gret name and fame, the Grekes *purposing* to gif him a rule and *gouernaunce* among theym, trusting within short tyme by his wisdom to acheue her purpose ayenst Troy, ffor 5 what by his hie wisdom and answere of his goddis and also bycause he knewe al þe counsell of Troy he wold the rather bring hit to confusiō. And so by his false sleghtes and vntrue wyles did and performed.

After which treti ended, þer bigan a newe feruent werre, 10 skarmeshing daiely togider þat peple was slayn on both parties ful grete and houe nombʳ. ffortuned vppoñ a day Ector come proudly skarmeshing with theim fro morrow til derk nyght. At which day the Troians had þe worse: ffor there was slayn king Epistrophis, and king Eros and Antenor 15 a ful famous lorde and chef counseloure of Troy taken with many anoper worthi lorde. Bycause of which þei resort [\*Fol. 21b.] daily to so feruent and mortall werre that hit endured \* xviij monthe withoute eny speche of treti, so þat þe peple on both parties were gretely amenessed and lost; but on þe Grekes part 20 þey weren oft refresshed, and on Troy part no succour but euer wasted.

ffortuned that at þe Grekes request there was anoper treti taken þat endured iij monthe, during which either partie come to and fro to oper, disporting and pleying with oper. Vnder 25 which treti þe false traitour Calcas, that was made chef counselour on þe Grekes part, come into þeire counsell amonge þe lordes praying þeym that forasmoche that he was of his owne volunte come to theym, leving behinde him þe goodis and namely his childe and doughter Criseide, þat þey wold geve 30 him som prisoner of Troy by þe which he might haue oute his doughter fro þe Troians. To whom the Grekes graunted anone and yaf him þe famous man Antenor, that was one of þe chef counselours of Troy bifore, by whom afterward was the cite destroied and lost; ffor wheʳ that Priamus sende oute 35 Cresside to fecche home Antenor, he was after traitour to him and to þe cite.



[X. Of Hector's death, by Achilles slain, and of the marvelous manner in which his body is embalmed.]

The tyme of trecty ended, Ector, purposing him to make <sup>1</sup> a proude iourney vppon the Grekes, ordeined him v wardes, 5 eueryche to succour other. The night bifor, the wife of Ector, lying in hir bedde, hadde a vision in hir slepe by þe which she vnderstode wel that if Ector held his purpos the morowe in þe feld that he shuld be slayn. Where she come rennyng to him, praying him as [for] þat day to absteyn him 10 fro þe felde, telling him hir a vision, whereof he seid hit was but false bileue and idolatri, and set noȝt therby, bidding hir to speke no moȝ therof, ffor he wold not breke his purpos for no thing. She, rennyng to Priamus, praying him to restrayne his purpos, enformyng him what shuld folowe if he 15 went oute that day, and to lete Paris and Troilus hold his purpos, which with grete peyne obeyed his charge. Paris and Troilus skarmeshing in þe felde, which in short tyme weȝ dryven abakke toward þe cite, but right grete nombȝ slayn on bothe partie, Ector, in a maner seing theym disconfite, [\*Fol. 22a.] 20 armed him in hast, taking his horse, \* and rode oute at þe yate, returnyng the Troians ayeȝ into þe feld, encowntering king Philex, whom he slewe with his spere. Then come king Pallamydes with a grete multitude of peple and fil vppon Ector. To whom he returned and put at disconfituȝ and 25 smote him downe fro his horse, lighting downe for to rase fro him his cote, as hit was his vsage whan he had slayn eny lorde. And as at that tyme having none of his peple aboȝt him, vnware behinde him come Achilles and bare him thorgh with a spere, where þe flouȝ of knighthode fel downe dede to þe 30 grownde. Of whom anon þe noyse sprong thorgh the feld that Ector was slayn; ffor sorowe of which þe Troians, ful of sorowe and caȝ, anone returned ayeȝ to þe cite, carying þe body of Ector with theym; ffor whom Priamus, Ecuba, Pollicene, Paris, Troilus, and al þe cite after madeȝ þe grettest

<sup>1</sup>Ms. made.



lamentaciō and dedely sorowe that with their<sup>1</sup> lyves might be made, ffalling fulli in dispaire, trusting none oþer but in short tyme to lese the cite and all, for Ector was so noble of gouernaunce and so doughti of honde that he had slaine with his owne honde xv kinges beside many an oþer lorde, and neuer 5 feld [to] put disconfit where he hadde þe gouernaunce vnto that tyme; which he might not escape, eschue, ne voide, notwithstanding that he was warned bifore.

Wherevppon the Troyans sent oute for a treti of vj monthe; during which Priamus, ordeyning for þe sepultuʀ of Ector, 10 ffull rially held þe obsequijs and vigiles, brannyng therein the riche jewellis, clopes of golde, encense, bawmes, milke, with many an oþer riche thing, so that þe sauour was made swete vp to heuen, alwey conseruyng þe body hole by craft of mañ for to endure bodely right as he did bifor, saving that he was 15 withoute life. ffor whom there was made a towmbe, the moost rial and riche that might be ordeined, Ector stounding therevppon fleshly, holding his swerd drawen in his honde. And by craft ther weʀ ordeined smale pipes of golde, put thorgh his hede, strecching þorgh euery veyne and lyṁ of his body. 20

\*Fol. 22b.] Þorgh \* which pipes was rennyng by craft a licour into euery part of his body þat alwey kept þe body like fressh and grene and wel colored, setting also vnder his fete a bason with a certen of bawme, which made his breth as swete as euer hit was, and a winde by craft fro vnder his fete blowing thorgh 25 him, as he had beñ quyk and brething, so that none stranger shuld well knowe but þat he were on life. And of hys array hit were to longe to tell.

[XI. How Achilles, enamoured of Polyzena, refrains from battle.] 30

But vnder þis treti taken bitwen þe Troians and þe Grekes, after this rial tombe made and don, eyther parte come entʀ, disporting with oþer. Amonge which vppon a day Achilles entred the cite with oþer Grekes in a poer sowdiours array,

<sup>1</sup> Ma. the.



vnknowe of the Troians, for to se the gise and vsage of theym,  
 holding his wey streite into þe temple wher þe obsequijs *and*  
*vigilis* were in doing, Priamus, Ecuba, Paris, Troilus with  
 many anoper lorde and lady doing their sacrafices and  
 5 obseruaunces, as þeiṛ gise was, for Ector, Ector alwey bihold-  
 ing fresshly and sternely oñ þeym, and namely, as him semed,  
 oñ Achilles, with swerd drawe in honde. Whereof Achilles  
 was asstonyed and abasshed, standing in doute wheper he was  
 quik or dede, saving he confortd himself with þe mortall  
 10 hevinesse that he sey there made for him. Amonge which  
 prece Achilles cast his sight aside and sey þe faire Pollicene,  
 suster of Ector and Troilus, whos love anone pershed his hard,  
 cursed hert in so strong a wise that he might not wele endure  
 his hard peines. Returnyng ayen to þe Grekes with the grettest  
 15 peyne that might be suffred, praying a *seruaunt* of his, a well  
 avised knight, for to go vnto Ecuba vppoñ his behalf, desiring  
 hir doughter Pollicene in mariage. Ecuba, anone remembring  
 oñ his worthinesse and also of þe myschef that was like to  
 folowe if she denyed his desire, (she) seid that she wold speke  
 20 thereof vnto Priamus. Wheṛto Priamus answhered and seid,  
 if that Achilles woll take vppoñ him to make þe Grekes cese  
 [\*Fol. 23a.] theiṛ werṛ \* and also that he wold be ful frende to him and to  
 al þe Troians as alliaunce axeth, he wold graunte his wil therein.

Of which answeṛ Achilles was þe ioyfullest oñ lyve,  
 25 promising fully to performe his desire, taking his wey streite  
 vnto þe king Agamenon where he was in counsell amonge his  
 lordes, yeving theym his avice and counsell that forasmuche  
 as grete part of þe peple is destroyed, and howe that their  
 goddis weren displesed for þe dethe of so houghe a nombre that  
 30 were slayn oñ bothe parties, and þe quarel of þe Grekes  
 noȝt goode but of pride don he coude not sey, but yaf hem  
 his counsell to returne ayen to Grece er fortune turned fully  
 ayenst theym.

To whom they yaue answeṛ and seiden, sithen they had  
 35 bidden so longe and, as þei trusten, [were] nowe atte the poynte



of wynnyng of the cite, they wold not leve it so, but make<sup>1</sup> al thing redy for the feld ayenst þe morowe because þe trety was doñ that day.

On the morowe, the Grekes rennyng bifore the cite, Troilus and Paris encountring hem in þe felde slewe oñ þe Grekes 5 part grete nombre and drove þeym home into þeire tentez, dispoiling, and robbing, brennyng their logges. Achilles, holding him still, (and) wold in no wise fight ayenst þe Troians for þe loue of faire Pollicene.

[XII. How Troilus is slain by Achilles, and how Achilles, 10 enticed within the temple, is there treacherously slain by Paris.]

Oñ þe next day folowing Troiles with his company come oute proudely, skarmeshing with theym, and slogh grete nombre of theym so that they flowen into þe tent of Achilles, 15 which stode at defence ayenst Troilus. The Grekes so releued oñ Troilus that of fortune Troilus slowe king Pollibete and kingg Mathaon, and wounded Diomedes thorgh þe body, folowing theym so þat his horse was slayn. His peple returned ayen, where Achilles with a grete peple fel oñ him 20 and smote of his hede, and drewe the body after him at his horse taile in þe moost shamefull wise that euer eny worþi man had withoute cause. Wherefor Achilles was gretely repreued as wel of þe Grekes as of þe Troians. ffor sorowe of which Priamus, Ecuba, and al þe Troians weʒ gretly in 25 dispair; ffor after Ector he was þeir protectour.

[Fol. 23b.] Ecuba, thenking oñ this grete cruelte and fals treson \* of Achilles, purposed fully be som treson to bring him to his ende. Wherevpon she send to hir son Paris, and bade ordeine him a felshipp redy for to sle Achilles; for she wold send for 30 him as for the trety of þe mariage, and to mete with hir in þe temple, wheʒ she shuld kepe him in secret wise vnto þe tyme þat he sey best tyme to fall oñ him and to sle him.

<sup>1</sup> Ma. made.



Achilles [was] the gladdest mañ oñ þe erthe whañ he was sent fore, trusting to haue a ful ende of his mariage. He toke with him but one knight or two, come yñto þe temple, and, as he kneled, one smote him vnder the fote, whereof he  
 5 died anone. And then̄ they lete smyte of his hede, and cast the body into the canel where dogges and coves shuld deuour̄ him.

[XIII. Of the conspiracy of Antenor and Eneas to surrender the city to the Greeks.]

10 Aft̄r which treason̄ so doñ to Achilles, the Grekes so feruently werred vpon̄ þe Troians dayly that grete party was destroyed oñ bothe sides and namely oñ the Troians party.

Vppon̄ a day Paris, making him redy for to make a iourney oñ þe Grekes, which in like wise made þeym redy to reñ bifor  
 15 þe cite, where at þe yatis they mette so feruently that þere was grete slaȝter; but þe Troians had þe worse, ffor Paris was þere slayñ and grete parte of his peple, which renued þe sorowe of Priamus ffore þeñ had he no cheften̄ laft oñ life to gouerne his peple. Whēr Priamus toke to purpos to kepe the  
 20 cite and no more to issue oute ne to skarmysch with theym̄.

Antenor and Eneas, purposing fully to haue the cite destroyed, come to Priamus seying in this wise: hit were nedeful for to make a trefy for a pes and to restore ayeñ  
 25 Elyñ to hir lorde with tresoure for his damage, suche as might be accorded fore. Priamus, hering þeir̄ desires,<sup>1</sup> denied hir axing. They, seing this, wenteñ to al þe comons of þe cite; and with þeire speche so deceyued þeym þat they made al  
 þeym̄ come byfor the king, saying, but if ye wol consent to þeir̄ desires, þey wold depose him and chese þem suche a king  
 30 þas shuld make a finell pes for al þeir profit. Priamus, seying howe they had bent þe comyns with false flateryng that he might not be of might to withstond al þeir malis, consented  
 a trefy for vj \* monthe. Vnder þe which trefy the false  
 35 itoure seid þat al þe couenauntes shuld be engrosed and en-

III. desiroes.



rolled and Elyn deliuered and Exeona brought ayeñ with deliueraunce of al þe prisoners of eiper party, and so to haue eternal pees bitweñ þe Grekes and Troians.

[XIIII. How, by the introduction of an horse of brass into Troy, the city is destroied, and the royal prisoners slain.] 5

In þe mene tyme Antenor and Eneas with the consent of þe false traitour Calcas lete make añ horse of bras so large and moche þat hit was mervaile to speke thereof. Which horse the Grekes desired to offre to the goddes Mynerva within þe temple of Troy, like as þey had made heʔ avowes bifore tyme, 10 Priamus graunting as fore their offering and sacrafice þeir entent. Which horse, whañ he was by craft brought vnto the yate, he was so houghe þat, vnto þe tyme þat þe walles weren broke to make þe yate larger, hit myȝt not entre. Within which horse was hidde a þousand meñ armed. The Grekes 15 [were] also euery mañ redy in hir best aray, so þat whañ þe horse were past þorgh þe brosten yate þeñ [bigan] meñ to lepe oute of his bely. And þere þei slewe al þat þei fonde aboute þe cite as porters and kepers theʔof. The Grekes, awayting wel vppon þeym, reñ yñ at onys and so woñ þe cite. 20

Priamus, seing this myschef, fled into þe temple, wher þe fonde him and slowe him, dispoiling þe temple of all þe richesse and tresoure, saving that [which] was þe two traitours, taking oute Elyn and þe soñ of Achilles, sleing Pollicene, leving no pece with oper of hir body, leding Ecuba into 25 Grece for to stone hir theʔ to dethe, breking downe þe wallis of þe cite, and slewe al þe peple found þerin, and brent euery house.

[XV. Of the number of men slain on each side.]

But for to tell of þe debate *and* discord of þe Grekes for þe 30 tresour in þeiʔ going homward, and howe euery lord slewe oper, and soñ [were] exiled foreuer oute of Grece—as Dares *and* Guydo writeñ—, hit wold make a longe prosses. But



fro þe lying of þe sege into þe ende weŕ slayñ oñ þe Grekes party viij<sup>c</sup> m<sup>l</sup> vij<sup>c</sup> xvj meñ ; and oñ þe Troians party weŕ slayñ vj<sup>c</sup> m<sup>l</sup> *and* ix<sup>c</sup> men ; and so, as I suppose, neþer party woñ [\*Fol. 24b.] gretly at the ende. \* ffor afterward Eneas slewe Antenor, for he shuld not haue gretter rule þeñ he amonge theym that askope oute of Troy. And þe frendis of Antenor basshed and exiled Eneas foreuer, wheŕ he lost all that euer he oþer his aunceters gate. And alwey the ende of euery tresoñ and falsenes [turneth] to sorowe and myschef at the last. Amen.

NATHANIEL E. GRIFFIN.



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VI.—THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE GHOSTS IN  
SHAKSPERE.

Of late the common belief<sup>1</sup> in the subjectivity of the ghosts in Shakspeare has received fresh currency from the sanction of scholars who belong unquestionably to the newer school—Professors C. H. Herford and A. C. Bradley and a gentleman named F. C. Moorman who writes in the *Modern Language Review*. The first and the last may for the time being speak for all :—

A ghost is demanded in *Macbeth* by virtue of the peculiar constitution of the ghost-seer's mind. The hectic imagination of the Celtic chieftain, which conjures up the air-drawn dagger and the voice crying 'Sleep no more, Macbeth doth murder sleep,' evokes by inward necessity the ghost of the murdered Banquo. . . . . It cannot be doubted that Shakspeare, to use the phrase of Professor Bradley, meant the judicious to take the Ghost for an

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<sup>1</sup> Common, even universal, the belief seems to be, whether among those who teach Shakspeare or among those who write on him, though, as is the case with many beliefs, little is said about it. Nothing, so far as I know, has been said against it. Spalding in his valuable book on *Elizabethan Demonology* throws much light on the attitude toward the supernatural held by the Elizabethans in general, but little on that taken by Shakspeare himself. Dramatic convention, moreover, he quite ignores.



hallucination. Its two appearances synchronise exactly with the expression of Macbeth's hypocritical wish that our dear friend Banquo were present; its first exit, as just noticed, falls in with Macbeth's bold summons to it to speak, and its final exit with his command, 'Hence,' etc. It is of course visible to the spectators, but so also are the sleep-phantoms of Richard III. The ghosts of Richard's victims are the figments of a coward conscience: the ghost of Cæsar is the embodiment of Brutus's sense of the egregious mistake he has made in slaying Cæsar, and of the approaching overthrow of republicanism. In like manner, the Ghost of Banquo is the outcome of the play of Macbeth's frenzied imagination upon his deep sense of insecurity. . . . The ghost of the 'majesty of buried Denmark' stands on a different footing. Of its reality there can be no question.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that these beings [the witches] who so vitally moulded the fate of the traditional Macbeth were not for Shakspeare, like the dagger and the ghost, mere creations of his feverish brain, embodied symbols of his ambitious dreams.<sup>2</sup>

Quite as these scholars agree on the subjectivity of the ghosts in question they agree on the objectivity of the Ghost in *Hamlet* and of the Weird Sisters;<sup>3</sup> yet it is only a few years since by other critics these too were rationalized away.<sup>4</sup> It is my opinion that the point of view involved is in both cases practically the same—that is, the romantic, absolute attitude toward Shakspeare which arose at the beginning of the century,—and that as it has yielded to the pressure of scientific, historical inquiry in one case it must eventually in the other.

Far from being subjective, the ghosts of the Elizabethan

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review*, April, 1906, pp. 195–6.

<sup>2</sup> *Eversley Shakspeare*, ix, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 346–48. It is fair to add that in his Appendix, where Mr. Bradley sums up the evidence for the subjectivity of Banquo's Ghost, he expresses diffidence in it.—About the same distinctions as these scholars make are made by Professor Richard Moulton in his *Moral System of Shakespeare*, pp. 260 f., 299.

<sup>4</sup> As regards the Ghost, not long since, I learn, by a well known professor in an eastern American university in a lecture to his class; as regards the Sisters, by such uncompromising idealists as Gervinus. The last named was confuted by Spalding.



drama, like the ghosts of folklore, were, as Mr. Lang has observed of the latter, 'ghosts with a purpose.' They were not used recklessly, as in some modern drama and fiction, for mere uncanny and melodramatic effect.<sup>1</sup> Groan and gloat, curse and harrow the senses as they might, they came, first and last, to effect a definite end. That, above all, was to wreak revenge by appearing either to the victim or to the revenger; or it was to protect some loved one;<sup>2</sup> or it was to prophesy;<sup>3</sup> or to crave burial;<sup>4</sup> or simply, in the capacity of an omen of death,<sup>5</sup> to appear. All of these purposes were from of old the special purposes of the ghost of folklore. All except the next to the last are represented, as we shall see, in Shakspeare; but in all four examples of the ghost, those in *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Macbeth*, the paramount purpose is revenge.

As regards motive, then,—for the moment we beg the question and speak of motives—Shakspeare's remaining ghosts are to be classed with the Ghost in *Hamlet*. They differ from it in that they appear not to the revenger but to the victim of the revenge. Here it is, perhaps, that the critics have stumbled: the Ghost in *Hamlet*, appearing to the revenger to incite him, is not open to subjective interpretation; the Ghost of Cæsar and the Ghost of Banquo,

<sup>1</sup> In the decay of the drama, in Shakspeare's *Cymbeline* and *Henry VIII* and in Webster (see the author's *John Webster*, pp. 120-1, 150-1), the supernatural begins, under the influence of the Masque, to be treated without much meaning, spectacularly. See below p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> The second appearance of the Ghost in *Hamlet*, to protect Hamlet's mother. Cf. the Friar's Umbra in Chapman's *Bussy* and the friendly service of Jack's Ghost in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*.

<sup>3</sup> Marston's *Sophonisba*, Ghost of Asdrubal.

<sup>4</sup> The *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (1611), Ghost of the Lady.

<sup>5</sup> Webster's *White Devil*, Brachiano's Ghost; Chapman, etc. It is a widely spread superstition that ghosts—the ghosts of friends—come to fetch the souls of those left in the land of the living. Cf. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, I, p. 132.



appearing to the murderers, in some measure are. One has disclosures to make and exhortations to deliver; the other may accomplish its purpose merely by its presence—by its gestures and bloody wounds and by the fate which its mere appearing bodes. In short, one has to make for itself a hearing: the other may appeal to a witness and advocate dwelling within the victim's breast. When the latter is so treated, accordingly, without such crasser and more material features as speaking or as appearing to more than one person, it is but natural for a nineteenth century critic to interpret it as an embodiment of conscience, or, as the merely ominous becomes more prominent, even as a presentimental hallucination. But not always was it so treated. Just as the Ghost in *Hamlet* belongs to the Kydian tradition, which begins with Kyd's *Hamlet* and runs down through Marston and Tourneur to Webster's *White Devil*, the other ghosts in Shakspeare belong to a tradition which begins, so far as I know, with *Lochrine* and runs down through Massinger to the end of the drama; and at the same period the two varieties are treated much alike. In spite of the difference in dramatic exigencies the ghost of Albanact in *Lochrine* plays pranks and bustles about the stage as freely as the ghost in Kyd's *Hamlet* could have done; the ghosts in *Richard III* and *Julius Cæsar* are not much more delicately handled than the Ghost in Shakspeare's *Hamlet*; and Banquo's is less so than the slightly later Kydian Ghost of Isabella in Webster's *White Devil*. What swayed the dramatists as, notably about the time of the last two dramas, they made their ghosts less crude and material and heightened the imaginative horror of them, was not so much a perception of the greater dramatic and psychological fitness of such a refinement in the case of the ghost which appears to his victim as it was a revulsion of popular taste against the shrieking, bustling ghost of the old



style in general. And psychology in the sense of refining and subduing it into a symbol or personification never, so far as I can discover, came into play at all. Either sort of ghost, at the end of the Elizabethan drama as at the beginning, was a ghost and no more.

To show this so far as Shakspeare is concerned—the question need not be raised with regard to the other dramatists—we shall not deal further with the evolution of the two types of ghost, with differences of function or tradition. Thus much has been said of these to explain the difference in effect between the Ghost in *Hamlet* and Shakspeare's other apparitions—to show why they talk less and do less and stand more aloof; but in order to prove that they were none the less the ghosts of popular superstition we shall turn to other considerations. Beginning with the crux, Banquo's Ghost, we shall, instance by instance, try to prove this from the situation itself, from the evidence of folklore and of a comparison with other Elizabethan ghosts of certainly objective character no matter in which tradition they be, and from Shakspeare's attitude toward the abstract, the supernatural, and the occult in general.

### *Macbeth.*

In *Macbeth* the situation lends itself admirably to our interpretation. Banquo has been invited to a feast by his would-be murderer, and when his murderer, among his guests, believes that Banquo now bides safe in a ditch, he stands before him. He has been bid—ironically—not to fail our feast, and with irony for irony he keeps the word he pledges. Such a situation is personal, concrete, objective, if any is. So it is understood by Macbeth, it seems to me, and so it would be understood by the audience. At first he seems not to see the Ghost—he finds the table full. It is only when Lennox points to



the chair that he recognizes him. 'Which of you,' he then cries, 'have done this?' What he means by this—the trick of filling up the table, the making of an effigy representing Banquo, or the actual killing of him—it is hard to say. Probably the last, and forthwith he snatches the opportunity of warding off such an imputation from himself. For to him at least the Ghost's errand is plain: it is prophecy, retaliation, vengeance. He sits in Macbeth's royal chair as a token that none the less his seed shall sit there hereafter. He shakes his gory locks at the King in anger, and perhaps as a dark menace of the nemesis that awaits him. He makes other pantomimic signs of a sort that drives Macbeth to desperation—'what care I?'—and to a challenge to speak and out with it. As the Ghost retires, Macbeth vows that hereafter 'the monuments of his victims shall be the maws of kites'—the body annihilated, that is, so that the ghost may not walk.<sup>1</sup> Easily recovering himself thereupon, he calls for wine, and, in the teeth of this experience, drinks to Banquo's health. Equal to Macbeth's presumption,<sup>2</sup> however, is the Ghost's ironical rancor, and he reappears. This time Macbeth's fear and rage are well-nigh frenzied; but the Ghost gone, he is himself again. Throughout the scene, then, everything comports with objectivity—the completeness and abruptness of Macbeth's changes on the one hand and the spirit of mere personal antagonism in both parties on the other, the unremorseful fear and defiance of the murderer and the ironical vindictiveness of the Ghost. Macbeth hears no cry of conscience, never thinks of brushing the reality of the Ghost aside as he does that of the dagger, but himself comprehends, in that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VIII, p. 77.—The interpretation originates, I surmise, with Professor Kittredge.

<sup>2</sup> A capital instance this of the classical *ὕβρις*.



day of the feud and vendetta, the purport of its errand very well :

It will have blood, they say ; blood will have blood.

Even more objective, even more evidently revengeful is the second—or perhaps we should call it third—appearing of the Ghost. This, at the Witches' Cavern, takes place, like the appearing of the shade of the prophet Samuel at Endor and that of the spirit Asmath in Shakspeare's *Henry VI*, by dint of conjuring, and one is as little susceptible of allegorical—rationalistic—interpretation as the other. Banquo plays a part like that of the most material and vindictive ghost of the Kydian Tragedy of Blood, Marston's *Andrugio*,<sup>1</sup> or like that of Heywood's *Agamemnon*,<sup>2</sup> taunting Macbeth with his 'bloodboltered' smile as he points at the line of kings-to-be 'for his.'

This interpretation—that Banquo's Ghost is but a disembodied person seeking revenge—restores to us, moreover, the effect of ironical reversal, lost under an allegorizing interpretation, which Shakspeare had intended. Banquo is bid, sardonically, not to fail the feast, and he comes as a ghost. In the folly and hypocrisy of his homicidal success Macbeth gives voice to a wish that Banquo were present, and turns to find him—father of a line of kings—seated on the throne. Macbeth had called Banquo 'our chief guest,' and there at the head of the table he sits, a ghostly kill-joy, the proverbial death's-head at the feast outdone. To the Elizabethan audience all this meant that Banquo was getting even, and how could it mean that if his ghost were merely a figment of Macbeth's imagination? It is but the simple, objectively ironical nemesis which, in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antonio's Revenge*, v, 1,— 'tossing his torch about his head in triumph.'

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 213. He points at his wounds.

<sup>3</sup> As the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* was acted in 1611, it is almost contemporary with Forman's notice. See below, p. 222.



Beaumont, recalling possibly this very scene, makes Jasper, entering with face mealed as his own ghost, threaten against his enemy :—

When thou art at table with thy friends,  
Merry in heart and filled with swelling wine,  
I'll come in midst of all thy pride and mirth,  
Invisible to all men but thyself,  
And whisper such a sad tale in thine ear  
Shall make thee let the cup fall from thy hand  
And stand as mute and pale as death itself.<sup>1</sup>

Such a reversal, with its abrupt, sensational irony and its personal revenge for nemesis, is characteristic of the Elizabethan drama. Whirls of the wheel like this occur not infrequently, in the works of Shakspeare and his brother dramatists, to overthrow the fatuous and presumptuous. Such are the solutions of the witches' enigmas in this very play, Birnam Wood coming to Dunsinane and Macduff confronting Macbeth as one not of woman born; such is Hamlet's letter announcing his return at the moment when Claudius was on the point of telling Laertes how he had forestalled the latter's revenge: such, still more exactly, are the condemnation of the much-warned, headlong Hastings out of his own mouth and the fulfillment of Buckingham's jesting prayer.<sup>2</sup> In the case in question the irony is accentuated by Macbeth's wish that Banquo were present and by the health he drinks to him, either of which coincides with

<sup>1</sup> *K. B. P.*, v, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. such irony in the fulfillment of Anne's curse of herself, *Richard III*, I, 2 and IV, 1, 72-85, and of Buckingham's prayer that his friend may be faithless, v, 1, 12-21.—

That high All-seer which I dallied with  
Hath turned my feigned prayer on my head  
And given in earnest what I begged in jest.

And compare in point of abruptness of reversal *1 Hen. VI*, I, 1, 51-61.



an entrance of the Ghost. These have been interpreted, according to the law of the association of ideas, as provocatives of the hallucinations. But thus the irony—the Elizabethan meaning—is obliterated. Really the words of Macbeth are words of impiety, of a classical Infatuation and Insolence,<sup>1</sup> and they are answered from the other world. They fly in the face of Heaven, and, like those of Hastings and Buckingham, are hurled back upon the speaker's head. Other instances quite parallel to this in Shakspeare there are perhaps none, but there are plenty in the other dramatists. It is no uncommon thing on the Elizabethan stage for ghosts and the heavenly or the infernal powers to answer words of appeal, defiance, or blasphemy with outcries or with thunder and lightning; and in the passage below cited from Massinger we have a remarkable instance of ghosts, objective as one could wish, answering the murderer's challenge, to his amazement, on the spot. The situation may be presented as a whole because it is parallel to that in *Macbeth* in more ways than one. It is Malefort, the murderer of wife and son, that speaks:—

Though this centre  
Labour to bring forth earthquakes, and hell open  
Her wide-stretched jaws, and let out all her furies,  
They cannot add an atom to the mountain  
Of fears and terrors that each minute threaten  
To fall on my accursed head,—

*Enter the Ghost of young Malefort, naked from the waist, full of wounds, leading in the Shadow of a Lady, her face leprous.*

Ha! is't fancy?

Or hath hell heard me and makes proof if I  
Dare stand the trial? Yes, I do; and now  
I view these apparitions, I feel  
I once did know the substances. For what come you?  
Are your aerial forms deprived of language,  
And so denied to tell me, that by signs  
[The Ghosts use various gestures]

---

<sup>1</sup> Ἄρη, ὕβρις.



You bid me ask here of myself? 'Tis so :  
 And there is something here makes answer for you.  
 You come to lance my sear'd up conscience ; yes,  
 And to instruct me, that those thunderbolts,  
 That hurled me headlong from the height of glory,  
 Wealth, honours, worldly happiness, were forged  
 Upon the anvil of my impious wrongs,  
 And cruelty to you ! I do confess it ;  
 And that my lust compelling me to make way  
 For a second wife, I poisoned thee . . .

. . . . .  
 yet, thou, being my son,  
 Wert not a competent judge mark'd out by heaven  
 For her revenger, which thy falling by  
 My weaker hand confirm'd.— [*Answered still by signs*].—  
 'Tis granted by thee.

Can any penance expiate my guilt,  
 Or can repentance save me?— [*Ghosts disappear*]  
 They are vanish'd !

What's left to do then ? I'll accuse my fate,  
 That did not fashion me for nobler uses :  
 For if those stars, cross to me in my birth,  
 Had not denied their prosperous influence to it,  
 With peace of conscience, like to innocent men,  
 I might have ceased to be, and not as now,  
 To curse my cause of being—

[*He is killed with a flash of lightning*],  
 v, 2.

Equally Elizabethan and far more Shakspearean is the conception, according to our interpretation, of nemesis as a personal revenge. So in Shakspeare (though so the critics do not interpret it) nemesis is always conceived. Hamlet's father, old Gloster, Cæsar, and the infinite villains and victims of *Richard III* and the *Henry VI* cycle, are avenged, as the parties concerned themselves generally make clear, in a blood-feud. Hardly one of the dozen or more of princes and peers who fall under Richard's axe fails to recognize that his fate is due to Queen Margaret's curse,<sup>1</sup> and these and all

<sup>1</sup>Queen Anne (v. *supra*, p. 208) suffers from her own curse.



the others, be they guiltless or be they guilty, crave Richard's blood, in turn, as ghosts on Bosworth Field. Here blood will have blood, regardless of considerations of law or guilt; and it is not vague powers of nature or society or justice that take order to that end but, in the body or out of the body, the murdered one himself. Even in the political drama *Julius Cæsar* the nemesis could not be more highly personal: not only does Cæsar's ghost actually appear to Brutus on the eve of battle, but, as Brutus and Cassius severally at the end confess,<sup>1</sup> and Antony had prophesied, it was his ghost—and by that is meant, not the *spirit of Cæsar*, as we should say, but his indignant shade, 'mighty yet' and 'ranging for revenge,'—that 'turned their swords in their own proper entrails.' The nemesis does not take the form of society outraged, a mob devoted, after all, to absolutism, the spirit of the times revolting against republican conservatism, or any other form that philosophical critics have devised, but, as both Antony and Octavius avow,<sup>2</sup> that of a vendetta.<sup>3</sup> Macbeth himself falls not as a usurper,

<sup>1</sup> v, 3, 45; v, 5, 50; v, 3, 94–6. Antony's prophecy, III, 1, 270 f:

And Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge,  
With Ate by his side come hot from hell  
Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice  
Cry 'Havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war;  
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth  
With carrion men, groaning for burial.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the whole tenor of their words in the parley, v, 1, especially ll. 50–5.

<sup>3</sup> The impression is confirmed by a passage of like tenor in *Antony and Cleopatra*, where Sextus Pompey says to Octavius and Antony:

To you all three,  
The senators alone of this great world,  
Chief factors for the gods, I do not know  
Wherefore my father should revengers want,  
Having a son and friends: since Julius Cæsar,



a foe of liberty or justice, but, at the hands of Macduff, explicitly to appease the ghosts of the latter's wife and children.<sup>1</sup> The nemesis which Shakspeare habitually delineates is direct and simple, an even-handed justice that strikes the human breast from without rather than from within, and takes, not by preference so much as in instinctive sympathy with the spirit of his age, the primitive, popular form of a personal, or supernaturally personal, vengeance. It is retaliation rather than retribution, and of such a nemesis Banquo's Ghost is but a capital instance.

What now are the arguments adduced in favor of the contrary interpretation with which we are contending? Professor Bradley has tabulated them,<sup>2</sup> and even at some

---

Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted,  
There saw you laboring for him, etc.

And that is it

Hath made me rig my navy ; . . . .

with which I meant

To scourge the ingratitude that spiteful Rome  
Cast on my noble father.

*A. and C., II, 6, 8 ff.*

And the passage testifies as well to the objectivity of the ghost of Cæsar and the revengefulness of his mission.

<sup>1</sup> *Macbeth*, v, 7, 15 : —

If thou be'st slain and with no stroke of mine,  
My wife and children's ghosts will haunt me still.

This is the true spirit of vendetta, still stronger in the remarkable passage which precedes this : —

*Malcolm.* Let's make us medicine of our great revenge,  
To cure this deadly grief.

*Macduff.* He has no children.

*iv, 3, 214 f.*

'He' is Macbeth, and Macduff, like the bloodiest of the Kydian revengers, seems to be meditating in the strain of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The Clarendon Press Editors soften this interpretation a little ; Bradley and others reject it ; and I myself would not insist upon it.

<sup>2</sup> See Bradley, pp. 492-3. In quoting Professor Bradley I sometimes condense his language.



inconvenience to ourselves we will consider them in his order :—

1. *Macbeth* has already seen one hallucination, that of the dagger ; and *Lady Macbeth* would remind us of it here.

The main answer to this, as to all the other arguments here quoted, is that as the stage-directions in the first edition of the play, the Folio of 1623, indicate and the account of the acting in Forman's Diary proves, the ghost was represented and was meant to be represented on the stage ; whereas the true hallucinations, the air-drawn dagger and the voice that cried 'Sleep no more,' were not. The dagger and the voice Macbeth himself acknowledges to be the creation of his fancy,—'methought I heard a voice,' 'there's no such thing.'<sup>1</sup> Of the ghost, despite the testimony of all his guests, he is certain—

If I stand here, I saw him—

and he remains so almost to the end of the scene. And as for the authority of *Lady Macbeth*, are we against the witness of Hamlet's eyes and ears and our own to accept Queen Gertrude's explanation—

This is the very coinage of the brain ?

or, in the case of the Ghost in Heywood's *Iron Age* (an unmistakable instance, as Professor Bradley admits, of objectivity) Clytemnestra's similar explanation to Orestes,—

Thy former murder makes thee mad ?<sup>2</sup>

These, who by the traditions of folklore, as we shall learn,<sup>3</sup> are not privileged to see the ghost, must of course have their say.

The argument from character, moreover, has in this matter

<sup>1</sup> *Macbeth*, II, 1, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See reference below, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> See argument 6, below.



little, perhaps no, force. For if Macbeth sees ghosts by dint of imaginative leanings, why do Richard III, Brutus, and dozens of other persons in the Elizabethan drama see them without such? Even apart from these pressing considerations, what on its own merits can be made of the psychology? The esthetic critics hold that the strength of this hallucination, in which Macbeth believes, is a logical and inevitable development from the previous hallucinations, in which he did not believe. But if things have gone thus far why do they go no farther? Nay, why do they come to a pause and leave Macbeth henceforth hallucination-free? The scene itself, moreover, does not bear out such an interpretation. The murder done, Macbeth expresses his complacency, and at finding it after all but half done he chides. Of that half he assures himself, however, and after appointing another meeting with his mercenary he turns, cheerfully enough, with a conventional table-greeting, to his guests, and, with the instinct of a sneak, voices a hypocritical wish for Banquo's presence. When he sees the ghost, fear—pure fear and horror—overwhelms him, but when it is gone he is himself again: and the experience is repeated at the Ghost's return. The conclusions which Macbeth then reaches are: the wonder of the apparition and of the guests' not seeing it, the wisdom of making assurance doubly sure by dismembering the body, and the impossibility of keeping murder hid. In all this there is no remorse, nor the slightest concern for the crime. There is indeed something of what Mr. Moorman posits—a deep sense of insecurity; but it appears rather only when the ghost is present, and it is not half so much fear of being published a murderer, or fear of Fleance proving father of a line of kings, as fear of the ghost before his eyes, the hideous, horrible shade that dogs him. A subjective cause, then, has not been indicated by the poet, nor has an adequate subjective cause been suggested by the critics.



2. *The Ghost seems to be created by Macbeth's imagination, for his words—*

Now they rise again  
With twenty mortal murders on their crown—

*describe it, and they echo what the murderer had said to him a little before,—*

Safe in a ditch he bides  
With twenty trenched gashes on his head.<sup>1</sup>

Taken as Shakspeare would have us take it, this is not a matter of psychology but of story-telling, of narrative fact. Macbeth, to be sure, does not count the gashes—twenty anyway is only a round number—and he has recourse to his remembrance of the murderer's words; but with the gashes' getting there neither murderer's words nor murderer's imagination has the least thing to do. He sees the twenty gashes because they are there. For by the laws of folklore the world over and the usage of literature ancient or modern a ghost is in outer semblance no more than the corpse revived. It is pale, livid, or blood-bespattered; it is leprous and tettered from poison; it is befouled with the dirt of the death-struggle or the dust of the grave; and always it shows its wounds. So with the Ghost of Hector in the *Æneid*—

raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento  
pulvere, perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.  
Ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo  
Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli,  
vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis,  
squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis  
volneraque illa gerens, quæ circum plurima muros  
accepit patrios,—

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<sup>1</sup> The same subjective point of view is taken by Professor Moulton, *Moral System*, p. 261. Indeed, he seems bent on taking no other point of view: the blood on First Murderer's face as he appears at the door he makes out to be 'in Macbeth's imagination.'



so with the Ghost of Agamemnon in Heywood as he appears to Orestes pointing at his wounds, and so with the Ghosts of Malefort's Son and Lady cited from Massinger above. Banquo's Ghost, then, rises with twenty mortal murders on his crown, not because Macbeth remembers the words of the murderer, but because the ghost must be like the corpse. It is no matter of psychology or symbolism, but the exceedingly simple matter of a story hanging together.

3. *It vanishes the second time on his making a violent effort and asserting its unreality :*

Hence horrible shadow !  
Unreal mockery, hence !

*This is not quite so the first time, but then too its disappearance follows on his defying of it :*

Why what care I ? If thou canst nod, speak too.

*So, apparently, the dagger vanishes when he exclaims 'There's no such thing !'*

The unreality of the Ghost is asserted by Macbeth not, certainly, in the sense of its subjectivity but only in the sense of its being insubstantial as a shade. Immediately after this he wonders that the others can keep the natural ruby of their cheeks when his are blanched with fear. As for defying it, that of course is quite another matter, on which I, in these pages, would be the last to spend words, but with which the passage quoted for comparison, where the dagger is dismissed as an illusion—

There's no such thing :  
It is the bloody business which informs  
Thus to mine eyes,—

has nothing in the world to do. Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> Professor Brad-

<sup>1</sup> P. 493.



ley quotes to the same purpose Brutus's words to Cæsar's Ghost—

Now I have taken heart thou vanishest.

But does Brutus want it to vanish? In the next line he cries after it,

Ill spirit, I would have more talk with thee

just as Macbeth himself cries to the witches,

Stay you imperfect speakers, tell me more ;

and Brutus's first utterance is no more than an outburst of mystified vexation. Here the situation is only that to be found in ghost-stories and folklore the world over—the oracle breaking off at the tantalizing moment. Quite otherwise in *Macbeth*. The Ghost will make no disclosures—his vengeance is the horror and menace of his presence, and of this the murderer is but too glad to be rid. That he himself does this, by will-power, is far from having been proved, and certainly the burden of proof is on the shoulders of the asserter. Indeed, the assertion itself depends for proof upon the proposition that Banquo's Ghost is subjective—which it was adduced to prove.

4. *At the end of the scene Macbeth himself seems to regard the Ghost as an illusion :*

My strange and self abuse<sup>1</sup>

Is the initiate fear that wants hard use. III, 4, 141-2.

There is force in this argument as in none of the others ; but granted that in folklore and the Elizabethan drama a ghost may appear to only one person in a multitude (as below we shall see that granted it must be), these final words of Macbeth's become, I think, the most natural reaction from such an experience. No one has seen anything ; the Queen has rated and taunted him and cast in his teeth his former hallucinations ; and his guests have tried to overlook his passion

<sup>1</sup> 'Self-deception.' A different interpretation, recently proposed by a German critic whose name I cannot now recall, will not hold.



as the fit of a moment. The case is different from that of Hamlet—there the Ghost speaks, and Hamlet has only one witness, his mother, against him;—and how can Macbeth stand out against his sarcastic queen and the whole table? Be that as it may, there are instances in the Elizabethan drama of the most unquestionably objective ghosts being received, even by one person alone, with equal incredulity.<sup>1</sup> In the present play, after the indubitable witches have taken flight, Banquo asks Macbeth,

Were such things here as we do speak about?  
Or have we eaten on the insane root  
That takes the reason prisoner?

Likewise, after their second appearance, Macbeth questions, fruitlessly, his lord-in-waiting Lennox. For your subtler dramatist must have a way of distinguishing the natural and the supernatural when, as on the Elizabethan stage, both are represented in a form equally substantial and corporeal.

5. *It does not speak.*

This is no real difficulty, whether from the point of view of folklore or of the drama. A ghost, says Brand, need not speak at all, and generally does not till bidden. Banquo's Ghost, though bidden, does not speak simply because he has nothing to say. He cannot cry, like the ghosts of Richard's victims or the Ghost of Cæsar, I will meet thee on Bosworth Field, or at Philippi; for revenge is in the hands of others than his friends and kin—Malcolm and Macduff—and is for other causes.<sup>2</sup> His program is to push the usurper from his stool

<sup>1</sup> Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*, II, 6; III, 2; Massinger's *Roman Actor*, V, 1; Webster's *White Devil*, V, 4. See also below, pp. 224–5, notes, and *Cymbeline*, V, 4, 30–151, in particular 130–151.

<sup>2</sup> Obviously there would be no point in Banquo's Ghost's denouncing a retributory death which should come at the hands of Macduff, not Fleance, to appease the ghosts of Macduff's wife and children. Contrast the situation in *Julius Cæsar*.



X and plague him with a blood-boltered presence and inscrutable menaces, and at the Witches' Cavern to taunt him with the show of a line of kings stretching to the crack of doom. Silence and gestures, moreover, were now getting to be the approved demeanor for ghosts on the stage. The talkative, familiar ghost was shelved, and those few ghosts that hereafter tread the stage, Webster's, Massinger's, and Heywood's, point, nod, or beckon, but hold their peace; and Massinger's<sup>1</sup> and Webster's,<sup>2</sup> at least, awe and plague their victim much as Banquo's does.

6. *It is visible only to Macbeth.*

It is strange that with the scene between Hamlet and his mother in mind Professor Bradley and other critics<sup>3</sup> should in this matter find cause for question. From the point of view both of folklore and of Elizabethan dramatic practice—the only point of view, I must think, to take—it is quite regular. With one consent authorities on folklore like Reginald Scot and Brand<sup>4</sup> declare that most commonly a ghost appears to one person only, even when that person is in company with others; and so it appears in Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*,<sup>5</sup> Heywood's *Iron Age*,<sup>6</sup> as well as Shakspeare's *Hamlet*,<sup>7</sup> in all of which cases the objectivity is beyond a cavil.

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Actor, The Unnatural Combat.*

<sup>2</sup> *White Devil, Brachiano's Ghost.*

<sup>3</sup> Fletcher (Rolfe's *Macbeth*, p. 216) and others.

<sup>4</sup> Reginal Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Nicholson's reprint, 1886, p. 449: 'Also they never appeare to the whole multitude, seldome to a few, and most commonlie to one alone. Also they may be seene of some, and of some other in that presence not seene at all.' Hazlitt's *Brand*, 1905, I, 270: . . . 'rarely visible to more than one person, although there are several in company.' And Wilson (v. Furness) reminds us of Pallas appearing to Achilles at the council.

<sup>5</sup> Bussy's Ghost appears to Cleremont, p. 206 (Shepherd's ed.), without being heard or seen by Guise, although, p. 209, he is visible to others.

<sup>6</sup> *Works*, London, 1874, III, p. 423.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Richard Moulton, indeed, after accepting this ghost as objective



He appears, that is, to the person in question *and the audience*. This last circumstance is, I think, the crucial test of the objectivity of any Elizabethan ghost. Whatever, under the load of outworn traditions, may be the occasional practice nowadays, then the audience was never made a prey to an illusion. Shakspeare, as usual, has here provided against all mistake on the part of the sensible spectator by giving him the key to the situation, just as he provides one for misunderstandings and mystifications such as those in the *Comedy of Errors* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, or those in the *Tempest* where Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban are being beguiled by the invisible Ariel;<sup>1</sup> and nothing could be more stupid of the spectator than not to take it and to insist on putting himself on a level with the characters on the boards. The case of Ariel, indeed, is one much in point: not only in the scene mentioned but invariably he is invisible either to all but the audience or to all but the audience and the person or persons to whom it behooves him to appear; as to Prospero when in company with Miranda or others, or to the three criminals when in company with Gonzalo, Adrian, and Francisco.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, with Shakspeare, as with the Elizabethan dramatists generally, it may be taken as a rule, fairly absolute, not only that whatever is represented by him on the stage is actual and objective, but

at the first appearance is inclined to refuse him that quality at the second. This the Elizabethan historian cannot possibly do. If the Ghost was real at the first appearance, how to the audience, as he comes and speaks at length to stay Hamlet's wrath and whet his purpose, can he, without any hint on the part of the author, lose his reality? If the Ghost was a ghost when he appeared in person to command, he is just as much one now that he appears to reiterate his command.

<sup>1</sup> *Tempest*, III, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Tempest*, III, 3, 52-82. It is possible, but not probable, that here Ariel, like Prospero (stage-direction, l. 18), is visible to the audience (and Prospero) only.



that what is unobjective is not so represented. Thus it is with Lear's lunacy, and thus with Cardinal Beaufort's death-bed vision of the ghost of Duke Humphrey, whom he had murdered.<sup>1</sup> In the latter case there is no reason that Shakspeare should not have put the ghost upon the stage except that he intended here to portray what the critics, with a ghost before them, are bent on finding portrayed in *Macbeth*—terrors of conscience and phantasms of disordered imagination. Not (as we shall see) that Shakspeare makes Humphrey's ghost what we nowadays should call subjective—no Elizabethan ghost, not even that of Webster's Isabella<sup>2</sup> is quite that—but that his intent seems to be to throw the emphasis off the motive of revenge and upon the time-worn motive of the mental anguish of a dying villian. In *Macbeth*, with Banquo's ghost on the stage, his intent was evidently something different.

That it was Shakspeare himself who provided that the Ghost appear on the stage cannot be disputed. The two entrances and corresponding exits and the seating of the Ghost are

<sup>1</sup> *Second Henry VI*, III, 3. That Beaufort's vision is of Duke Humphrey's ghost appears from sc. 2, ll. 171 and 372-4, and from l. 15 of sc. 3. In the original of *Second Henry VI*, the *Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, the treatment of this subjective ghost is similar, and the identity of it with Duke Humphrey's is made explicit. Cf. Hazlitt's *Shakspeare's Library*, Pt. II, vol. i, pp. 479, 482, where both Vaux and the Cardinal himself roundly declare the figure seen to be Duke Humphrey's ghost. Shakspeare softens these statements in his effort to get a vaguer, more inward meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Skeptical as Shakspeare was not and living in a more skeptical atmosphere (compare Donne in his poems) Webster, after the later Elizabethan fashion, presents his ghosts as silent and more insubstantial. Yet Isabella's Ghost (*White Devil*, III, 3), although she purports to be the coinage of Francisco's 'melancholy,' appears on the stage and that, too, to her revenger; and the other ghost, Brachiano's, though its demeanor is symbolical, is itself substantive—cannot at any rate be interpreted as subjective—and is actual enough to throw earth at Flamineo.



indicated in the first text. To the contemporary acting, moreover, there is the witness of Dr. Simon Forman,—

And as he thus did, standing up to drinke a carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier behind him. And he turning a-bout to sit down a-gain sawe the goste of banco, which fronted him so, that he fell in-to a great passion of fear and fury, vterringe many wordes about his murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was mured they suspected Mackbet<sup>1</sup>—

as well as the very definite testimony of Beaumont, quoted above, and that of the anonymous play called the *Puritan*—

Instead of a jester we'll have the ghost in the white sheet sit at the upper end of the table<sup>2</sup>—

to the acting of such scenes in general.

### *Richard III.*

The ghosts which appear to Richard in a dream on the eve of battle are easier to interpret. Much that has been said of Banquo's Ghost may be said still more emphatically of these. They are the ghosts of Richard's victims seeking his blood, and any one who with a knowledge of contemporary Elizabethan drama had read the preceding portion of the play would feel the inevitableness of their appearance before the curtain fell. In the way of this interpretation there are two slight stumbling-blocks—the dream and Richard's doubts. In general, dreams are treated by Shak-

<sup>1</sup> If Forman is right here, he is describing the second entrance and a second seating of the Ghost. This took place from behind—not before Macbeth's eyes like the other—and by bringing him within an ace of sitting in the horror's lap must have produced a tragic sensation well over the verge of the comic. It would be like the Friar's Umbra frightening away the murderers of Bussy.

<sup>2</sup> This passage has been used to determine the date of *Macbeth*—the *Puritan* was published in 1607—but the context proves that it has no reference to that or any play.



spere objectively, in a superstitious fashion unsusceptible of psychological explanation, as the avenue of occult information to the soul ; and in this same play Clarence, even though he has dreamed of Gloucester's perfidious murderousness, refuses at first to believe the witness of the cutthroats before his eyes. So with Romeo,<sup>1</sup> Posthumus,<sup>2</sup> Calpurnia,<sup>3</sup> and the poet Cinna<sup>3</sup>—they dream more wisely than they can know or think. In folklore, moreover, which knows nothing subjective, dreams are treated not only after the fashion just mentioned but as the special medium for ghosts, just as they are for ghosts in Homer and Virgil, and in the Bible for Gabriel or 'the angel of the Lord.'<sup>4</sup> So in the Elizabethan drama generally and in the case before us. There are few ghosts less insubstantial than that in Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*; he appears to one person, then to two persons at once, then to one person again, and once he stands fire for his pains ; and yet his first appearance is in a dream. Another instance, still more explicit, is that in Massinger's *Roman Actor*, where, as Cæsar dreams, the ghosts of his victims, Rusticus and Sura,

although their ashes were cast in sea,  
Were by their innocence made up again,  
And in corporeal forms but now appear'd,

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<sup>1</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*, v, 1, 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Cymbeline*, v, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Julius Cæsar*, II, 2; III, 3, 1-4. Cf. Duke Humphrey's dream, *Henry VI*, I, 2; Andromache's, *Troilus and Cressida*, v, 3, 10 and 63; Balthazar's, *Romeo and Juliet*, v, 3, 138, etc. In tragedy all Shakspeare's bona fide dreams are fulfilled, except in the rare cases, where, as in that of Duchess Eleanor (if hers be bona fide), they flatter the subject in his folly.

<sup>4</sup> So the messengers of Zeus appear to mortals ; so Patroclus's Ghost appears to Achilles and Hector's to Æneas. Subjective, of course, none of these can be. As conceived by the primitive mind, indeed, the dream is a state in which the soul is out of the body and is roaming about, collecting information, communicating or being communicated with ; and the question of subjectivity here is simply not in point.



Waving their bloody swords above my head,  
 As at my death they threaten'd. And methought  
 Minerva, ravish'd hence,<sup>1</sup> whisper'd that she  
 Was, for my blasphemies, disarm'd by Jove,  
 And could no more protect me. Yes, 'twas so, [*Thunder and lightning*]  
 His thunder does confirm it, against which,  
 Howe'er it spare the laurel, this proud wreath  
 Is no assurance. V, 1.

Nor do subjective interpretations of the dreams in Shakspeare square with the characters of the persons who have them. This becomes clear when applied to another instance in a later and more finished play—Queen Katharine's dream in *Henry VIII*:—

*Sad and solemn music. Enter, solemnly tripping one after another, six personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of bays and golden vizards on their faces; branches of bays or palm in their hands. They first congee unto her, then dance; and, at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head; at which the other four make reverent curtsies; then the two that hold the garland deliver the same to the other next two, who observe the same order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head: which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two, who likewise observe the same order: at which, as it were by inspiration, she makes in her sleep signs of rejoicing, and holdeth up her hands to heaven: and so in their dancing vanish, carrying the garland with them. The music continues.*

Shall we interpret these spirits as the figments of Katharine's meditation? It would mean monstrous complacency, and it would altogether defeat the poet's intention of signifying heaven's recognition of her saintly character. They are but a stage-device<sup>2</sup> of course, yet they are not subjective; they are—operatically, unreligiously conceived—'spirits,' 'angels

<sup>1</sup> A statue had been carried off by the ghosts in his dream.

<sup>2</sup> As a stage-device compare the masque-like dream of Posthumus, *Cymbeline*, v, 4. Nothing could be more objective—Jupiter descends with a tablet the oracular contents of which are read by Posthumus on awaking. But the marvel is without the sincerity or the meaning of the ghosts in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Jupiter and the apparitions of the Leonati make mere dramatic machinery.



of the Lord.' And shall we more justly interpret these ghosts, so rancorous against Richard and so propitious to Richmond, as the figments of his conscience? What has he, a thorough Machiavel, lineally and immediately descended from Aaron the Moor and Barabas the Jew,<sup>1</sup> to do, before this or after, with conscience or remorse?<sup>2</sup> They are without him, voices of an Elizabethan Nemesis, ghosts shrieking for his blood.

Richard himself, however,—and this is our other stumbling-block—seems, as Mr. Moorman says, to explain away the ghosts as the figments of conscience in his subsequent soliloquy. It is not clear that in his awkward and obscure speech he means that; but what is clear is that he is trying to shake off the great dread that has seized him. Such questionings and explainings arise in the Elizabethan drama, as we have seen, after the appearance of the most indisputably objective ghosts<sup>3</sup>—especially when they have appeared in dreams—as is but to be expected of human nature. Who would not cry 'I but dreamed' if else he must think that in the fray of the morrow eleven ghosts were to 'sit heavy on his soul?' Yet even in the face of that prospect Richard observes, blankly, that the lights burn blue.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marlowe's.

<sup>2</sup> With one accord they, as Elizabethan Machiavels, scoff at conscience. Cf. Meyer's *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* for the evidence, and Richard's own words,—

Conscience is but a word that cowards use. v, 3, 309.

<sup>3</sup> See references to the *Atheist's Tragedy* and the *Roman Actor* above, pp. 223-4. See especially the remarkable parallel the dream of Posthumus cited above, p. 218, note. Posthumus doubts the reality of his vision with the tablet, or book, in his hand! The Elizabethan mind seems indeed to be incapable of keeping the objective and the subjective clear. See below.

<sup>4</sup> This of course is old folklore. See Brand, quoting Grose, p. 69:—'this is so universally acknowledged, that many eminent philosophers have busied themselves in accounting for it, without once doubting the truth of the fact.' In *Julius Caesar*, at the appearance of Caesar's Ghost—'how ill this taper burns!'



This second stumbling-block is not out of the road, however, and it must be admitted that the evidence, particularly in view of Shakspeare's sources, is somewhat ambiguous. In some of the chronicles and in the *True Tragedie of Richard III* the hero is represented as haunted by remorse—like Marlowe's Faustus, as Professor Churchill suggests, rather than like the Machiavels; and even in Shakspeare Richard harks back at times<sup>1</sup> to this earlier conception. It may be, then, that Shakspeare meant that the ghosts should be no more than a dream, no more than pangs of conscience. But even so our thesis stands, for he has not succeeded. They are objective still. Not only do the ghosts tread the stage and lift up their voices, but—unmistakable, immemorial token—the lights burn blue. Moreover, at the same time these ghosts appear and prophesy to Richmond, and by him too are recognized, though not doubtingly as they are by Richard, as the 'souls of the bodies which Richard murdered.'<sup>2</sup> The same dream—the same figments of conscience and imagination, therefore—for two men, murderer and avenger, at once! In short, the genius of the poet cannot belie itself. The mind of the Elizabethans—and theirs was Shakspeare's—like the mind that informs folklore or, for that matter, the mind that has made all poetry and drama before the Elizabethan and much of it after, was far from clear on the head of the subjective and the objective. Posthumus in *Cymbeline* doubts the reality of the vision which brought him the book in his hand. Even Duke Humphrey's ghost, considered above, is, though invisible to the bystanders, very evidently not a figment of conscience and imagination but is after all, as Vaux<sup>3</sup> declares, a ghost. However much emphasis is thrown on the facts of conscience and crime,

<sup>1</sup> As, I, 3, 222; IV, 1, 85.

<sup>2</sup> V, 3, 230.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 221, note.



neither the personality of the relation between murderer and murdered, as then commonly conceived, nor the traditional reality of a revenging presence is obscured. His hair stands upright and his eyes are blinded with the dust of the grave. These two features of the corpse, even though the former was seen by the Cardinal, are, in this connection, objective, superstitious touches, and by the Elizabethan audience would certainly be taken not to be the effect of memory in one case or of a frenzied anticipation in the other, but, however invisible to the bystanders, to be the features of the actual ghost, itself, like Hector's shade, only the corpse resurrected. Here at work is but the same poetic, instinctive materialism, the same inability to discriminate things subjective and things objective that in the popular mind and popular literature, as we have already seen, lends an ear to dreams as to presages and oracles, that peoples them with veritable angels of the Lord or with the souls of the departed, or that out of the digestive and sexual operations which perturb them creates fiends like the nightmare and the incubus or succuba. Into this undiscerning, mythopœic way of thinking, then, Shakspeare lapsed when, in dealing with Richard's conscience, he represented it (if that really be what he represented) as the hauntings of menacing ghosts. And that too without any need. In the *True Tragedie* Richard when in the throes of remorse simply declares that the ghosts of his victims throng him night and day gaping for revenge, and in the chronicles of Holinshed and others he dreams before the battle that he is haled by devils to hell: out of hints so slight<sup>1</sup> Shakspeare makes up his scene of eleven individual ghosts, amid blue lights, crying, in conventional melodramatic fashion, each for ven-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Professor G. B. Churchill's *Richard III up to Shakespeare* for the contributions to the Richard legend by chronicler and by poet.



geance on his particular wrongs, and vowing to have it, too, in battle on the morrow.<sup>1</sup> Surely, whatever Richard on awaking says about all this and however Shakspeare meant it to be, there is little in it that in our sense of the word can be called subjective.

*Julius Cæsar.*

Of this ghost we have already treated. The ghost speaks—and not in a dream, if that remains a difficulty—and Brutus does not undertake to doubt its reality. He questions his men, indeed, as Macbeth does Lennox at the Witches' Cavern, as to whether they had seen or heard anything or themselves had made an outcry, but their negative answers, like Lennox's, only go to prove the supernaturalness of an undeniably real appearance. Cæsar's Ghost is, as the confessions of the dying conspirators and the corroborating testimony of Sextus Pompey, quoted above,<sup>2</sup> conclusively show, only what by its own words, the stage-direction,<sup>3</sup> and Brutus's subsequent remark to Volumnius<sup>4</sup> it purports to be, and it is only our nineteenth century prepossessions and philosophizings

<sup>1</sup> Professor Churchill, though somewhat non-committal on the question of subjectivity, insists on a difference between these ghosts and the ghosts of the ordinary revenge plays (p. 516). And, as we have been admitting, a difference there is: not only are they interpreted by Richard as the advocates of conscience, but they avoid the words *revenge* or *vindicta* and they threaten the pains of despair quite as much as those of defeat and death. Nevertheless I cannot admit that these ghosts do not appear, as do the revenge ghosts, 'to satisfy themselves.' Each one recounts his wrongs, curses Richard's sword and lance in battle, and foretells his death. Prophecy, perhaps, is their main office, as often in the Elizabethan and the Classical drama, but, as there again, it is the prophecy of the injured, resentful ghost.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Julius Cæsar*, IV, 3, 274—*enter the Ghost of Cæsar*. This is in the first edition, the Folio of 1623.

<sup>4</sup> *Julius Cæsar*, V, 5, 17.



that have dissolved that famous apparition into an 'embodiment of Brutus's sense of the egregious mistake he has made in slaying Cæsar and of the approaching overthrow of republicanism.' Political drama that this is, it, like the rest of Shakspeare, has little politics or statesmanship in it, and really it is conceived and wrought out as a thoroughly Elizabethan murder and revenge play, the latter half of it, like *Hamlet*, containing a ghost to preside over the revenge.

I have shown, I hope, that Shakspeare's ghosts are all objective—all, that is, but Duke Humphrey's ghost, which, as an hallucination, is not represented on the stage,—and that those here discussed, though having a different function and belonging to a different tradition, are as objective, if not so material, as the ghost in *Hamlet*. Though they appear to the victim alone instead of to the revenger, and though they arise, in one notable instance—that of Banquo's Ghost—at a time when an effort was making to divest the ghost of its cruder and more material qualities, they never melt away as we moderns think they must into the subjective or abstract. They are neither hallucinations nor abstract personifications: they are the murdered appearing to the murderer. Their motive is revenge, and their errand is to menace, taunt, or forebode. They are the concrete representations of Nemesis, after the world-old conception of it by our forefathers as a blood-feud carried beyond the confines of the grave, and as such they are the products of an art and a culture widely different from our own.

A naïve and literal art, but the art that is Shakspeare's. We have seen how he conceived of nemesis as a personal blow-for-blow—even when by the hand of God<sup>1</sup>—rather than as the vague, devious, impersonal retribution that we

<sup>1</sup> *Richard III*, v, 1, 20 f.



nowadays read in nature and in human experience and history and try to body forth in our drama and novels; and we have seen how superstitiously, how unpsychologically he conceived of curses and dreams. The same may be said of all else in Shakspeare—and there is much else—that borders on the supernatural and occult. It is altogether supernatural, altogether occult,—it is nowise rationalized, or allegorized, after the fashion of modern authors such as the German. His witches and wizards are the witches and wizards of James I, who ride on a broomstick and sail in a seive, boil unspeakable caldrons, call up spirits and familiars, and raise storms; and in *Macbeth* the name and office of vulgar witch and awful Norn are by him so confounded<sup>1</sup> that all possibility of allegory—as of fate or destiny—is quite foreclosed. His conjuring and magic in the *Second Part of Henry VI*, *Macbeth*, and the *Tempest* is the ordinary conjuring and magic of his Elizabethan—half-medieval—Age, introduced to make plot and to satisfy a love of shows, pranks, and marvels, and in any other author than Shakspeare would hardly have been made out to be more. To get a meaning from it, as it brings the three drunken cronies to fisticuffs, or sets dogs to worry them, or goes through the sonorous rigmarole of the Witches' incantations, there is nothing for it but to shut our eyes or roll the world back three hundred years, to bow down before Shakspeare with the transcendentalists or in heart and wit ourselves become a Faustus or a Ulenspiegel. And his portents and omens, his prophecies and soothsayings and presentiments, are of the same stripe. They are all literal, objective, binding. A portent like that of the subterranean music which betokens that the god Hercules is forsaking his minion Antony, or that of the horses devouring one another in

<sup>1</sup> See Spalding, pp. 88 ff. ; Bradley, pp. 341-2 ; Herford.



Glamis Castle, or that of the Lion stalking by the Capitol, or that of the slave holding up his hand to burn, itself unscorched, like twenty torches, has in Shakspeare no more subjective coloring or wavering outline than it has in Plutarch or Holinshed. Such things stand forth as unreasoned, prodigious facts; they are the history, the staple and stuff of the plot. So even with his presentiments. They are always fulfilled unless they are cheerful and flattering; and, whether that or no, they are the promptings of occult wisdom—wisdom beyond the reach of the wit of man—sent to warn or to cajole. Many of them, of course, are of constructional import; but some of them are not, and all of them, as well as every soothsayer's word or augur's omen,<sup>1</sup> Shakspeare substantiates, without a trace of a modern attempt at subjective interpretation. Most remarkable of all in this respect are the curses: as treated in *Richard III*<sup>2</sup> and the other 'histories' nothing was ever more literal, more superstitious, more unillumined by a ray of reason. Not only do the curses hold, but, as in the most benighted byways of folklore, they hold by the letter only and to the last jot and tittle. Queen Anne and Buckingham unwittingly curse themselves, the fiendish Queen Margaret, herself bowing under the curse of dying York, curses eight princes one after the other, and Richard is cursed by his mother;<sup>3</sup> and of all these every particular syllable comes true as if the gods kept books. In such matters Shakspeare knew not reason or symbol, where we moderns know nothing else.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, 2; *2 Henry VI*, IV, 1, 33 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the curses are deliberately introduced by the dramatist into his fable, without authority in his sources, as a convenient, though crude and highly superstitious, means of giving a local habitation and a name to nemesis.

<sup>3</sup> *Rich. III*, IV, 4, 182–195.

<sup>4</sup> And our age like every other reads its own ideas into the literature of ages gone by. So in England, America, and Germany it has done with



He heard no call to press beyond the veil of seemingly supernatural phenomena to a natural fact or a human meaning; to him the phenomena themselves were both meaning and fact; and so far from ever evincing discontent with that meaning or doubt of the fact, he betrays at times a primitive, ceremonial preoccupation with the mere form and letter.

Did Shakspeare, then, believe in these things—in the supernatural character and significance of portents and omens, prophecies and presentiments, dreams, magic, curses, witches, ghosts?<sup>1</sup> So much as that we must not—need not—here undertake to prove: it is the implication and corollary of all that we have proved. We have been dealing with his art, but his art was the frank, unconcerned utterance of his belief. And of that of his age, to be sure, for to speak of his belief as in such a connection it would now be understood is misleading: all such matters he took for granted. How fully he utters the beliefs of his age may be learned by consulting works like Spalding's. It was the day when, of high degree or of low degree, devils and demons, like angels, were numbered up into the hundreds of thousands, and every man, like Marlowe's Faustus, was attended by his own;<sup>2</sup> when sickness, even by physicians,

Shakspeare, as with Dante, Homer, and the Bible. The present writer recalls that of a dozen themes or more received from freshmen during the current year on the old ballad of the Wife of Usher's Well almost all explained the return of the drowned men to their mother as a dream or an hallucination.

<sup>1</sup> 'We cannot even be absolutely certain,' says Brandes, speaking of ghosts and witches, as if it were enough to concede, 'that Shakespeare himself did not believe in the possible existence of such beings.'

<sup>2</sup> Spalding's *Elizabethan Demonology*, pp. 34-6. Scot gives names for seventy-nine, and Shakspeare mentions twenty. The Good Angel and the Evil Angel in *Faustus*, who contend for the mastery of the hero's soul, are not allegorical, as, in their prepossession, most critics take them to be, but are as substantive—as substantial one might almost say—as the hero himself.



was held to be a sort of demoniacal possession ;<sup>1</sup> when one of the controversies raging was not whether ghosts appeared or miracles took place, but whether the former were devils or souls from purgatory and whether the latter were the doing of heaven or of hell ;<sup>2</sup> when witches, by storms and contrary winds, impeded the progress of royal personages and were discoursed upon and legislated against by the king<sup>3</sup> on the throne and the dignitaries and worthies of his realm ;<sup>4</sup> when so trifling a circumstance as a jackdaw's entering the window of Westminster Hall actually found record in the minutes of the House as a sign from heaven.<sup>5</sup> Such beliefs, such superstitions Shakspeare took up into the web of his great art without a cavil or a scruple, like an Elizabethan, like the 'Soul of the Age' that he was. As did his fellow playwrights, he represented ghosts, witches, omens, dreams, and the like always as simply as if he believed in them, and his belief there is no more reason to question than theirs.

ELMER EDGAR STOLL.

<sup>1</sup> Spalding, pp. 64-6, 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-5.

<sup>3</sup> See Lecky (N. Y., 1873), vol. I, chap. I, p. 123, for an account of James presiding over the horrible tortures of Fian.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon, Selden, Sir Thomas Browne, all avowed their belief in witchcraft. See Lecky, chap. I, for evidence which shows the universal acceptance of a belief in which Protestant and Puritan outdid even Catholic and Anglican. The last great advocate of the belief was Wesley.

<sup>5</sup> Spalding, p. 31.



## VII.—THE STORY OF GRISANDOLE : A STUDY IN THE LEGEND OF MERLIN.

### I.

One of the less widely known episodes connected with the enchanter Merlin in romantic material is the *Story of Grisandole*, which is contained in the French and in the English prose *Merlin*,<sup>1</sup> and also in the *Livre d'Artus, P.*<sup>2</sup> It is apparently so trivial in character, and contains such unattractive elements that it would scarcely merit careful study, were it not that a detailed examination brings to light an early and important form of the Merlin legend, which otherwise would remain unknown, and which as yet has not attracted attention.<sup>3</sup>

Avenable, the daughter of a banished duke of Alemaigne, having been separated from her parents at the time of their banishment, disguises herself as a squire, and under the name of Grisandole, enters the service of Julius Cæsar, emperor of Rome.

Merlin knows that the emperor at this time is sorely troubled by an incomprehensible dream, and accordingly he goes to the forest of Romenie to help him. He takes the form of a great stag with a white foot, dashes bellowing into Rome, and followed by a crowd of people he speeds through the city into the palace, and bursts into the presence of Julius Cæsar. Kneeling before him he tells him that only the wild man of the woods (*l'homme sauvage*) can reveal to him the meaning of his dream. Then opening the palace gates by magic, he makes his escape, and suddenly vanishes from sight. The emperor offers the hand of his daughter and half of his kingdom as a reward for the capture of the man of the woods or of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, London, 1894 (referred to below as *Merlin*), pp. 300–312; *Merlin or the Early History of King Arthur*, ed. Wheatley, (E. E. T. S.), London, 1865–1899 (referred to below as *English Merlin*), pp. 420–439.

<sup>2</sup> *Livre d'Artus, P.*, summarized by Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, xvii (1895), 33.

<sup>3</sup> The episode has received a cursory examination from Benfey, *Ausland*, xliiv (1858), 1040; Schmidt, *Märchen des Straparola*, Berlin, 1817, p. 339; Rua, "*Le Piacevole Notti*," Rome, 1898, pp. 61 ff.



stag. In quick response the young knights of the court search the forest, but all return empty-handed. Grisandole alone will not abandon the quest. One day as she kneels in prayer in the woods, the great stag with the white foot appears before her, and bids her come there on the following day with five companions, build a fire, spread food on a table before it, and then withdraw to a distance; she will shortly see the wild man of the woods. No sooner has she obeyed these instructions than the wild man, black, unshaven, and in rags comes to the fire, eats all the food greedily, and stretching himself down before the blaze, goes to sleep. Grisandole and her companions bind him fast on one of their horses, and ride away with him to court.

On the way the wild man breaks into sudden laughter three times:—once, on looking at Grisandole; again, on seeing a crowd of mendicants waiting before an abbey for alms; the third time, on seeing a squire, in a chapel where they stop to attend mass, leave his place three times during the service, strike his master a blow, and then stand abashed, declaring that he has been impelled by an irresistible power. Grisandole asks why he has laughed; but the man of the woods replies only by calling her a deceitful creature, full of guile, and by refusing to give the reason for his laughter except before the emperor. When he is presented to Julius Cæsar, he promises to explain his conduct on the following day in the hearing of all the baronage of the land, and he insists that the queen and her twelve ladies in waiting also be present. As they enter the hall he laughs, and when the emperor demands the reason, he relates Cæsar's mysterious dream to him, and interprets it as signifying that the queen's twelve ladies are really youths in disguise, with whom she is leading an unlawful life. He further explains that he had laughed on looking at Grisandole, because a woman by her craft had taken him prisoner, when no man could capture him; he had laughed in the abbey, because the poor were clamoring for alms when in the ground beneath their feet great treasure was buried; he had called Grisandole deceitful, because she is a woman, yet wears the garb of a man; he had laughed in the chapel, not at the blow given by the squire to his master, but because beneath the squire's feet was hidden a mass of treasure, and each blow signified one of the evils of riches. He advises the emperor to restore Grisandole's parents to their land, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on Grisandole's brother. Julius Cæsar examines the queen's youths, finds that the wild man's words are true, and commands that the queen and the youths be burned. He bids Grisandole lay aside her disguise, and discovers that she is the most beautiful maiden in the world. He accordingly follows the wild man's advice as far as it goes, and extends it agreeably to himself by marrying Grisandole (Avenable). The wild man refuses to reveal who the great stag is, or his own name, and leaves the hall abruptly, writing an inscription in Hebrew<sup>1</sup> on one of the

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<sup>1</sup> Incomprehensible terms are commonly referred to a Hebrew or Chaldaic source in the romances. See L. A. Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, Boston, 1903, p. 245.



doorposts as he passes out. One day, somewhat later, a messenger from Greece<sup>1</sup> appears at court, and interprets the Hebrew inscription, which explains that the wild man and the stag are one and the same being, namely Merlin, the counsellor of Arthur. Instantly the letters vanish.<sup>2</sup>

In examining this episode we have to take into consideration a group of stories represented in the following sources :— (1a) Straparola, *Piacevole Notti* ;<sup>3</sup> (1b) *Mille et Un Quart d'Heures, Contes Tartares* ;<sup>4</sup> (2) *Le Capitaine Lixur ou Le Satyr*,<sup>5</sup> a Breton tale ; (3) *Il Satiro*,<sup>6</sup> a tale widely told among the Abruzzi ; (4) *La Favele de lu Serpènde*,<sup>7</sup> another version of the Abruzzi ; (5) *Piera*,<sup>8</sup> a Tuscan tale ; (6a) *Belle-belle*, a story found in d'Aulnoy's collection ;<sup>9</sup> (6b) *Fortunio*, an English version of the same story, included by Tabart in his collection of nursery stories.<sup>10</sup> These last two, it should be said, are connected with our story more loosely than the others.<sup>11</sup> In these sources, a maiden, who has left her

<sup>1</sup> Greece is equivalent to *fairyland* in the romances.

<sup>2</sup> Material that is extraneous to the story is omitted from the above summary ; for example, certain prophecies of Merlin, and the story of his own birth.

*Grisandole* was incorporated by Nicholas de Troies (ca. 1535) into his collection of tales, which were drawn from a great variety of sources,—*Le Grand Paragon de Nouvelles Nouvelles* (ed. Mabilie, Brussels and Paris, 1866), pp. 169 ff. Merlin is not mentioned by name, however ; “un homme” takes the form of the great stag. As a boar he comes to *Grisandole* in the forest, and tells her how to capture the wild man. Other minor differences occur.

<sup>3</sup> IV, i.                      <sup>4</sup> *Cabinet des Fées*, Geneva, 1787, XXI, 304-321.

<sup>5</sup> Luzel, *Contes populaires de la Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1887, pp. 314 ff.

<sup>6</sup> De Nino, *Usi e Costumi abruzzesi*, Florence, 1883, III, 133 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Finamore, *Tradizione popolari abruzzesi*, Lanciano, 1885, I, v.

<sup>8</sup> De Gubernatis, *Rivista di Letteratura popolare*, I (1878), 81, 82.

<sup>9</sup> *Cabinet des Fées*, IV, 5 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Popular Fairy Tales*, London, s. a., pp. 121 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Basile, *Pentamerone*, IV, vi, has been connected with *Grisandole* by Benfey, *Orient u. Occident*, I, 345. It diverges, however, too widely from our cycle to be of assistance here :—A maiden Marchetta, disguised as a squire, enters the service of a king, whose queen falls in love with her, and upon Marchetta's rejection of her proffers of love, accuses her unjustly to the king. He condemns Marchetta to death, but she is rescued by means of a



home,<sup>1</sup> disguised as a youth enters the service of a king, whose queen (3, daughter), except in *Piera*, *Belle-belle*, and *Fortunio*, has among her attendants youths disguised as maidens. The adventure of capturing in the forest a satyr (1b, a centaur; 4, a great serpent; 5, a wild man of the woods; 6, the adventure is the slaying of a dragon) is imposed upon the maiden by the king. He is induced to do this by the queen, who is in love with the youth, and has been repulsed by him (1, 2, 6); or by jealous attendants, who falsely tell the king that the page has boasted of being able to perform the adventure (3, 4, 5).<sup>2</sup> The maiden effects the capture by means of food, either

magic ring that she possesses, the true state of affairs is discovered, the queen is put to death, and the king marries Marchetta.

<sup>1</sup>The inductions to the stories differ widely. In 1a, the heroine is a dowerless maiden who vows that she will remain single unless she can marry a king, and sets out to seek her fortune disguised as a man; in 1b, she is a disinherited princess, the granddaughter of an enchanter; in the course of many adventures she is separated from her lover, a prince, and for the sake of secrecy she assumes the garb of a man, and enters the service of the king of China. In 2 and 6, the heroine, to save her father from military duty, disguised as a youth enters in his stead the service of the king. Thus the introduction of these versions is connected with the wide-spread *märchen* of the *Warrior Maiden*, who under similar circumstances enters a king's service, and whose life is thereafter spent in harassing and ultimately fruitless efforts to conceal her true sex. See Köhler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, III (1861), 57, No. iv; Wenzig, *Westslav. Märchenschatz*, Leipzig, 1857, 228; Hahn, *Griechische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864, I, No. 10; Ferraro, *Canti popolari monferrini*, Turin-Florence, 1870, No. 38; Widter-Wolf, *Volkslieder aus Venedig*, Vienna, 1864, No. 79. For many further references, see the notes to this last; also Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbrunn, 1879, p. 217. Cf. also, especially with *Capitaine Lixur*, another Breton tale, *Le Murlu*, Luzel, *Contes populaires de la Basse-Bretagne*, II, 296 ff.; see below, p. 257, note.

In 3, the maiden has eloped with her lover, from whom she has been stolen by some thieves for the sake of her jewels; she escapes from them, and to avoid detection, she disguises herself as a man, and enters the service of the king. In 4, the heroine after her mother's death is sent dressed as a lad to the king by her grandmother; the introduction to the story is evidently defective. In 5, the heroine despairing of supporting her family by hard toil, sets out in the garb of a man to seek her fortune.

<sup>2</sup> From this point to the end of the story 6 diverges from the rest of the group.



binding her victim while he sleeps after drinking (1, 5), or while he is engaged in the act of eating and drinking (2, 3, 4). Between the time of his capture and his appearance before the court, the prisoner, except in *Piera*, laughs four (4, three) times: — when he first sees his captor (2, 3, 4), or when he hears the people of the palace greet her as a youth, (1), since he is aware of her sex; again, either when he sees the funeral procession of a child, led by a priest, who he knows is its father, while the reputed father walks among the mourners weeping (1, 2); or when he witnesses the baptism of a child by a priest, who he knows is its father (3, 4); again, when he sees a crowd, in which there are many thieves, watching the hanging of a man who had stolen only ten florins for the support of his family (2, he weeps because he sees the devil waiting for the unrepentant soul); or when he sees a shipwreck, because he perceives an angel waiting for the souls of the crew (2); or when he crosses the public square, because he knows that there are pots of gold buried there, which may serve as his captor's dower (3); again, when he sees the queen (3, princess) and her attendants, who are really youths in disguise. He explains the reason for his laughter in the presence of the court, and thus reveals his captor's sex, and the queen's guilt.<sup>1</sup> The queen (princess) and her attendants are burned, and the king (1b, 3, the king's son), marries the maiden. In the *Piacevole Notti* the satyr is set free; in the *Conte Tartare* the centaur vanishes after he has revealed the truth; in *Capitaine Lixur*, the satyr is made prime minister; in the other sources we hear no more about him.

<sup>1</sup> *Piera* here varies from the rest of the group. The wild man remains silent after his capture. Jealous attendants tell the king that *Piera* has boasted of his own ability to make the wild man speak, and the king bids him put his boast into effect. *Piera*, guided by the advice of a fay, walks thrice around the wild man in the presence of the court, and asks him why he will not speak. The wild man replies, "*Perchè tu sei una bella ragazza.*"



The following table, showing the important features of the story, and the sources in which they appear, will perhaps add to the clearness of our study. G. is used as the abbreviation for *Grisandole*:—

Disguised maiden in the service of a king.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6a	.....	6b	.....
Disguised youths in the service of a queen.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3 (princess)	4	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—
Adventure suggested by the repulsed queen.....	—	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	6a	.....	6b	.....
Adventure suggested by the jealous attendants <sup>1</sup> ..	—	—	—	.....	—	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	—	.....	—	.....
Adventure imposed on the maiden by the king...	—	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6a	.....	6b	.....
Capture of a satyr.....	G (wild man)	1a	1b (centaur)	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4 (serpent)	5 (wild man)	6a and	6b (dragon)	.....	.....	.....	.....
After he has taken food.....	G	1a	1b	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
While he is eating.....	—	—	—	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Laughter of the captive.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(1) On seeing his captor.....	G	—	—	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
On hearing her called a youth.....	—	1a	1b	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(2) At a funeral procession.....	—	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
At a baptism.....	—	—	—	.....	—	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
At some mendicants.....	G	—	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(3) At a hanging.....	—	1a	1b	.....	2 <sup>2</sup>	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
On crossing a public square.....	—	—	—	.....	—	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
At a shipwreck.....	—	—	—	.....	2	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
At a squire who strikes his master.....	G	—	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(4) At the queen.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Captive's explanation of his laughter.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Punishment of the queen.....	G	1a	1b	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Marriage of the king and the maiden.....	G	1a	1b (prince)	.....	2	.....	3 (prince)	4	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

<sup>1</sup> The jealous attendants have a place in 2, where they are instrumental in imposing a previous adventure on Lixur; also in *Piera*; see above, p. 238, note 1.  
<sup>2</sup> The satyr's weeping here is merely a variant on his laughter at the same sight.



When we note the points of similarity in the various versions, we see that the *Conte Tartare* is a retelling of Straparola's tale, and that *Belle-belle* and *Fortunio* diverge in that part of the story which is especially important for our purposes,—the adventure with the satyr; hence we may eliminate the *Conte Tartare*, *Belle-belle*, and *Fortunio* from our study. It is noticeable also that the *Piacevole Notti* and *Capitaine Lixur* agree in certain features where they differ from the other sources,—the vindictive queen, the captive satyr (here 3 agrees with them), the laughter at the funeral procession, the laughter and the weeping at the hanging. We may then safely refer Straparola's story and the modern Breton tale to a common original, that may have passed into each through several mediums. Again, a glance at the resemblances noted above shows that the two versions of the Abruzzi are practically the same story, which together with *Piera* agrees now with the *Piacevole Notti* and now with *Capitaine Lixur*, and hence should pretty surely be ascribed to the same ultimate original as these latter.<sup>1</sup> What relation this original, which it will be convenient to term *x*, bears to *Grisandole*, it concerns us to determine. The appearance of the same theme and details in folk tales of the Abruzzi, Tuscany, and Brittany, the *Piacevole Notti*, and the *Merlin*, makes it seem *a priori* more probable that we are dealing with one of the common stock of folk tales than that the *Merlin*, the oldest version chronologically, is the source of any of the others, even of the *Piacevole Notti*, as Benfey and Schmidt have thought.<sup>2</sup>

An analysis of the *Story of Grisandole* itself also gives support to this probability. As soon as we attempt to frame

<sup>1</sup>The exact relation of these different sources to each other cannot, of course, be determined without a more elaborate study than is necessary here.

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. 234, note 1; Cf. *Storia di Marlino*, ed. Sanesi, Bergamo, 1898, p. xxxiii; Rua, *Giornale Storico*, xvi (1890), 234 ff.



its main outline we see its complex nature. The cornerstone consists in the revelation to a husband of his wife's infidelity by means of the scornful laughter of a superhuman being. This theme is elaborated by the introduction of the disguised maiden who is instrumental in bringing about the *dénouement*, and of her capture of the wild man. The story, then, has three parts:—the betrayal of the faithless queen, the disguised maiden, and the capture of the wild man.

Benfey pointed out long ago <sup>1</sup> that the earliest source for the first part of the story is the *Çukasaptati* (*The Seventy Tales of a Parrot*),<sup>2</sup> an Indian collection, which is believed to have existed in its present form at least as early as the sixth century, and in its material is much earlier:—<sup>3</sup>

As Queen Kāmālā is breakfasting one morning with her royal husband, Vikramāditya, king of Uddschayinī, she declines some fish, saying that she is too fastidious to eat a male fish; whereupon the fish laughs loudly. The king bids his chief Brahmin, Purchita, on pain of banishment, discover within five days the cause of the fish's mirth. The Brahmin, in great perplexity, confides his trouble to his daughter, Bālapanditā, and she begs him to take her to Vikramāditya that she may give him the desired explanation. She informs the king at their first meeting that the fish had laughed because he had heard the queen's refusal to eat a male fish; but she gives him no further light on the subject, although he summons her before him on three successive days, on each of which she tells him a different tale that will serve as a warning not to press his inquiries further. Now it happened that some time before these events certain wise men had come to Uddschayinī to test the report that whenever Pushpahasa, the chief minister of Vikramāditya, laughed in the state council he let roses fall from his lips; Pushpahasa had not seen fit to give them an exhibition of his peculiar accomplishment,<sup>4</sup> and consequently had been imprisoned by the king. On the fourth day when Bālapanditā comes into the king's presence,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ausland*, XLIV (1858), 1040; *Orient u. Occident*, I (1862), 344 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Çukasaptati*, translated by Schmidt, Kiel, 1894, pp. 11–23; for a summary, see *Orient u. Occident*, I, 346–352.

<sup>3</sup> See Benfey, *Ausland*, XLV (1859), p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> On beings who laugh roses, see J. and W. Grimm, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, Cassel and Frankfurt, 1813–1816, I, 73; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin, 1875–1878, p. 921, note 318.



she bids him find out from Pushpahasa why he had refused to laugh, and why the fish had laughed. Vikramāditya releases Pushpahasa, presents him with rich gifts, and then demands the reason why he had not laughed. Pushpahasa explains that he had not been in the mood for laughing, because his wife had been unfaithful to him. The king turns to the queen, and saying "Dost thou hear?" laughingly touches her with a spray of leaves. She at once falls fainting to the ground. Pushpahasa laughs. On the king's bidding him explain the reason, he says that he laughed because the queen had not fainted on the preceding night, when her lover had given her many blows, yet now she had swooned from the tap of a spray of leaves. To prove the truth of his words, he bids the king remove the queen's robe and discover the marks of the blows. The king searches the house, and finds the queen's lover hid in a chest. He puts him to death, and banishes the queen.<sup>1</sup>

Different in detail though the stories of Kāmalīla and Julius Cæsar's queen are, they are alike in essential features. In both there appear the same set of principal actors, and the mysterious laughter<sup>2</sup> from a captive gifted with supernatural knowledge; in both the queen's unfaithfulness is revealed to the king through the instrumentality of a maiden. The noteworthy features in which the episodes differ are the king's forewarning dream, the youths disguised as maidens, the adventure of the disguised maiden, and the capture of Merlin.

The first of these, the dream of the king, is entirely too common a device in the amplification of a mediæval story for its presence here to require comment; although such a dream frequently forms an integral part of the narratives of the middle ages, it may be attached to any episode that offers an excuse for it to appear.<sup>3</sup> The second feature, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Persian translation of *Çukasaptati*, *Tuti-Nameh* (*Das Papagaienbuch*), translated from the Persian by Rosen, Leipzig, 1858, II, 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that in the *Çukasaptati* the king's curiosity is stimulated by unexplained laughter from two sources, the dead fish and Pushpahasa, is probably due to the nature of the work, where, as in any collection of seventy tales, it is not remarkable that the same theme should be developed in more than one form.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the version from Sercambi, below, p. 244.



queen's lovers disguised as maidens, is plainly an Oriental development of the *Çukasaptati* story of the unfaithful queen. It has a place in the collection of tales made by Somadeva (ca. 1113–1125), the *Katha-sarit-sagara*,<sup>1</sup> in a tale which Benfey referred to the *Çukasaptati* as its source, and also in three other stories closely connected with the same theme. The most important for our purposes is a folk tale of Cashmere :—<sup>2</sup>

A dead fish laughs when a certain queen refuses to buy it of a fish-monger on the ground that it is male. The king thereupon commands his visir on pain of death to explain to him in six months why the fish laughed. The son of the visir goes out to search for some one who can find the explanation. On his way he joins an old countryman, and addresses him with questions apparently so absurd that the old man thinks him a fool. When they arrive at the countryman's cottage, the man's daughter explains to him the hidden meaning of the stranger's questions. At once the son of the visir demands that she tell him the reason why the fish had laughed ; and she

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva*, translated by Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1843, I, 24 ff. For the date, see p. xii. The tale has been summarized by Liebrecht, *Orient und Occident*, I, 345 (Cf. also Benfey, *Ausland*, 1859, 4601) :—King Yogananda orders the execution of a certain Brahmin against whom his jealousy has been roused by seeing the queen show him some slight favor. As the Brahmin is led to execution a dead fish in the market place laughs aloud. The king postpones the execution until Vararuchi, a favorite of the god Siva, who has assumed a human form, shall have discovered the cause of the mysterious laughter. By the advice of the goddess Sarasvati, Vararuchi conceals himself at night in a palm tree where he overhears a *rakshasi* (i. e., ogress) relate to her children the story of the laughing fish, and explain to them that it had laughed because the king is jealous of the innocent Brahmin, when in reality there are in his palace many youths disguised as maidens, for whom his wives all indulge an unworthy passion. When the king hears Vararuchi's explanation, he sets the Brahmin free, and loads Vararuchi with honors.

In situation *Grisandole* is allied more nearly to the *Çukasaptati* than to Somadeva's tale ; for a fairly close parallel exists between Merlin and Pushpahasa, while that is much more remote which may perhaps be traced between Vararuchi and *Grisandole*, and, as Liebrecht suggests, between Merlin on one hand, and the *rakshasi*, Brahmin, and fish on the other.

<sup>2</sup> Knowles, *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888, pp. 484–490.



replies that it was because the queen refused to buy a male fish, although she has in the palace a lover disguised as a maiden. The visir reports his son's explanation to the king, who arranges a test that enables him to discover which one of the queen's supposed ladies is in reality a man. The son of the visir marries the wise maiden.

The other two sources are *Scha'ascherim*,<sup>1</sup> the work of Giuseppe Sabara, a twelfth-century Hebrew poet of Spain, and one of Sercambi's *Novelle*.<sup>2</sup> They relate the same story, without the laughter of the fish, and with the forewarning dream of the king. They have been referred by Köhler<sup>3</sup> to a common source, which seems to be the same ultimately as that of the Cashmere tale, which is evidently a retelling of the material that we first know through the *Çukasaptati*. Whatever questions may arise as to their interrelations, all are too closely connected in general theme and outline with *Grisandole*<sup>4</sup> not to be of assistance in analyzing it, for they show clearly that it is a composite, and that the story of Grisandole herself, and the capture of the wild man are not inherent parts of the main narrative.

It is noticeable that in all of the Oriental stories, which we may regard as belonging to one branch of the family, it is a maiden gifted with supernatural knowledge, who explains the meaning of the mysterious laughter or of the perplexing dream.<sup>5</sup> Thus they touch closely the widely diffused story known as the *Clever Lass*, in which a maiden, to quote from Professor Child, "wins a husband, or sometimes a crown by guessing riddles, solving difficult but

<sup>1</sup> See Köhler, *Giorn. Stor.*, XIV (1889), 94 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sercambi, *Novelle (De Magna Prudentia)*, ed. Renier, Turin, 1889, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Giorn. Stor.* XIV, 96 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ib.*, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Even in Somadeva, whose story is not so closely related to the other tales of the group as they are to each other, it is a *rakshasi* from whom Vararuchi derives his information.



practicable problems, or matching or evading impossibilities.”<sup>1</sup> It is clear then that Grisandole herself should be the person to solve the king’s difficulty, and that in so far as she is a disguised maiden and gives proof of her accomplishments by capturing a wild man, she is an importation from another source<sup>2</sup>—from such a story, for example, as the Cashmere *Tale of a Princess*:—<sup>3</sup>

A princess, having first arrayed herself in her husband’s clothes, succeeds in releasing him as well as his parents from captivity, when by the fortunes of war they have been driven from their land. Having accomplished this feat she leaves them, and still in the garb of a man wanders to another country, where she enters the service of a merchant, whose sons are invariably devoured by a *dagin* (i. e., ogress) the night after their birth. The princess at the request of the merchant watches at the door of the chamber the next time that a son is born, seizes the *dagin*, and spares her life only on condition that she never trouble the house again. The merchant gives his sister to the supposed youth in marriage, and in the course of time a revelation of the true sex of the princess ensues.

Some such independent narrative as this, in which the disguised maiden performs for the king a difficult adventure

<sup>1</sup> Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston and New York, 1882–1898, 1, 1; see p. 1–3, 7–14 for a collection of examples, and a discussion of this theme. See also, Benfey, *Ausland*, 1852, pp. 457, 486, 511, 567, 589.

<sup>2</sup> That the Clever Lass might easily at no late stage have come to be represented as assuming a man’s garb before going to court is clear from Sercambi’s version, which, although it introduces late features, keeps on the whole pretty close to earlier models. Cf. also that branch of the cycle of the *Clever Lass*, in which the wise lady is a wife whose husband leaves her for a distant land, after demanding that she perform in his absence three apparent impossibilities. In the guise of a man she follows him, takes service with him, and performs the tasks that he has imposed. Her adventures have nothing in common with that of Grisandole. See Suchier, *Germania*, xx (1875), 283; Köhler, *Ib.*, xxi (1876), 18 ff. Cf. also the clever lass in *Die beiden Fürsten* (Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Iberiens*, 1, 197), who releases her father-in-law from prison by guessing riddles, disguised as one of his friends.

<sup>3</sup> Knowles, *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888, pp. 59 ff.



through which her true sex is discovered, has evidently been used in the source of *Grisandole* to expand the betrayal of the faithless queen through the agency of the clever lass.<sup>1</sup>

The maiden's difficult adventure brings us to the third part of our episode:—a mortal captures a woodland deity, after having stupified him by a surfeit of food or wine, and then compels him to reveal hidden wisdom as a price for his freedom. This theme is at least as old as the time of Theopompus, who tells of the capture of Silenus by the shepherds of King Midas, who induced the god in return for his freedom to reveal to him the secret nature of the universe.<sup>2</sup> In Roman mythology Faunus and Picus are captured in the same way by Numa, and in modern folk tales the peasant, who would take prisoner a wild man of the woods, and wrest from him some coveted knowledge, resorts to the same measures.<sup>3</sup> This is, accordingly, too universal a feature to be significant. It is noteworthy, however, that in the Talmudic account of the capture of the spirit Aschmedai by Benajah, the servant of King Solomon, who wishes to learn from Aschmedai where he may find the Schamir, Benajah takes him prisoner by filling with wine the well from which

<sup>1</sup> In a variant of the story (see *Id.*, *ib.*, pp. 61 ff.) a princess enters the service of a king, for whom she slays a large *ajdar*, that appears in the land and destroys many lives. The king gives her his daughter in marriage. Cf. also with this story those of the *Warrior Maid* cited above, p. 237, note 1; also that of a Celtic other-world princess, MacInnes and Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1890, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, III, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Indogermanischen Mythen*, Berlin, 1883, I, 153 ff.; Grünbaum, *Zs. der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXI (1877), 218; Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1875–1877, I, 97, 98, 112, 113; II, 117 ff., 137 ff.; Laistner, *Das Räthsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, II, 204, 205; Rhode, *Der griechische Roman*, Leipzig, 1900, 222 ff.; Zingerle, *Sagen aus Tyrol*, Innsbruck, 1891, No. 187, 191; Schneller, *Märchen u. Sagen aus Wälsch-Tyrol*, Innsbruck, 1867, p. 210; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894–1896, III, 51–54.



he is in the habit of drinking, and thus making him sleep a drunken sleep, in which he is easily bound.<sup>1</sup> As Aschmedai is being led captive to Solomon, he laughs three times, apparently without provocation.<sup>2</sup> This combination of the capture by wine and the mysterious laughter appears, in early sources, to be peculiar to the Aschmedai legend, and so gives us excellent reason for classifying the third part of *Grisandole* as, like the first and second, Oriental in its primitive sources.

## II.

As we review the story of *Grisandole* with its three component elements—the unfaithful queen, the disguised maiden, and the capture of the wild man—clearly before us, we see that they are awkwardly put together. The conduct of both Merlin and Grisandole is absolutely lacking in motive. Grisandole, unlike the typical clever lass, has neither been summoned to help the king in his perplexity, nor has she volunteered to do so; and she engages eagerly in an adventure, the reward for which—the hand of Julius Cæsar's daughter—must, she knows, in the nature of things, bring embarrassment upon herself. Merlin, however kindly disposed he may have been to Julius Cæsar, has no apparent reason for his mad rush as a stag through the town, or for assuming the form of a wild man and submitting to a mode of capture, which he himself directs, simply in order to reveal the queen's guilt. The irrelevancy of his part becomes all the more evident, when we compare *Grisandole* with our parallel folk tales. These are consistent in the very parts of the narrative that in the *Merlin* are inconsistent. The expe-

<sup>1</sup> Talmud, *Gittin*, 68. See Vogt, *Salman u. Morolf*, Halle, 1880, 213–217, for a summary; Cassel, *Schamir*, Erfurt, 1856, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 262, on the mysterious laughter.



dition of the disguised maiden to capture the wild man is given a sufficient motive in the *Piacevole Notti* and *Capitaine Lixur*, one that has a place in other narratives<sup>1</sup> of the unfaithful queen, who falls in love with a squire, and on discovering his loyalty to the king makes trouble for him. This theme, which is as old as the story of Potiphar's wife, would assuredly afford the most natural means of connecting the two distinct narratives that are combined in the Grisandole episode. That the queen should insist upon the adventure destined to reveal her own guilt to the king satisfies the dramatic irony of the situation.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of jealous fellow-servants into the versions of the Abruzzi is a not unnatural variant from this original, and one that evidently had a place in the source of *Piera*, where it is due to the machinations of jealous fellow-servants not only that *Piera*, as a result of her reputed boastfulness, is sent out to capture the wild man, but also that her true sex is finally revealed.<sup>3</sup> It is evident, then, that our folk tales preserve a more connected and clearer form of narrative than that contained in the romance, and one which we may feel confident appeared in *x*. It is evident also that *x* is not a reworking of *Grisandole*, but that the latter must be a redaction of *x*, from which its important variations occur in those parts where *Grisandole*'s career touches Merlin's.

Naturally we are led to suspect that these variations are due to already existing Merlin material. Of this material we find indications in more than one episode of the *Vita*

<sup>1</sup> A familiar example of this is found in the lays of *Guingamor* and *Lanval*; also in the Italian poem *Pulzella Gaia*.

<sup>2</sup> The combination of the two situations—the faithless queen in love with disguised youths, and the king marrying the disguised maiden—is probably due to some narrator who wished to keep the conjugal balance even.

<sup>3</sup> See Nerucci, *Sessanta Novelle popolari Montalesi*, Florence, 1880, pp. 341 ff., for the story of a youth in a king's service, who is involved in a series of difficult adventures through the jealousy of his fellow-servants.



*Merlini*, a Latin poem of some fifteen hundred hexameters, now usually attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>1</sup> The first of these episodes for us to examine we shall find it convenient to term *Merlin and Guendoloena's Lover* : —<sup>2</sup>

Merlin, the mad king and prophet of Dimetia, has been dwelling in voluntary exile in the Caledonian forest. His wife, Guendoloena, is living in the meantime at the court of his brother-in-law, Rodarchus, king of the Cumbri, whither Merlin goes for a brief visit. When he is ready to return to the forest, Guendoloena entreats him to remain with her, but he refuses to listen to her, declaring that he wishes to be free from the cares of love, and giving her permission to take another husband. He warns her, however, that if she does so, her new lover had best beware of meeting him, and adds that on her wedding day he will appear, and bestow upon her a lavish dower. With this reassuring promise Merlin returns to the forest. Some years later he perceives from the courses of the stars that Guendoloena is about to marry again. At once he summons a herd of stags about him, and mounted on a stag's back, and driving the rest of the herd before him, he rides to court on Guendoloena's wedding-day, and bids her come forth from the palace to see the gift that he has brought her. At that moment the prospective bridegroom chances to come to one of the palace windows; instantly Merlin tears the horns from the head of the stag that he is riding, hurls them at his rival, and kills him. Then at full speed he dashes away to the forest, but in his haste he falls into a stream, where the crowd of pursurers whom Rodarchus has sent out after him overtake him. They lead him back in chains to court, and Rodarchus seeing that he is profoundly melancholy gives orders that he be entertained and diverted. Nothing more is heard of Guendoloena.

“Such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff” is this episode made up of, that one is almost inclined to attach little importance to it. But it is easy to see that Merlin is represented here in a traditional predicament of enchanters.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Michel and Wright, Paris, 1837; San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, pp. 273 ff. The authorship and the date have been made the subjects of extensive discussion. In general the date is now fixed at ca. 1148. See *Vita Merlini*, pp. xcv ff.; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, London, 1883–1893, I, 278 ff.; Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, (1899–1900), 332–336; Mead, *Outlines of the History of the Legend of Merlin* (*English Merlin*, Pt. IV), London, 1899, p. xciii.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 404–472.



His *rôle* is clearly that of the supernatural being, whose wife has deserted him for a mortal lover, from whom he tries to separate her. In a similar situation we find the Celtic enchanter Mongan, in the *Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongan* (*Dub-Lacha's Love for Mongan*) a narrative contained in the *Book of Fermoy*, a fifteenth-century manuscript, which, however, in its material is as old as the twelfth century : —<sup>1</sup>

The famous enchanter, Mongan, the son of Manannan mac Lir, in return for a fine herd of kine belonging to the king of Leinster has promised to grant the king any boon that he may ask. The king demands Mongan's wife, Dubh-Lacha, and Mongan's honor requires that he keep his word. Dubh-Lacha accompanies the king of Leinster to his court, but obtains from him the respite of a year before she becomes his wife. Twice while the king of Leinster is absent from home, Mongan tries to win back Dubh-Lacha. At last at the end of the year on the day of the wedding feast, he transforms himself into Aedh, the son of the king of Connaught, Mac an Daimh, his servant, into Aedh's attendant, and a hag into a beautiful lady whom he calls his wife, and thus riding to court he wins a cordial welcome from the king of Leinster. At the banquet by a charm he makes the king of Leinster fall in love with the transformed hag, and suggest to Aedh an exchange of wives. Aedh, of course, agrees, hastens away with Mac an Daimh and Dubh-Lacha at full speed, and in the morning removes the enchantment from the hag, so that the king discovers that he has been duped.

The parallel, though very far from close, is evident. Here as in the *Vita Merlini*, it is with the enchanter's consent, in fact as the result of his own deed that he loses his wife to the mortal; here, too, he comes riding to court on the wedding day in time to take a less extreme, but certainly a bitter vengeance on his rival.

An earlier instance of the same situation is found in the *Serglige Conchulaind*,<sup>2</sup> where Manannan mac Lir, the great

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895-97, I, 72, 73; *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, *Irish MSS. Series*, I, i, 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 197 ff.; Translated into English by O'Curry, *Atlantis*, I, 363 ff.; into German, Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl.*



otherworld lord, knowing of an assignation between his wife, Fand, and her mortal lover, Cuchulinn, comes to their trysting place, riding over the billows, the Horseman of the Hairy Sea, invisible yet wonderfully beautiful. Without delay or resistance Fand forsakes Cuchulinn to follow her immortal husband back to the other world. Yet again in early and very famous Irish material, the *Tochmarc Etaine*, we read of the efforts of Mider of Bri Leith, one of the most important of Celtic fairy kings, to separate his wife, the fay, Etaine, from Eochaid Airem, king of Erin, whose wife she had become.<sup>1</sup>

In *Guendoloena's Lover*, then, we find Merlin in circumstances analogous, though, be it said, not closely parallel to those in which the great Celtic enchanters, Mongan, Manannan, and Midir are placed; namely, he is represented as the enchanter, whose wife has been taken from him by a mortal, from whom he seeks to regain her, and on whom he executes vengeance. So much is clear at first sight. The most striking and apparently incomprehensible feature in *Guendoloena's Lover* is Merlin's extraordinary appearance as a herdsman of stags over which he exercises wonderful control. To understand this part of the episode we must in the first place have in mind a clear picture of Merlin's nature in the *Vita Merlini*. Grief has deprived him of reason, and he flees from the court to the forest:—

Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ornis;  
Miraturque feras pascentes gramina saltus.  
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu praeterit illas.

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*Sprachf.*, xxviii (1887), 595 ff.; into French, d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Ep. Celt.*, i, 174–216; summarized, Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, i, 153–158.

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of this tale see Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, xxviii (1883–1887), 587 ff.; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, ii, 312–322. Cf. also Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon* (*Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, viii), p. 196, note 1.



Utitur herbarum radicibus, utitur herbis ;  
 Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.  
 Fit silvester homo, quasi silvis editus esset,  
 Inde per aestatem totam ; nullique repertus,  
 Oblitusque sui, cognatorumque suorum,  
 Delituit, silvis obductus more ferino.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .  
 Fons erat in summo cuiusdam vertice montis,  
 Undique praecinctus corulis densisque frutectis.  
 Illic Merlinus consederat : inde per omnes  
 Spectabat silvas, cursusque iocosque ferarum.<sup>2</sup>

He hears of Guendoloena's approaching marriage, and declares that he is resolved to prevent it.

Dixerat ; et silvas et saltus circuit omnes ;  
 Cervorumque greges agmen collegit in unum,  
 Et dantes capreasque simul ; cervoque resedit ;  
 Et veniente die, compellans agmina prae se,  
 Festinans vadit quo nubit Guendoloena.  
 Postquam venit eo, patienter stare coegit  
 Cervos ante fores, proclamans "Guendoloena !  
 Guendoloena, veni ! te talia munera spectant."  
 Ocius ergo venit subridens Guendoloena,  
 Gestarique virum cervo miratur, et illum  
 Sic parere viro, tantum quoque posse ferarum  
 Uniri numerum, quas prae se solus agebat  
 Sicut pastor oves quas ducere suevit ad herbas.<sup>3</sup>

Merlin here is distinctly depicted as *silvester homo*, a wild man of the woods. His herd of beasts and his complete control over them place him beside the man of the woods of Celtic folklore, the giant herdsman, one of the prominent figures in the other world. In one of our earliest Celtic sources for a picture of fairyland, the *Imram Maelduin*,<sup>4</sup> we meet him, a huge creature, resembling a beast himself, guarding a herd of beasts whom he has the power to seize fiercely, maim, and even devour. We find him again, resem-

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 75 ff.<sup>2</sup> Vv. 138 ff.<sup>3</sup> Vv. 451 ff.<sup>4</sup> Baist, *Zs. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii, 100.



bling Merlin more closely, as the Black Man of the Wood in the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain*.<sup>1</sup> He is the "woodward of that wood;" he sits on a mound in the centre of a large sheltered glade, and a thousand wild animals graze around him. "Then I asked him what power he had over those animals. . . . And he took his club in his hand, and with it he struck a stag a great blow so that it brayed vehemently, and at his braying the animals came together, as numerous as the stars in the sky, so that it was difficult for me to find room in the glade to stand among them. . . . And he looked at them, and bade them go and feed; and they bowed their heads, and did him homage as vassals to their lord. Then the black man said to me, 'Seest thou now, little man, what power I hold over these animals?'" Again in the speech of the giant herdsman in Chrétien's *Yvain*, we are reminded of Merlin as he wrenches the horns from the stag's head:—

Car quant j'an puis une tenir  
As poinz que j'ai et durs et fors,  
Si la destraing pas les deus cors  
Que las autres de peor tranblent.<sup>2</sup>

The giant herdsman, as Professor A. C. L. Brown has pointed out, is unquestionably one of the shape-shifters whom the fay, the ruler of the Celtic other world, stations at the entrance to her domains, to test the courage of the mortal visitor, and to point him on the path to an adventure that will prove his fitness to enter her abode. An enchanter, he was doubtless originally himself one of the lords of the

<sup>1</sup> Guest, *Mabinogion*, London, 1849, I, 45, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 346–349. Cf. also the giant herdsman in the fifteenth-century German poem, *Der Ring* (cited by Uhland, *Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1866, III, 53), who rides to battle on a great stag, strikes down his foes with his iron club and bites them to death with his tusklike teeth, while his stag pierces them with his horns.



other world, who as the fay came to be regarded more and more completely as the dominating influence of fairydom, was relegated to the position of a mere creature of hers and a guide to her domain.<sup>1</sup> It is very clear that Merlin, the wild man of the woods, the complete master of the stags of the forest, who obey his bidding, whom he gathers about him and drives before him, from one of whom he ruthlessly tears the horns, is the same sort of being as the giant herdsman of romance, euhemerized though he has been in our source, where there is no trace of the fairy guide.<sup>2</sup> He is plainly the shape-shifter, assuming the form of the giant herdsman, even as Manannan took that of the invisible horseman, and Mongan that of Aedh, and coming, like these beings, to separate his wife from his mortal rival.<sup>3</sup> We need not hesitate, then, to recognize in *Guendoloena's Lover* the indications of an early story of Merlin, in which he was represented, in accordance with a very early conception of the otherworld lord, as assuming a common fairy guise, when he came as giant herdsman to take vengeance upon his rival.

Although the giant herdsman and the wild man of the

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, *Iwain* (*Studies and Notes*, VIII), ch. v, sect. iii; *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xx (1905), 682-686.

<sup>2</sup> A discussion of other episodes in the romances where Merlin appears as a giant herdsman, since they are irrelevant to *Grisandole*, is postponed to the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> It should be said that in Celtic material we do not find the giant herdsman as such under similar circumstances. He is essentially a guide to the other world. But we have an example of an enchanter appearing in the same shape when he acts as otherworld guide, and when he comes to earth in pursuit of his runaway wife. In the *Imram Brain* (Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, sect. 32-60), no less a person than Manannan mac Lir, the supreme lord of the other world, acts as guide to the Land of Women, riding over the waves toward Bran to tell him of the beauties of Emain whither he directs him; and in the same form Manannan appears in the *Serglige Conchulaind*, when he comes to take Fand away from Cuchulinn.



woods are practically identical figures, Merlin's part in *Grisandole*, it is needless to say, could not possibly have been derived from *Guendoloena's Lover*; and it is not until we compare these episodes with an apparently different type of story that we understand their relation to each other. Of this type we find a representative preserved in a modern Celtic tale, *The Scolloge's Son from Muskerry*:<sup>1</sup>—

The daughter of the king of Greece (i. e., fairyland) marries the eldest of three brothers, the Sighe Draoi, powerful masters in the Druidic art. One day shortly after the Druid has brought his bride to his own country, as he is hunting, his hounds give chase to a wild man, whom he rescues from them, brings home, and has taught to speak. The wild man is, however, in reality a transformed humpback, a follower of the Druid's younger brother, who because of an old grudge has sent him to his brother's court to win the affection of the princess away from the Druid. In this he is successful, but unfortunately for him one day he is surprised with the princess by the Druid. He is burned as a punishment for his misdeeds, and the daughter of the king of Greece is taken back by her father to her own land.<sup>2</sup>

It has been demonstrated by Professor Kittredge<sup>3</sup> that this modern Celtic tale embodies an early Irish theme similar in general plan to the *Tochmarc Etaine*; and that behind the transformations which the story has undergone we should recognize in the wild man of the woods the heroine's fairy lover, who has assumed this form and followed her to this world in order to win her back from the mortal whose home she has honored with her presence. It is in other words the same type of story as that of which we have a rationalized version in *Guendoloena's Lover*; in both the fairy lover in the form of a man of the woods comes in pursuit of his

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, *Legendary Fiction of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, pp. 255 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For two other versions of this story, in which a captured wild man is the lover of the wife of his captor, who has made a servant of him, see Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, pp. 10 ff., note, p. 255; Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, pp. 274, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Kittredge, as above, pp. 188–190, 195, 261.



wife who has bestowed her affection upon a mortal.<sup>1</sup> In the light of this narrative Merlin's part in the elaborate story of *Grisandole* becomes suddenly clear, and many inconsistencies in the latter are explained. We recognize without difficulty that here again Merlin is appearing in an early rôle as the fairy lover of a supernatural maiden who has left him for a mortal husband, and whom he seeks to win back for himself, taking the form of a wild man, and naturally courting capture as the means of being reunited to his love.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup>A modern Highland tale, *The Chest* (Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Paisley and London, 1890-1893, II, 9 ff.) should be compared with *Grisandole*:—A certain king, believing in a false charge against his bride, suspects her of infidelity to him. He accordingly leaves the country. His innocent wife, distressed at his absence, dresses herself as a man, rows away to a neighboring land, and there enters a gentleman's service as stable gillie. Every night a herd of wild beasts guarded by a wild man come to an empty barn owned by her master. She wishes to capture the wild man, and finally succeeds in doing so by stealing the key of the barn door, and lying in concealment until the man and his herd are in the barn, when she shuts the door and makes him prisoner. When his beard is shaved off, she recognizes him as her husband, but he does not recognize her. At her request her master employs him to help her about the stables, and later she gets permission to go home to see her friends, taking the wild man with her. After several adventures he recognizes her, and is finally convinced of her innocence; "and they were as they were before."

This story is connected in its structure with *Le Roman du Roi Flore et de la belle Jehan*, *Le Roman de Violet*, *Cymbeline*, Boccaccio, *Dec.*, 2 gior., No. 9, and the large cycle to which these tales belong. Cf. Campbell, *Tales*, II, 22; Paris, *Zs. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XIII, 1903, 141, n. 2. But we cannot fail to observe that in the capture of the wild man by his runaway and disguised wife we have the same theme that appears in so different a setting in the story of *Grisandole's* capture of Merlin.

<sup>2</sup>It is plain that the story of Merlin as the wild man, or giant herdsman, coming in pursuit of his bride had been modified before it was incorporated into *Grisandole*. It is important to notice that, although in some of the parallel folk tales, the heroine is helped in her task for some special reason by the advice or gift of a supernatural being (1b, 2, 4, 5), Merlin, the object of pursuit, himself directs *Grisandole* how to capture him. Here the story seems to have been influenced by a widely diffused class of folk tales in which a captured wild man is a being under a spell, to obtain



episode has been incorporated into our *x*, a story that did not permit the preservation of the original ending. The

release from which he has submitted to capture or even sought it, although he is restive under it (see Grimm, *Der Eisenhaus, Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*, Göttingen, 1857, II, 242 ff. ; Straparola, *Piacevole Notti*, v, 1 ; Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen, u. Gebräuche aus Sachsen u. Thüringen*, Halle, 1846, I, 86, 131 ff. ; Vulpius, *Ammenmärchen*, Weimar, 1791, pp. 175 ff. ; Milenowsky, *Volksmärchen aus Böhmen*, Breslau, 1853, pp. 147 ff. ; Dietrich, *Russische Volksmärchen*, Leipzig, 1831, No. 10, pp. 131 ff. ; *Cabinet des Fées*, v, 81-101 ; *Le Murlu* cited below, on this page). Merlin's directions to Grisandole as to how she shall proceed in order to capture him remind us forcibly of Tam Lin's advice to Janet, his love, whom he came back to earth to meet, after he had been carried off by the Queen o' Fairies. At midnight of Hallowe'en Janet must wait at a given place, past which the Queen o' Fairies and her cavalcade, Tam among them, will ride.

"Then win me, win me, an ye will,  
For well I wot ye may."

If Janet will pull him from his horse, and hold him fast without fear, no matter into what shape he may turn, he will at length assume his true form, and be released from enchantment (Child, *Ballads*, I, 325-338). It is thus perhaps not unjustifiable to assume that Merlin, who in an earlier version appeared as the wild man coming in quest of his love, was regarded as the victim of enchantments, from which he was seeking to be released. With this possibility, cf. the early fairy-mistress story that may have been one of the sources of the *Vita Merlini*; see L. A. Paton, *Modern Language Notes*, XVIII (1903), 163 ff.

A story that is reported by Luzel (*Contes populaires de la Basse Bretagne*, Paris, 1887, II, 296 ff.), entitled *Le Murlu ou l'Homme Sauvage*, is of interest here. In its introduction, which agrees exactly with that of *Capitaine Lixur*, it belongs, as I have said (p. 237, n. 1), to the *Warrior Maid* stories. The three daughters of an aged lord obtain their father's permission to go in turn to court, disguised as soldiers, to offer their services to the king in their father's stead. The father disguises himself as a robber, waylays his daughters in turn, and frightens the eldest and the second into returning home. The youngest is not frightened, but spurs on to court. When she has entered the service of the king, the queen falls in love with her. From this point the story is entirely different from *Capitaine Lixur*. In *Le Murlu* the queen dies in consequence of the page's indifference; no adventure is imposed upon the maiden, whose sex the king discovers later through a false charge made by one of the court ladies against her; the king marries her, and they have one son. A remarkable creature, described



clever lass should marry the king, or the son of the king, whom she has helped; hence Grisandole does not accompany her fairy lover when he leaves the court, but remains there as the consort of Julius Cæsar.

### III.

The most striking variations in detail in the sources for our episode are the occasions for the wild man's laughter. In all except *Piera*, where he does not laugh at all, he laughs at the thought of his captor's sex, and at the unfaithful queen. These features then we may be sure appeared in **x**; in fact the last was an inherent part of the theme. In all the versions he laughs on two intervening occasions: in the *Piacevole Notti* and *Capitaine Lixur* the first of these is when he sees the funeral procession; in the two versions of the Abruzzi, when he sees the baptism. The laughter at the funeral procession is probably to be referred to the legend of Aschmedai as its ultimate source. One of the three occasions for Aschmedai's laughter as Benajah leads him captive to Solomon<sup>1</sup> is when he sees a wedding procession, for he knows that the bridegroom will live only thirty days, and that the bride will have to wait thirteen years before her leviratical marriage. It seems reasonable to suppose that the funeral was substituted for the marriage procession,

as a "Murlu, un animal des plus redoutables" is found in the woods by the people of the court. It can be captured only by being entrapped into a cage with a bait of meat, cakes, and wine, and then imprisoned there. (The rest of the story belongs to the same class as Grimm's *Der Eiserne Mann*. Only the ending of the story need detain us. Here we learn that the Murlu is in reality the former queen, who has been enchanted into this form as a punishment for her temptation of the page, and who fortunately for the other people concerned, disappears, when by the deeds of the king's son, she has been released from the spell.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 246.



when the story of Aschmedai was retold in the occident, in order to give it a turn that would cast a jibe at the priesthood, and that the baptism is merely a later variant of the same feature. Probably, then, the funeral procession belonged in *x*,<sup>1</sup> and the author of the *Merlin* discarded it from *Grisandole*. His reason for doing so is obvious, for he had already used it in that part of his romance which is based upon the prose redaction of Robert de Borron's *Merlin*, in an episode to which I shall return.<sup>2</sup> The laughter at the hanging and at the shipwreck, which have a place in the *Piacevole Notti* and *Capitaine Lixur* bear plainly the marks of being late introductions into the material; and the laughter at the buried gold that might serve as a dower for the maiden in *Il Satiro* looks like a late rendering of an early theme—the laughter at the beggars clamoring for alms, when gold is buried in the ground beneath their feet,—which appears in the *Merlin*, and which might easily have crept into this tale of the Abruzzi in an altered form. The wild man's laughter at these beggars and at the squire in the chapel are peculiar to *Grisandole*. To understand the first we must again have recourse to the *Vita Merlini*,<sup>3</sup> where more than once Merlin indulges in mysterious and unexplained laughter. The first occasion occurs much earlier in the poem than the episode of *Guendoloena's Lover*, in the story of *Ganieda and the Leaf*:—

Merlin has been induced by messengers from his sister, Ganieda, to return from the forest to the court of Rodarchus, Ganieda's husband. He has been at court but a short time when he feels a frenzied longing for the woods. Rodarchus tries to bribe him by costly gifts to remain

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<sup>1</sup> Considering the well-known tendency of folk tales to group actions as well as individuals in sets of three, we are justified in assuming that in *x* or its source, the prisoner laughed, not four, but three times; namely, on seeing his captor, at a funeral procession, and at the queen.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 198–415.



with him, but finding these of no avail, he orders that Merlin be put into chains. Merlin forthwith refuses to speak a word or to smile. Ganieda enters the hall, and is received with endearments by the king, who, espying a leaf caught in her hair, removes it with a jest. Merlin laughs. Rodarchus by gifts and entreaties tries to induce him to tell the reason for his laughter, but he refuses to do so until the king has promised him his liberty in return for his information. Then he explains that he had laughed because the king was more faithful to the queen than she to him; for the leaf had fallen on her hair, while she was passing her time with a lover in a thicket. The queen protests that she is innocent, and in order to convict her brother of falsehood, she arranges a series of tests, by which Merlin is led to prophecy three different deaths for one lad. Thus she apparently succeeds in establishing her own innocence and Merlin's unreliability. Merlin thereupon tries again to escape to the forest. Ganieda and Guendoloena entreat him to remain, but he refuses to listen to them, and makes his way back to the woods. Later the lad is killed under circumstances combining the three causes of death predicted by Merlin.

Lot has treated at length,<sup>1</sup> as Ward had cursorily before him,<sup>2</sup> the parallelisms between the *Vita Merlini* and the history of Lailoken, a mad prophet of the Caledonian forest, our information in regard to whom is contained in two fragments of a Cottonian manuscript published by Ward. The parallelism is striking between *Ganieda and the Leaf* and an episode that is told of Lailoken, and Lot has pointed out that the author of the *Vita Merlini* was simply transferring to Merlin's name a tradition that he knew through the history of Lailoken :<sup>3</sup>—

Lailoken, after capture in the Caledonian forest, the circumstances of which are not related, is brought in chains to Meldred, the lord of Dunmeller, in order that he may prophesy before him. He maintains a profound silence for three days, and then laughs at seeing the king remove a leaf from the queen's hair, when she enters the hall. He explains the reason for his laughter only when the king promises him as a reward his freedom, and also that after his death, which he predicts will be threefold,

<sup>1</sup> *Annales de Bretagne*, xv (1899-1900), 336-347, 532, 533, 536.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom.*, xxii (1898), 509, 510, 593.

<sup>3</sup> Contained in the second fragment published by Ward, *Rom.*, xxii, 522 ff.



he may be buried at the confluence of the Pausayl and Tweed. The queen, on hearing his revelation of her guilt, tries to persuade the king that a man who has foretold such an impossibility as a triple death is not worthy of credence ; not succeeding, however, in convincing her husband by her arguments, she plots to bring about Lailoken's death. Several years later Lailoken is attacked in the neighborhood of Dunmeller by some shepherds, who have been incited against him by the queen, and is killed by them in the manner that he had predicted.

With the story of Queen Kâmalîla from the *Çukasaptati*, that I have cited above, in mind, it is pretty clear that the episode itself is Oriental in origin. It is moreover noticeable that although both the *Vita Merlini* and the story of Lailoken preserve the essential features of the Indian tale,—the persistent silence of the prisoner, his supernatural knowledge, and his betraying laughter aroused by a spray of leaves—the story of Lailoken in contrast to that of Merlin has a distinctly Oriental character in the frequent introduction of maxims into the dialogue, and in its tone of bitterness against women,—features, both of which, it is well known, are characteristic of Oriental tales.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the Lailoken material the story has a suitable and consistent conclusion, which is altogether lacking in the *Vita Merlini*. Meldred's queen and the queen of Vikramâditya do not convince their husbands of their innocence, as Ganieda

<sup>1</sup> See *Rom.*, xxii, 523, 524 : Lailoken says to the king :—"Tu me cepisti. et vinciri loris iussisti, gliscens nouum aliquod audire oraculum. Quapropter problema nouum de noua tibi proponam materia. De veneno stillauit dulcedo, et de melle amaritudo. Sed neutrum ita licet verum manet vtrumque. . . . Bonum pro malo fecit iniquitas. e conuerso reddidit pietas. Sed neutrum ita licet verum manet vtrumque." When the chains have been removed from Lailoken, he says :—"Quid est amarior felle muliebri, quod ab inicio serpentino infectum est veneno? Quid autem dulcius iusticie censura per quam mites et humiles a felle impiorum defenduntur? . . . Tunc iniquitas fecit bonum, cum mulier nequam suum veneraretur proditorem. Tunc pietas fecit malum. quando vir iustus suum fidelem occidit amicum."

Cf. *Orient u. Occident*, I, 348, 352 ; *Die Çukasaptati*, ed. Schmidt, *passim*.



convinces Rodarchus; Meldred's queen very naturally pursues Lailoken with her hatred, whereas Ganieda entirely overlooks Merlin's charge, entreats him to remain at court, and even herself retires to the forest with him. The incident, in short, has no effect on the course of the narrative and is inconsistent with it. All of this gives us additional reason for believing that the Lailoken story is not derived from the *Vita Merlini*, but reverts to an earlier and purer source, and that the poet was expanding his narrative by incorporating into it this episode from Lailoken's life.

The next instance of Merlin's apparently causeless laughter in the *Vita Merlini* occurs after *Guendoloena's Lover*:<sup>1</sup>—

After Merlin's murder of Guendoloena's lover, his pursuers lead him captive to Ganieda. He bides his time, hoping to be able to escape again to the forest, and meanwhile refuses to speak a word or to smile. For his diversion Rodarchus orders him to be led through the streets of the town. As he goes out, Merlin sees at the gate of the castle a slave begging alms from the passers-by; whereupon he stands still and laughs. Soon he espies a youth buying new shoes, and again he stands still and laughs. The attendants report this strange conduct to Rodarchus, who accordingly promises Merlin that if he explains the reason for it he may return to the forest. The beggar at the gate, Merlin replies, is an imposter; he has buried a treasure in the ground beneath his feet. The youth who bought new shoes will never use them, for he has already been drowned. Servants, whom Rodarchus sends out to discover the truth of Merlin's words, find the youth's body on the shore of a river, and heaps of coin buried in the ground where the beggar had stood. Merlin returns to the forest.

This episode has already been referred to the Talmud as its source:<sup>2</sup>—

Benajah, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> succeeds in capturing Aschmedai by a ruse, when Solomon wishes to consult him as to where he can find the Schamir. As Benajah leads him in chains to Solomon, Aschmedai bursts into laughter

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<sup>1</sup> Vv. 481–534.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, *Huth Merlin* (*Merlin*, ed. Paris et Ulrich, Paris, 1886), I, xiv. See *Gittin*, 68; for a German translation of this section by Badad, see *Salman und Morolf*, ed. Vogt, Halle, 1880, 213–217.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 246.



three times : once on hearing a man order from a shoemaker shoes that will last seven years ; once on seeing a magician make money by the practice of his art ; and the third time at the wedding procession, as related above. After they have arrived at Solomon's court Aschmedai, in response to Benajah's demand that he explain his mysterious laughter, says that the man who ordered the shoes had but seven days to live, and that the magician who was winning money by his magic arts had treasure hidden in the ground beneath his feet ; the explanation of his laughter at the wedding has been given.

When we have once understood the reason why the strange story of *Ganieda and the Leaf* was inserted into the *Vita Merlini*, we see that these instances of Merlin's laughter are of secondary importance in the legend, and that the author, having attached to Merlin the story of Lailoken's laughter, is expanding his material by adding to it these other incidents which have the same underlying theme—the apparently motiveless laughter of a captive supernatural being, caused by his superior knowledge of the truth. Obviously the poet was using a floating story of Oriental origin, which told of a superhuman being in captivity who indulged in mysterious laughter as a reward for the explanation of which he regained his freedom.<sup>1</sup> This may,

<sup>1</sup> On mysterious laughter that is caused by superhuman knowledge, cf., a Roumanian legend, cited by Gaster (*Folk Lore*, xvi, 1905, 419 ff.) :—The Lord commands the archangel Gabriel to take the soul of a certain widow ; Gabriel out of pity for her children does not obey. As a punishment the Lord condemns him to live on earth for thirty years as the servant of an Abbot, whose soul he is to receive at the end of his service. During the thirty years Gabriel never smiles, but on the last day of his servitude he laughs mysteriously four times :—at the Abbot, who orders him to buy a new pair of shoes for him ; at a beggar who is asking alms ; at the bishop and the governor of the town, as they drive past him in great pomp ; and at a man who is stealing an earthenware pot. When the Abbot asks the reason for his laughter, he tells him who he is, and that he is to receive the Abbot's soul ; he explains that he had laughed at the Abbot's order to buy shoes, because he had so short a time to live ; at the beggar, because he was sitting on a treasure unawares ; at the bishop and



or may not, have been attached previously to Merlin's name ; there is nothing in our sources to indicate which was the case.

In the episode from the prose *Merlin*<sup>1</sup> to which I have referred above, as Merlin is being led to Vortigern by the messengers whom the king has sent out to find the child without a father, he laughs at a churl buying leather to mend his shoes, and also at a funeral procession. His laughter in this episode forms one of the elements upon which Dr. Gaster bases his statement that the traditions of Aschmedai and Solomon "lie at the bottom of the legend [of Merlin] as elaborated in England by Geoffrey or any of his immediate predecessors."<sup>2</sup> It should be observed, however, that in the account of Merlin's journey to Vortigern in Geoffrey's *Historia*, the laughter has no place whatever ; its first appearance in this episode in literature is in the prose version of Robert de Borron's *Mer-*

the governor, because they are the children of the widow whose soul he had spared ; and at the thief, because clay was stealing clay. (Cited from Gaster, *Feuilleton Zeitung*, No. 299, Berlin, March 26, 1890, in *Arthur and Merlin*, ed. Kölbing, p. cvi, n. \* \* \*.) See also, *The Death of Fergus*, an Irish tale contained in a manuscript of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries (*Silva Gadelica*, II, 278, 279). Iubhan, a fairy monarch, laughs at a soldier, who complains that the soles of his new brogues are too thin ; he explains to a king, who asks his reason, that though the brogues are thin, the soldier will never wear them out. Before night the man is killed. "Yet, another day the household disputed of all manner of things, how they would do this or that, but never said : 'if it so please God.' Then Iubhan laughed and uttered a lay :—'Man talks, but God showeth the event.'"<sup>3</sup> Cf., in the *Language of Animals*, the hero's unexplained laughter on overhearing a conversation between animals, Benfey, *Orient u. Occident*, II (1864), 152 ; Frazer, *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 169-175 ; Schmidt, *Märchen des Straparola*, p. 324 ; Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales*, pp. 17, 18. On strange laughter, see Campbell, *Tales*, II, 30, 31 ; Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, II, 221 ; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th ed.), I, 424. On the laughter of wood sprites, see Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, II, 115.

<sup>1</sup> *Huth Merlin*, I, 48-51 ; *Merlin*, pp. 27-29 ; *English Merlin*, pp. 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk Lore*, XVI, 425.



*lin.* This fact would not in itself necessarily exclude the possibility that Robert used a tradition attached to Merlin's name before the time of Geoffrey, who, we should in that case be obliged to assume, had chosen to suppress the feature of Merlin's laughter. But, apart from the numerous difficulties that such a theory presents (which this is not the place to discuss), it is surely more reasonable, in the light of the evidence from the *Vita Merlini*, to believe that Robert de Borron elaborated his account of Merlin's journey to Vortigern by drawing from an independent narrative, containing such a retelling of the Aschmedai material as we have seen doubtless developed. Knowing, whether directly or indirectly, from the *Vita Merlini* that Merlin on another occasion, when he was a king's captive, had laughed at the churl buying shoes, by a very simple process of transference he worked this episode into his narrative, and expanded it by the additional feature of the funeral procession, which he derived from a similar current story.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The student of the Merlin legend cannot deplore too deeply the causes that left Gaston Paris's article on the "devinailles" of Merlin merely a projected piece of work. We have only his words that if Robert had had the *Vita Merlini* directly before him, he would not have failed to use in addition to the story of the churl, the other two examples, "au moins aussi piquants," of Merlin's divining power contained there. "Il est donc probable qu'il circulait oralement des contes sur les 'devinailles' de Merlin, dont deux ont été recueillis et insérés ici par Robert (*Huth Merlin*, I, xiv, xv).

A reflection of *Grisandole* may perhaps be seen in the version of Merlin's journey to Vortigern, given in the Middle English poem, *Arthur and Merlin* (vv. 1296-1412). Here Merlin laughs three times, once at the churl, the second time at the funeral procession, and the third time apparently at nothing at all. He explains later that he was laughing because the chamberlain of the queen is a woman in the guise of a man, who has refused the queen's proffers of love; she has therefore accused him to the king of making base proposals to her, and the king has ordered that he be hanged. The messengers tell Vortigern Merlin's story, the truth of which the king proves. His eagerness to see Merlin is increased thereby.



In *Grisandole* Merlin's laughter at the beggar, first attributed to him in the *Vita Merlini*, is evidently an importation that came with his name. The scene in the chapel where his laughter is occasioned once more by the thought of buried treasure is, it is scarcely necessary to say, simply a working over of the same idea, elaborated by the use of material for which we find excellent Celtic parallels. The spell, for instance, that is cast upon the squire may be compared to that cast by the child Taliesin upon the bards and heralds at the court of Maelgwn. Hidden in a corner of the hall, he enchants them so that when they pass before the king to cry largess, they make obeisance without saying a word, only making mouths at him, and playing "Blerwm, blerwm" on their lips.<sup>1</sup>

An obtrusive and at first a perplexing fact in studying *Grisandole* is that many of its features appear in the *Vita Merlini* in a detached and disconnected form. The unfaithful queen, a youth disguised as a maiden,<sup>2</sup> the captive wild man, his betraying and mocking laughter, and his refusal to explain it except as the price for his liberty, all are found there, but in separate episodes. We might be tempted to suppose that the elements of the *Vita Merlini* had been worked over by a later hand into our one long story, were it not for the folk tales which have aided us in outlining the

Nothing further is said of the queen and the chamberlain. Cf. on the sources of the episode *Arthour and Merlin*, ed. Kölbing, p. cxviii, note.

Merlin's statement to Grisandole that he had laughed when she bound him, because a woman with her craft had been able to do what no man could do is an echo of the Niniane story. For further instances of Merlin's strange laughter, see *Merlin*, pp. 24, 26, 234, 235.

<sup>1</sup> Guest, *Mabinogion*, III, 371. Cf. also the spell cast by the *cor enchanté*, Biquet, *Lai du Cor*, ed. Wulff, Lund and Paris, 1888, vv. 79 ff.; by Auberon's horn, *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Guessard et Grandmaison, Paris, 1860, vv. 3240-3243; cf., for further references, *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 332 ff.



source of *Grisandole*, and which show us that it existed in a form in which Merlin had no place. We have seen also that in the *Vita Merlini*, these features are derived from scattered sources, that Merlin's laughter at the queen, and his laughter in the public square, came, one immediately from a Celtic, the other from a Talmudic original, and that the author was probably actuated in his transference of these incidents to Merlin's life by the attributes that Merlin possessed in common with the original heroes, Lailoken and Aschmedai. The fact that these independent bits of widespread tradition had been thus early attached to Merlin's name made it possible for a later narrator to introduce him into *x*, an independently developed story having the same elements as those episodes in which he already had a place. Clearly then *Grisandole's* capture of Merlin is worthless in the use to which Vesselovski has put it, as a basis for a theory of identification between Merlin and Aschmedai,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as it represents a part of the original story, into which Merlin was introduced later as an actor; and the instances of Merlin's laughter, which have been used to support this identification have equally little value for the same purpose, since, although they were told of Aschmedai originally, they may have been repeated of Merlin because of the association of ideas stirred by the story of Lailoken, which was transferred to Merlin's name by the author of the *Vita*.

Our analysis of *Grisandole*, based upon parallel or related folk tales, complicated though it has been, has yielded us some definite results. The story is in the main outline derived directly or through intermediaries from a source, *x*, composed for the greater part of elements ultimately of Oriental origin; the most important variations of *Grisandole* from *x* are in those parts of the episode that directly concern

<sup>1</sup> See Vesselovski, *O Solomone i Kitovras*, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 325, 326.



Merlin; and these variations are due to the introduction into *x* of an early story of Merlin, which antedates the *Vita Merlini*, and which is plainly Celtic in origin. We may regard *Grisandole*, although it is preserved only in a comparatively late source, as valuable testimony to certain early features in the legend of Merlin, for a knowledge of which, however, we are not wholly dependent upon it. It has been obscured by much foreign material, and subjected to late influences, yet it clearly preserves the story of Merlin, the wild man and shape-shifter, coming in pursuit of his truant love,—a story which the author of the *Vita Merlini* knew, but which could not have been derived from his version by the author of *Grisandole*, who presents the material in so different a form. It occupies an almost unique position in the Merlin legend, inasmuch as it bears testimony to a tradition independent of the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whereas the vast mass of Merlin material in the prose romances consists of accretions that have gathered about Geoffrey's narrative. Its importance as a source for the legend of Merlin gives it a claim on our consideration.

#### APPENDIX.

In the *Livre d'Artus, P.*,<sup>1</sup> there is an episode which is too closely allied to the *Story of Grisandole* to be omitted from our study here :—

The fay, Niniane, the love of Merlin, transmits to her beautiful cousin, Lunete, many secrets of the magic art that she has learned from Merlin. Lunete, in order to have in her power her lover, Brehus sans Pitié, goes to a famous fountain in Broceliande, builds a chapel beside it, places a stone near at hand, fastens a goblet to an overhanging sycamore, and so enchants the place that when a passing knight shall pour water from the goblet upon the stone, a fearful storm shall arise, at which Brehus shall appear to do

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<sup>1</sup> Sections 86–91, 94, 99.



combat with the stranger knight, and if victorious shall lead away his opponent's horse; if the other knight wins, he shall take Brehus's place as defender of the perilous fountain, and lord of Lunete. Brandus des Isles, the cousin of Brehus, visits him, falls in love with Niniane, and learns magic from her. The two pairs of cousins dwell thus for a long time together. Merlin understands Niniane, and the situation. Knowing that the knight, Kalogrenant, is about to fare through Broceliande, he determines to attract him to the fountain that its fame may reach some other knight who will successfully undertake the adventure, and break up the contented quartette of lovers. He therefore shifts his shape to that of a giant herdsman, takes a great club in his hand, and wraps himself in a shaggy skin. By magic he gathers about him a herd of deer, stags, and other creatures, that graze about him absolutely under his control. In this guise he stands in the path of Kalogrenant, a sufficiently hideous object to strike terror to the heart of the knight, who, however, addresses him, and learns in answer to his questions that Merlin is lord of the forest, and what the adventure of the perilous fountain involves. Kalogrenant undertakes the adventure; he is defeated by Brehus, and returns to court, where his account of his experiences leads Yvain to resolve to find the fountain.

It does not need demonstration that in this episode the author of the *Livre d'Artus* was borrowing largely from Chrétien's *Yvain*. In the *Livre d'Artus* the adventure is, of course, incomplete, but so far as it goes the close agreement in details makes this fact clear at once. A notable difference is that in the *Yvain* the interest turns about a different set of personages; Laudine is the lady of the fountain, Esclados le Ros is her defender, Lunete is her faithful attendant, the giant herdsman is nameless. But by far the most important difference is that in the *Livre d'Artus* the true nature of the adventure at the fountain, as well as that of the giant herdsman, is clearly understood by the narrator. We owe to modern scholarship the demonstration that the "easily-consolated widow," Laudine, is a fay, that she maintains a fairy "custom" in her castle by the perilous fountain, that the giant herdsman and her husband, Esclados le Ros, are probably merely two manifestations of the same being, a shape-shifter, the creature whom she uses to attract valorous mortals to herself,—early Celtic features, all of which



are euhemerized and obscured in Chrétien's account.<sup>1</sup> In the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, on the other hand, the true character of the fountain is clear. Like the magic garden in the *Joie de la Cour* in *Erec*, it has been constructed by a fay, who desires to keep her beloved with her as the defender of her "custom," and with the true allegiance of the fay to the bravest hero, and none of the mortal scruples that fill Laudine's heart at the thought of matrimony with the slayer of her husband, she is ready to give her favors to any newcomer who can conquer the knight of the fountain. It is also plainly shown that Merlin is a being in disguise, whose function is to guide to the dwelling of the fay the knight who would essay the adventure. The striking similarities in the two accounts indicate that the author of the *Livre d'Artus* was directly dependent upon Chrétien, but it is equally clear that he knew his fairy material in a purer form than that which he found in the *Yvain*.

This is surely true of Merlin's part. Although his hostility is directed in a roundabout fashion against his foe, Brandus, with whom he has no plan for bringing the mortal into conflict, he is clearly a shape-shifter, acting as fairy guide, and enticing a warrior to aid him in regaining his love. In addition to the fact that Brandus des Isles has skill in necromancy, his name has an otherworld connotation, and may be classed with Galehout des Isles Lointaines, Brangemuer roi des Isles de mer, Allardin of the Isles, the King of the Golden Isle, and that of many another fairy knight. Merlin's rival for Niniane's favor is thus, like himself, an otherworld being. The story then belongs among those that represent a contest between two supernatural lovers for the possession of an otherworld mistress. Such stories treat of an old and widespread mythological theme, a hostile deity's theft of the

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 145 ff.



heavenly treasure, often the queen of the other world, from the divine possessor. Such a theme is contained in the *Ramayana*, in the story of the theft of the goddess Sita from her husband, Rama, by the *rakshasi*, Ravana, from whom Rama wins her back by the aid of the king of the apes. A parallel is found in Greek mythology, if we accept the view that Helen was originally a goddess, and that in the story of her rape by Paris, as well as in the version that Theseus and Peirithous carried her off to Aphidnae, there is contained the old myth of the theft of a goddess by an immortal being.<sup>1</sup> In Scandinavian mythology the same theme is represented when Thiassi, the giant, carries Iðunn, the wife of the god, Bragi, away from the gods to Jotunheim;<sup>2</sup> and it is also found in Thor's yielding of Freyja to the giant Thrym in return for his hammer which Thrym has stolen from him.<sup>3</sup> Thus, too, we read in early Celtic material of the rivalry between the fairy king Mider of Brī Leith and the great enchanter Mac Oc for the possession of Etain, Mider's wife, whom Mac Oc had secluded in a fairy-bower;<sup>4</sup> and in the *Mabinogion* we are told that the enchanter Manawyddan was deprived of his fairy wife, Rhiannon, by the powerful magician Llwyd, who imprisoned her in a vanishing castle.<sup>5</sup> This kind of narrative leads us into mythological rather than romantic conditions, where the supernatural race, in comparison with whom human beings are of secondary importance, lives a life of its own, *semota ab nostris rebus*, and plays the principal part;<sup>6</sup> whereas in romance the

<sup>1</sup> See Usener, *Der Stoff des griechischen Epos*, Vienna, 1897, pp. 3, 11-13.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bragarœður*, ch. LVI.

<sup>3</sup> See *Thrymskviða*.

<sup>4</sup> See *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1885), 587; Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Guest, *Mabinogion*, III, 172 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The traces of such a mythological stage in Celtic narrative are to be seen in the *Cath Maige Turedh*, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 57 ff. See also Meyer and Nutt, II, 172 ff.; Nutt, *Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, London, 1900, pp.



mortal is the centre of the action, the immortal beings serve simply to contribute in one way or another to his welfare, and sundry devices are adopted to bring the mythological and the various human elements into contact. A typical example of one method of accomplishing this is represented in the Irish tale of *Loegaire mac Crimthann*, which is contained in the *Book of Leinster*, and hence is certainly older than the year 1150 :—<sup>1</sup>

A beautiful gold-bedecked warrior appears one morning to Loegaire, the son of the king of Connaught, and announcing that he is Fiachna mac Retach, one of the fairy folk, asks Loegaire's aid against Goll, an other-world prince, who has carried away Fiachna's wife. Loegaire gladly follows Fiachna with an armed force to the other world, defeats Goll, and restores Fiachna's wife to him ; Fiachna gives his daughter in marriage to Loegaire.

Here two fairy princes are at strife for the possession of a fay ; one of them summons a valiant mortal to his aid, who as the true hero of the tale, has an opportunity to display his marvellous valor by a combat with no less a foe than the enchanter who has carried off the lady.<sup>2</sup> We can scarcely

17-23. Cf. the remarks on the degradation of supernatural beings to the ranks of mortals, Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1884-1900, III, i, 232.

<sup>1</sup> For an outline of this story, the Leinster version of which has not been translated, see Brown, *Annals*, p. 40, note 2 ; for a translation from a fifteenth century manuscript see *Silva Gadetica*, II, 290-291. Cf. also on the type of story, *Annals*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> A curious, confused story contained in the French prose *Tristan* (Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891, sect. 323-325) should be compared with the episode from the *Livre d'Artus* :—The enchanter, Mabon, and his devoted friend Menonnas, love the same maiden, Grysinde, whom they have met with a companion by a fountain. They have a contest for the right of possession, in which Mabon is defeated. Grysinde and Menonnas take up their abode in a castle of the latter, and soon they hate each other so thoroughly that they enter into an agreement by which Grysinde shall belong to Menonnas if he is overcome in battle by a stranger knight, and Menonnas shall show the same attention to Grysinde if she is



fail then to recognize that in the source of our episode in the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, which for convenience we may term the

surpassed in beauty by any lady who comes to the castle. Mabon, in the meanwhile, is bespelled within his castle by the companion of Grysinde, with whom he has consoled himself for the loss of his former love, and whom he has instructed in the magic art. The spell is to last during the lifetime of Menonnas and Grysinde. He therefore sends to Cornwall the Nef de Joie, a rudderless fairy ship, the work of Merlin (cf. *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 16, note 1), his master in the art of enchantment, to transport Tristan and Iseult to the scene, as a combination that will easily surpass Menonnas and Grysinde. The Nef de Joie bears them first to the Isle de la Fontaine, where there is exactly such a perilous fountain (*Fontaine des Merveilles*) as that established by Lunete in the *Livre d'Artus*. Tristan successfully performs the adventure of the fountain. He is relieved from the necessity of remaining on the island by the reappearance of the Nef de Joie, in which he and Iseult embark, and are borne to two other minor adventures before they arrive at the island of Mabon, who explains why he has sent for them. Tristan undertakes the combat with Menonnas, and the boat sails away to his tower. Iseult is promptly declared superior in beauty to Grysinde, whose head Menonnas at once cuts off; he is then slain in battle by Tristan, who sends the two heads to Mabon, and with Iseult leaves the tower.

This episode and that in the *Livre d'Artus* contain the same essentials. Mabon, like Merlin, is deprived of his love by a rival, to separate her from whom he calls in the aid of a mortal. The love of each is a fay (note that, although it is not expressly said that Grysinde is a fay, she and her companion are found by Mabon and Menonnas beside a fountain, a common place to meet fays; her companion has skill in necromancy; her adventures are laid in the other world); the opponent of each is an enchanter; in each the principal adventure, although in the *Tristan* it is not the final adventure, is that of the perilous fountain. To give the adventure its proper conclusion and make Tristan lord of the Isle de la Fontaine would have been impossible, for Tristan is handicapped by Iseult's presence; and the absurd conclusion of the story of Menonnas and Grysinde is evidently a late feature adopted by the narrator to relieve the situation, and turn Iseult to some account in the adventure. This termination, it should be said, is repeated from an earlier portion of the *Tristan* (sect. 40-41), where it forms one of the adventures performed by Tristan on sundry islands where he lands on his voyage with Iseult from Ireland to Cornwall. The account of this voyage and that in the Nef de Joie reminds one of a brief *imram*, and seems almost like an attenuated copy of that kind of narrative. These two episodes—that of the Isle de la Fontaine, and that of Lunete's fountain—



*Rival Enchanters*, Merlin is represented in a primitive situation, not identical with that in which he appears in the source of *Grisandole*, but so similar to it that one seems to be a variant of the other.<sup>1</sup> I do not undertake to determine which of these two themes was first attached to Merlin's name. Judging merely from the nature of the material we should very naturally see in the *Rival Enchanters*, leading us back as it does to an early mythology, the more primitive story. But these mythological elements are so obscured, and they appear in so late a guise in the *Livre d'Artus*, that it would be rather daring to assume that the source necessarily formed an early part of the Merlin legend. It might, in fact, be argued that the *Livre d'Artus* represents the bungling effort of a late redactor to retell the story of Chrétien's *Yvain*, and that he worked in the figure of Merlin as the giant herdsman merely because he had appeared in earlier prose romantic material in that character. But it should be said that although Merlin appears elsewhere in the romances as a giant herdsman, it is never in the capacity of other-

point distinctly to a common source, although each has apparently passed through intermediaries before reaching us. It is noticeable that in the episode from the *Tristan* there are repeated echoes of the Merlin material. The Nef de Joie is Merlin's vessel; Mabon is Merlin's pupil; the treatment of Mabon by his makeshift love, the companion of Grysinde, to whom he has taught his art, distinctly reflects Niniane's bespelling of Merlin; the name of Mabon's true fairy love is Grysinde, which brings to mind *Grisandole*, the assumed name of Merlin's love—but this last is almost too faint to be called an echo. There is some ground therefore for assuming that the author of the *Tristan* at any rate had been influenced by the source of the story in the *Livre d'Artus*.

<sup>1</sup> It need be no cause for concern that we find Merlin in one source seeking his wife who has turned from him to a mortal, and in another harassed by her desertion of him for an enchanter. Mider before him had led a life that was one series of quests for his fairy love, Etain; now with the great Mac Oc, now with Ailell, and most of all with the mortal, Eochaid, she kept him in a state of amorous uncertainty; and we merely find one of several parallels between the legends of Mider and Merlin, when we read the episode from the *Livre d'Artus*, *Grisandole*, and *Guendoloena's Lover*.



world guide, and that from his character there it is difficult to see how his part in the episode of the *Perilous Fountain* could have developed. The incidents to which I refer are as far removed from fairyland as is the scene between Aucassin and the giant herdsman in *Aucassin et Nicolette*,<sup>1</sup> and are very plainly late concoctions, introduced into the story almost as a comic interlude to exhibit Merlin's accomplishments in shape-shifting.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the

<sup>1</sup> Sect. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The incidents are the following:—(a) *Merlin*, pp. 36–38; *English Merlin*, pp. 42–50; *Huth Merlin*, I, 63–65. Uter and Pendragon desire to take a castle held by the Saxons. Pendragon sends messengers far and wide to find Merlin to ask his advice as to how the castle may be taken. Merlin, knowing that the king wishes him goes to the town where the messengers are, “vint comme uns boskerons en la ville une grant cuignie a son col, et uns grans solers cauchies et une courte cote vestue toute depecie si ot les kavelz moult hirecies et la barbe moult grande et moult sambloit bien homme sauvage.” He bids the messengers tell Pendragon to come to the forest of Norhumberlande on the following day, where he will meet Merlin. Here one of the king's followers finds “une grant plente de bestes et une moult let homme et contrefait qui ces bestes gardoit.” This man tells him that if the king will come to the forest he will tell him where he may find Merlin. When the king arrives he directs him to a certain town where Merlin will come to him. After further shape-shifting, Merlin in his true form visits the king and admits that it was he who appeared to him as the man of the woods, and the herdsman.

(b) *Merlin*, pp. 191 ff.; *English Merlin*, pp. 257 ff. (cf. *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 26). Merlin wishes to inform Gawain and his brothers, who are in Camelot, that the knight Saigremor is hard pressed by Saxon enemies. He accordingly “prinst une vielle samblance et fu encors en une vielle cotele de burel toute deschiree et toute depanee et avant estoit il lons et corsus et ore se fist il cours et bochus et viel et si ot la teste entremellee et la barbe longue. et tenoit une machue a son col si cachoit moult grant foison de bestes devant li.” He comes with his herd before the walls of Camelot and there bewails the fate of Saigremor so loudly that Gawain and his brothers at once arm themselves to go to Saigremor's assistance.

(c) *Merlin*, p. 130; *English Merlin*, p. 167. “Il ot chaucies uns grans solers de vache et ot vestu cote et surcot de burel et caperon si fu chains dune corioie neuee de mouton. et sestoit gros et lons et noirs & hirechies si samble bien cruel et felon.” In this form he appears to Arthur, and tells him that Merlin will come to him later.



source of *Guendoloena's Lover* and *Grisandole* not only contains early material, but did, we know, have a place in early Merlin material; and from Merlin's part there as a wild man of the woods seeking to separate his wife from a mortal it is possible that the theme of the *Rival Enchanters*, which is so closely allied to it, might have developed.

LUCY ALLEN PATON.



## VIII.—ON THE CONSERVATISM OF LANGUAGE IN A NEW COUNTRY.

I cannot begin this discussion more appropriately than by quoting a well known paragraph from Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*. In Part I, page 19, he says :—

“The results of emigration and immigration are curious and important. By emigration is here specially meant the separation of a considerable body of the inhabitants of a country from the main mass, without incorporating itself with another nation. Thus the English in America have not mixed with the natives, and the Norse in Iceland had no natives to mix with. In this case there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remains for a long time in the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction. Practically the speech of the American English is archaic with respect to that of the British English, and while the Icelandic scarcely differs from the old Norse, the latter has, since the colonization of Iceland, split up on the mainland into two distinct literary tongues, the Danish and Swedish. Nay, even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the XVIIIth century.”

This paragraph was published as long ago as 1869 and it would be hardly fair to Mr. Ellis to hold him strictly responsible now for all it contains. Nevertheless the paragraph still expresses a widely accepted theory. It is a belief among many scholars that the language of a colony is almost always more conservative than that of its mother country, and that this conservatism is in some way connected with the fact of emigration.



A good illustration of this point of view is to be found at the end of Professor Emerson's careful study of the Ithaca Dialect.<sup>1</sup> Professor Emerson there quotes the above paragraph from Ellis, and, though he refuses to subscribe to all it contains, he says with reference to his own investigations, that: "At least, in the absence of any other assignable cause, it may be stated with assurance, that the older forms of speech in IthD. are due to conditions attending isolation from the mother country by emigration." And immediately after he states positively as two of his three conclusions, that:—

"1. The dialect of Ithaca represents, in comparison with standard English, a dialect of the eighteenth century, with certain peculiarities usually attributed to the seventeenth century.

"2. This arrested development is due to emigration and separation from the mother country."

Perhaps few have been as outspoken as Professor Emerson is here, but there have been many scholars who have given more or less willing assent to the theory. Numerous writers on Hibernianisms, Americanisms, and American dialects have made much of the essentially archaic nature of the language they treat. We have all heard about the wonderful purity of colonial languages. I know that I have been told not only that American English is purer than British English, but much more than that,—and this probably through the local patriotism of some school-teacher,—that the western Americans speak much better English than our cousins in the eastern part of the United States. I wish it understood that I am not at present advocating this last bit

<sup>1</sup> *Dialect Notes*, 1, pp. 85 ff., espec. 173. For another illustration, concerning Irish English, cf. *Academy*, vol. LXI, p. 291 f. Other illustrations might be cited.



of doctrine, and yet, if by "better" is only meant "more conservative," do we have here anything more than the logical conclusion for the emigration theory? True archaisms are always startling, and when we find that many of our common American words are survivals of older English words that have died out in England, it is no wonder if we are led sometimes to the conclusion that we, who speak the emigrant language, and not the English, are the true successors of Shakspeare, Dryden, Pope, and the other great literary men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

But now what is the truth of this matter? Is emigration in itself a conservative force? Do we in America speak a more archaic language than the people of England, and if we do, or if we have dialects that do, are there not other possible causes sufficient to account for the conservatism? It is with such questions as these that this paper is concerned. The treatment is necessarily far from exhaustive. There is not enough material yet at hand for a thorough study, and besides I do not pretend to have read everything that might be brought to bear on the subject. Nevertheless I think I have got together enough facts to justify at least a few definite conclusions.

On general principles we should not expect to find in emigration a conservative force. We all know, when we stop to consider, that the phrases 'living language' and 'dead language' are merely figures of speech. In actual fact, of course, it is utterly impossible that a language should have any real life of its own and consequently any death. If we wish for convenience to attribute to it a borrowed life, that is a different matter. But it should never be forgotten that language is no more alive than the steam engine, or the silk-loom, or than any other artfully constructed instrument. Language is a tool. It can do nothing—not even to reproduce or maintain itself—except through the agency of man.



The latter is the all-important factor and language is always secondary to him and to his environment. If this be true, and I think all must agree with me that it is, this secondariness ought to be reflected in speech differentiation. Not only should every language be characteristic of the people who have developed it and of the land they live in, but changes in land or people should find parallel changes in the language itself. Furthermore, if a language is imported into a new country or a new people, we should expect that it would immediately begin to adjust itself to its new surroundings—that is to a new order of development. So I repeat that on general principles we should not expect to find in emigration a conservative force. Other things being equal, a colonial language ought to change more than the speech in the mother country.

On general principles also, we should infer that the changes in a colonial language are likely to be of a different nature from those in the mother country. For this phase of the emigration theory Ellis's statement, quoted above, seems entirely reasonable. In the new land the speech is likely to be subjected to a changed environment. Thus, there may be a different climate, a different flora and fauna, and the necessity of a different mode of life. There may be also another people to contend with, having probably a different civilization and language. It is evident that if many of these conditions of the new environment are unlike those of the parent home, the language cannot go on developing in the old way. The old needs and impulses for change will be gone and new needs will have taken their places. Unless, then, conditions happen to be very similar in the two countries and unless there is extensive intercourse maintained, the languages of mother land and colony are likely—nay, sure—to alter in divergent directions. But now, it is only a small part of a language that changes at



any one time. In so far as is consistent with developing conditions, it is the ideal of language to be conservative, for it is through conservatism that a language best fulfills its office as an instrument of communication. It is likely, therefore, that the field in which the mother-tongue does its changing may remain almost unaltered in the colony, and the colonial language in its turn may change in parts which in the motherland remain quite conservative. The result is that each country is likely to present both innovations and survivals peculiar to itself.

Now in this matter we do not have to rest content with mere theory. These statements are amply supported by facts. Thus, it will be remembered that Mr. Ellis was careful to limit his remark about the language of Ireland. His words were that it "exhibits *in many points* the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the seventeenth century." This is no doubt true and it is not only in pronunciation but also in vocabulary that Irish is in many points archaic. The fact has been emphasized by many writers, but that is a very different thing, of course, from identifying modern Irish—even of a few generations ago—with pure seventeenth century English. It would be hard to find a competent scholar who would do the latter. Mr. W. H. Patterson in the introduction to his *Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down*<sup>1</sup> is careful to state that "The forms of the words may vary somewhat, because they naturally underwent changes consequent upon the lapse of time since their introduction to an alien soil. In many cases it was a difficulty how to spell the words, because I only had them as sounded, and the difficulty was increased when I frequently found the same word was pronounced in two or more ways by different persons, either natives of different

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Dial. Soc.*, vol. VII, p. viii.



districts, or persons whose mode of speaking had been influenced by different surroundings or by more or less of education." He further adds that "in some districts in the east of the two counties the people still talk a Scotch dialect, but with a modified Scotch accent."

But Ellis himself, farther on in his *Early English Pronunciation*,<sup>1</sup> gives sufficient material to show that Irish English contains both archaisms and innovations. Thus in just one paragraph of Irish speech quoted by him from Mr. Graves as a fair specimen of the Kilkenny English of the last century, we find many archaic survivals side by side with as many altered forms. Thus with the archaic *clane*,<sup>2</sup> *dacent*, *faver*, and *baaste* are found *depind*, *Riverence*, *yistherday*, *hins*, and *gintleman*. In *childhre*, which illustrates an archaic plural, we have the peculiar Irish dental-plus-*r*, found also in *dhrop* and *dhry*, and in *crathers*, *inthered*, and *wather*. *Potatoes* is pronounced *pyates*. Along with archaic meanings for *clean* and *likely* we have introduced the Irish word *colleen* for *girl*. Now the illustrations here given do not exhaust the material of this single paragraph, but if we wish to leave it and go on to the word lists that follow, we shall find that Ellis offers still more material in confirmation of our general proposition. The English language in Ireland contains both archaisms and innovations.

Dr. Sweet in his *History of Language* (p. 89) states the same conclusion for modern Icelandic. You may remember that Ellis in the paragraph first quoted made the statement that Icelandic scarcely differs from Old Norse. If this were true, it would not be such a very strange phenomenon. Iceland is so cut off from the activities of the rest of the world that we need not expect its language to change very

<sup>1</sup> Part IV, p. 1233.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling is that found in Ellis.



much. But it would seem according to Sweet that Icelandic has changed more than Ellis suspected. Sweet says :—

“ We have in Modern Icelandic an instructive instance of the conflict between the two factors of conservatism in life and absence of foreign influence on the one hand and complete isolation from direct contact with cognate languages on the other. The result is that the language, instead of developing in an analytical direction similar to that of its immediate cognates, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish, has preserved its old inflectional system absolutely unimpaired on the whole, although with frequent modifications of detail. . . . But the sounds of Modern Icelandic have undergone the most fantastic changes through the want of control by cognate languages. Thus *ā* has become (au), and *au* itself has become (œi), the front-round *y* has been levelled under *i*, and so on, while in the other Scandinavian languages it has been kept distinct from *i*, and *ā* has merely been rounded into a variety of (œ) without any further exaggeration. Icelandic, in fact, as regards its sounds, behaves like an adult whose speech by deafness has been isolated from the control of his fellow-speakers. It is curious to observe that the island-Portuguese of the Azores shows a curious change of long vowels into diphthongs equally opposed to the tendencies of the continental mother-language.”<sup>1</sup>

Other colonial languages, in so far as I have been able to learn about them, seem to illustrate our position equally well. I know almost nothing about Australian English. I presume it contains numerous archaisms, but I am not sure. I do know, however, that it has many neologisms. There is even a dictionary of over 500 pages on Austral English, and though the size of this book may be no fair index of the number of new words in the colonial language,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Larsen, *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, VI, pp. 99 ff.



the number is certainly not small. I am acquainted with the book only through a review in the *Nation*,<sup>1</sup> and this in its treatment lays emphasis on the new words rather than on the survivals. With reference to the English contingent of the special vocabulary the reviewer says that it "includes, naturally, some novel formations; but far more numerous are the examples of familiar words in unfamiliar senses. The old system of penal transportation, the mad days of the gold "rushes," the growth of sheep and cattle raising, the rowdy life of city idlers, the agrarian difficulties, the development of autonomy through political strife of peculiar and complex bitterness—all have left their impress on the language of the colonists." Surely this does not tend to show that Australian English is archaic or conservative.<sup>2</sup>

Let us turn now to America. I think we shall find among the various colonial languages of this continent similar conditions. Let us begin with the French Canadian language, which has received considerable attention. The published results of the investigation of such men as Professors Elliott, Sheldon, Chamberlain, and Geddes seem to give ample warrant for our general proposition. The French language in Canada has been both progressive and conservative. Professor Elliott in one of his articles<sup>3</sup> on Canadian French points out clearly that the circumstances in which the new settlers were placed was sufficient to produce important changes in their language, and to bring about

<sup>1</sup> *Nation*, vol. LXVII, p. 169 f. *Austral English: A Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases, and Usages*. By Prof. E. E. Morris. Macmillan.

<sup>2</sup> Leutzner, in *Englische Studien*, XI, 173 f., published a note in which he quoted three passages from Froude's *Oceana* (1886) to show that English is spoken in Australia absolutely without provincialism. This does not prove conservatism, however, but rather a leveling of dialectical forms. Similar statements are quoted by Elliott for early Canadian French.

<sup>3</sup> *Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, vol. VII, pp. 141 ff. Cf. also Prof. Elliott's article in vol. X (pp. 133 ff.) of the *Journal*.



the *Ausgleichung* of grammar-forms and intermixture of phonetic elements which are found to-day in the Canadian language, common in all essential particulars to the provinces of the Dominion, wherever French is spoken. And Professor Chamberlain has stated our position precisely in his article on *The Life and Growth of Words in the French Dialect of Canada*.<sup>1</sup> He says:—

“No portion of the study of Canadian-French life and history can be more of interest than the investigation of the changes which their speech has undergone in the course of more than three centuries of varied progress and development. . . . Nowhere, perhaps, are these laws of the life and growth of verbal significations better illustrated than in French-speaking Canada; nowhere else, indeed, has the necessity for modification been greater. . . . [He then mentions some of the circumstances that necessitated change. As a result] their *sprachgefühl* was quickened and called again to life, new words arose and old ones clothed themselves in meanings they had never had before, while Old French words, preserved by the conservatism of agriculture or of religion, linger still beneath the shadow of Cape Diamond or in the valley of the Gatineau, long after the French Academy has ceased to include them in its great dictionary.”

Similar conclusions, if I mistake not, can be reached for Pennsylvania German, if one studies the valuable series of articles<sup>2</sup> on that dialect published by Professor Learned. Pennsylvania German has perpetuated in their pristine vigor the characteristics of its venerable European ancestor, the Rhine Frankish. Nevertheless this colonial language has undergone change not only in vocabulary but also in phonology and syntax.

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. IX, cols. 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, vols. IX and X.



And now last of all I think we may urge the same generalizations for American English. I have no need to inform you that a large number of Americanisms are merely survivals of older English words that have died out in the mother country—this fact has been emphasized too often—but perhaps it would not be nearly so trite if I made the same statement for Britishisms. I think we have laid too much stress on the archaisms in American English. In cultivated American speech the special archaic forms are not nearly so numerous as the neologistic. Many of our archaisms are merely vulgarisms or limited provincialisms and are to be found with a similar status in parts of England. In some cases the words have never been anything but vulgarisms or provincialisms in either country. I have never met with an attempt anywhere to show that cultivated British English is archaic with respect to American English, but really I think about as good a case could be made out for the one country as for the other. Consider, for example, what a large number of names for officers and parts of the government from the king to the bailiff and Parliament to Assize Court have survived in England but have been displaced in America. Such a long list, however, is too easy proof—it seems like begging the question. Let us choose a few more isolated Britishisms to illustrate the point.

The word *fruiterer* has interested me. I saw it for the first time in England. It struck me then as a monstrous malformation and I supposed it had been recently introduced by ignorant people. In my own superior ignorance I felt toward the word as many an Englishman has felt toward some of our archaisms. Great was my surprise therefore to discover in the *New English Dictionary* that the earliest recorded case for this word is dated 1408, and that we also find the word used by Shakspeare. But now along with *fruiterer* may be mentioned several other words, with lengthy



pedigrees, expressing names of occupations. Thus *draper*, *mercier*, *costermonger*, and *poulterer* have been in the language of England for many centuries. The word *beetle* (= Amer. *bug*) goes back to Old English and was probably used in its loose English sense in very early times. It is vastly older than *bug*. *Biscuit* (= Amer. *cracker*) is cited for the year 1330. *Cracker* is very modern. *Coverlet* is given the date of 1300; *bed-spread* is not even mentioned in the *New English Dictionary*. *Autumn* is cited from Chaucer and its pedigree is certainly longer than that of our word *fall*. The English sense for *creek* is the original sense. The same can be said for *casket* and *squash*. The English words *hustings*, *luggage*, *copse*, *cony*, *close*, *goloshes* are all more or less venerable and there are many other Briticisms equally so. The authors of *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, after showing how in Great Britain railroading has merely taken to itself the terms for coaching—utilizing in this way such words as *coaches*, *drivers*, *guards*, and *booking-offices*,—state as a generalization: “The conservative tendency to retain familiar terms in a new application is probably stronger in England than in America.”

In the domain of pronunciation we probably find ourselves on rather uncertain ground, owing to the extreme difficulty of determining for past ages precisely what were the usual pronunciations for the various sounds. We ought not to permit ourselves to make more sweeping generalizations for past ages, about which we can know but little, than we should be willing to make for to-day, and yet that is ever the temptation. We somehow feel that all people in the past spoke alike. Professor Grandgent, in his article *From Franklin to Lowell*,<sup>1</sup> surely observes due caution, and he would seem to show that American English has made

<sup>1</sup> *P. M. L. A. of A.*, vol. xiv, pp. 207 ff., 1899.



many changes and that at least in some respects our language has changed wherein English speech has remained as it was. Compare the American loss of rounding for *ɔ* and *o*. We should further remember that there is no one standard for our whole country. If one section has been entirely conservative other sections must have changed. In the West perhaps our *r* and our *æ* (in such words as *aunt*) are archaic, but surely it cannot be maintained that we in the West speak more nearly eighteenth century English than the people in the East.

Furthermore, if we to-day have no one standard, neither had the people of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. America has not been settled by Londoners, and to set up this city as a standard for comparison is manifestly absurd, especially when one considers the speech conditions of London for the past two or three centuries. I think few scholars realize how extraordinary these conditions have been. Since the year 1600 London has increased in population over twenty-five fold. Up to the nineteen century all of this increase came from without. Let me present some figures. According to the *Britannica*, in 1600 the population was about 180,000; in 1650, 350,000; and in 1700, 550,000. That is, roughly, during the seventeenth century the city increased its size threefold. But all through this century—largely because of the plague—the death rate was tremendously in excess of the birth rate. For example, in 1603 there were 37,253 more deaths than births; in 1625 the excess was 47,482; in 1665 the number reached 87,339. In the last year quoted for every birth there were more than nine people who died. That means that London in that year in order to hold its own had to have eight times as many immigrants as there were children born. For the other years quoted the ratio is equally startling. But we have found that instead of merely holding its own London



grew immensely. With such an influx of dialect speakers, why should we expect much conservatism! In the present century the birth rate has exceeded the death rate, but even now almost half of the population of London was born outside the city.

If we compare with these statistics the conditions in America we may find even more cause for surprise. According to the statistics published in the *World's Almanac* for 1906, the population of this country in 1900 was 76,303,387. Of this number only 10,460,085 were of foreign birth, and only 26,198,939 of foreign parentage. That is, less than one-seventh of our present population were born outside of this country and hardly more than a third have parents of foreign birth. With such figures I think it can be said without making a bull that London is more of an English colony than the United States. And surely we find here plenty of reason why London English should have changed.

But now returning again to the subject of speech in America, I think it has not been and cannot be proved that cultivated Americans speak a more archaic English than the people of Great Britain. Ellis is wrong on that point. I think the truth lies, rather, in the proposition suggested early in this discussion that each country presents both archaisms and innovations. But while standing for this position, I am perfectly willing to grant that we may have dialects in this country which are more conservative and archaic than London English. Thus it seems probable that Professor Emerson has proved the fact for the Ithaca dialect, though I am of the opinion that many of the clipped forms found in that speech are not archaisms but American degenerates. But grant the language of Ithaca is more conservative than London English—what of it? Is it quite fair to compare on this score Ithaca<sup>1</sup> and the city of

<sup>1</sup> The dialect studied seems to be country as well as town.



London? I think it would have been better to compare Ithaca with some isolated town in Lincolnshire or East Anglia. Be that as it may, after reading Professor Emerson's account of the conditions there, I see no cause for wonder at any of the conservatism found in Ithaca. I should have been much more surprised if the speech of the town had not been conservative.

Summing up now the results of this examination, I can say: Colonial languages, like all dialects, exhibit both conservative and innovative traits. Conservatism, however, is not so pronounced a feature as many people believe. Some colonial dialects may be more conservative than their mother-tongues, but wherever this happens, in so far as I know, local conditions seem to be amply sufficient to explain the conservatism. In no case have I found the least probability that emigration in itself is a conservative force.

FRANK EGBERT BRYANT.



## IX.—DONI AND THE JACOBEOANS.

To the average reader, even in Italy, the name Antonfrancesco Doni suggests nothing. There is no collected edition of his works, nor, aside from the 1863 edition of the *Marmi* and the sporadic and limited publication of occasional pieces, are there even reprints of single works. To the average student he is but one of many writers of *novelle* that, altho by comparison with some of the others are only mildly filthy, are not distinguished by either sweetness or light. Of his other works, the *Libreria* is the earliest Italian bibliographical work; the *Marmi*, a series of conversations between Cinquecento Florentines sitting on the steps of the Duomo, is photographic in its realism; the *Mondi*, a socialistic fantasy, shows the influence of More's *Utopia*; the *Zucca* is a collection of proverbs, etc., yet nothing very significant. Nor are the facts of his life (1513–1569) more interesting. Altho associated somewhat mysteriously with the Accademia Ortolana of Piacenza and with the still more mysterious I Pelegrini at Venice, his roving life is tarred with the same brush as that of the “infame” Aretino. And to the English reader his direct claim is even more slender, as it consists only of a translation, made by Sir Thomas North in 1570, of his translation<sup>1</sup> of the fables of Bidpai. In life he was of “vivissimo ingegno;”<sup>2</sup> to-day the “ghiribizzoso”<sup>3</sup> Doni is remembered as an erotic author.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs, London, David Nutt. Mr. Jacobs relegates Doni to a short footnote, p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> Pref. 2, *Libreria*. In Vinegia, Presso Altobella Salicato, MDLXXX.

<sup>3</sup> *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, Dispensa VIII, Avvertenza.



Yet to the student of English literature the works of Doni have a very real interest, because they serve to illustrate the general theory of the movement of the Renaissance. As is now generally conceded, the Elizabethans were at school, and Petrarch was their master. But to attain this common standard they sacrificed their individuality. Thus the work is monotonous. Their sonnet cycles, imitated from the Italian, and from the French out of the Italian, are all alike. The Petrarch of the *Rime* is preëminently the poet of expression, not the poet of thought. Therefore the great characteristic of Elizabethan poetry is its diffuseness,—one thought expanded into fourteen lines. And this was not peculiar to the sonnet; it extended into all forms.

Against this uniformity the Jacobeans, following the lead of Donne, reacted by stressing individuality. But altho each man was a law unto himself, as they were all reacting against a common condition, there are certain characteristics to be found in them all. In treatment, for the conventional epithet sanctioned by the use of Petrarch, they substituted the precise adjective; in subject matter, for diffuse and vague emotionalism, they substituted intellectual conceits.

That this is a definite reaction, can be seen by a comparison with the Italian. There the influence of Petrarch was all-powerful, and the product has the same limitations. Sig. Flamini<sup>1</sup> thus expresses the criticism: "Not a new thought, not an original trait, not a ray of the living light of poetry in them." Then after a comprehensive list of writers, he summarizes: "They are all authors of more or less copious *canzonieri* written and given to light in the various cities of Italy before 1560, and they all resemble one another to such a degree that, if there were no frontispieces to the

<sup>1</sup> *Storia Letteraria d' Italia*, Scritta da una Società di Professori; *Il Cinquecento*, Francesco Flamini, p. 293.



books, they would be confounded one with the other. To each Petrarch furnishes the poetic situations, the imagination, the style, and the movement of the verse." Thus the Italian situation is parallel with that in England.

On account of this uniformity arose the Antipetrarchistic school. "Antipetrarchismo," as Graf defines it,<sup>1</sup> "is partly simple resistance and opposition to the common movement; partly it is the expression of conceits and new ideals in life and art. . . . To this school . . . belong Pietro Aretino, Antonfrancesco Doni, Niccolò Franco, Ortensio Lando, and no others." The reaction here is conscious. From Aretino's voluminous letters citation after citation might be given to show his position. "It is not thru ignorance of the precedents established by Petrarch and Boccaccio, because I do not know what they are, that I do not follow them, but because I am unwilling to lose time, patience, and reputation in trying to transform myself into their shapes; for that is impossible."<sup>2</sup> "Who does not know that work ornamented with another's artifices resembles a garret hung with a neighbor's tapestries?"<sup>3</sup> But as thus each writer, irrespective of precedents, must express himself, art is only a means to that end. In a letter to Doni, he says: "Still more, the contrast which they make between nature and art,—about which every pedant disputes and none agrees,—means this, I say, that, because art (*artifitio*) is that which is born naturally, living in the pen, and not that which they deduce from books, surely nature is like a vine hung with clusters of grapes, and the technique (*arte*), produced from it the pole which supports it."<sup>4</sup> Negatively this reaction may be shown by the curious omission of Petrarch from the list

<sup>1</sup> *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, by Arturo Graf, Torino, 1888, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Aretino's *Lettere*, 1609, vol. I, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Aretino's *Lettere*, 1609, vol. II, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Aretino's *Lettere*, 1609, vol. V, p. 319.



of authors given in the *Libreria*. In the list of works credited to Boccaccio, altho there is a fervid eulogy in general, the *Decameron*, omitted by name, is referred to only as follows: "I regret to say that there is also a certain *storaccia*; I say that on account of the base and ignorant style, which is as much his as mine, I never read it."<sup>1</sup> Certainly these men were not in accord with the literary criticism of their age.

But not in theory alone, in practice also they differed from their contemporaries. Whereas the Petrarchan sonnet, even in an extreme case such as the "galley" sonnet of Wyatt, the 156th, Part 1, of the *Rime*, is a unified conception carefully worked out, Doni in his effort to crowd in thought breaks the sonnet into a series of conceits. This is illustrated by the following sonnet, *De la Speranza d'Amore*, translated as literally as possible, keeping the rhymes.

And what is hope? A dream, a smile, a tear.  
 Her lodging where? In the too-trusting heart.  
 A bait for fools,—all chance of gain apart  
 That conquered holds her silly servants here;  
 A common wench, bold-faced, of sickly cheer,  
 Of one half fear, of shame the other part;  
 Handmaid of them whose prospects quick depart,  
 Limping she leads them heavenward with a leer.  
 To bid her off, the salesman calls aloud.  
 Who now will buy her? Lovers, he who feeds  
 On wind, and prisoners,—a shipwrecked crowd.  
 The snow, the shade, the leaves compose her weeds;  
 A mob of tricks, of guiles, of pains she leads.  
 God quench her and all faith in her avowed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *La Libreria del Doni Fiorentino*; nella quale sono scritti tutti gli Autori volgari, con cento discorsi sopra quelli. . . . In Vinegia, presso Altobello Salicato, MDLXXX, Boccaccio. May I here acknowledge the courtesy of the Harvard Librarians in giving me access to this book?

<sup>2</sup> *De la Speranza d'Amore*.



"Che cosa è Speme? un sogno, un pianto, un riso :  
 Ou'ha il suo albergo? in cor che troppo crede,  
 Esca è de pazzi, & di signor mercede  
 Che'l credul seruo a bada tien conquisto :  
 Come sfacciata putta ha uerde il uiso  
 Et tra paura, & la uergogna siede  
 Ancilla de gl'infermi senza fede,  
 Et zoppa d'ir si uanta in Paradiso.  
 Quand è all'estremo, gridasi all'incanto ;  
 Chi la compra? gli amanti, & lor di uento  
 Pasce, e i prigion, e i miseri noccheri :  
 Porta di nebbie, e d'ombre, & frondi, un manto ;  
 Compagnota d'inganni, ira e tormento,  
 Che Dio la spenga e i uani in lei pensieri."

*Pistolotti Amadori del Doni. In Venegia, MDLII, p. 2.*

Even by this translation the different aim is apparent. The overcrowding of thought, the confusion of metaphor, the straining after conceits,—all mark a new manner. This new manner is that also characteristic of the Jacobean poets.

But this type of poetry can appeal only to those men whose minds are intellectually quick. Such men are impatient of careful elaboration. The thought must be just suggested, and as unexpected as possible. On the contrary, the combination which makes the *Purple Island* unique in our literature is the detailed development of so bizarre a conception. The detailed development, however, is obviously a legacy of Spenser. Therefore it is significant to find Doni in a brief dialogue expressing an analogous idea. Sbandito and Dubbioso are philosophising :

- S. What is there in the world which is not in man?
- D. There are no rivers.
- S. The veins of blood.
- D. All right, but the sea?
- S. The liver.
- D. The tide which ebbs and flows?
- S. The stomach which fills and empties.
- D. Cold and warm winds?



- S. Man's breath, which made a satyr run, who, on seeing a man first warm his hands by blowing on them and then cool his food with his breath, fled from him saying, "You must be a curious beast since you have both cold and heat at your disposal."
- D. White marbles which they take from the ground?
- S. They are the teeth; and that infirmity which man has, has also nature when the atmosphere is corrupted . . ., etc.<sup>1</sup>

This extract is sufficient to show the parallelism intended between man and nature. Coming as it does from the Greek idea of the microcosmos, it was in all probability developed independently by Fletcher and Doni. The details are not the same. Fletcher's liver is a city,<sup>2</sup> Doni's the sea; Fletcher's stomach is also a city,<sup>3</sup> Doni's the tide; moreover Fletcher has worked up an infinitude of detail. But the interesting point here is that it is the same general conception that appealed to them both.

Not only in treatment and in the kind of subject selected does Doni remind us of the Jacobean poets: he is still more like them in the choice of odd titles. The "Steps," the "Gourd," the "Worlds" are examples. He calls his attack on Aretino "The Earthquake of Doni, the Florentine, with the Ruin of a Great Bestial Colossus, the Antichrist of our Age." For adopting this deliberate mannerism, one of the conversations in the *Marmi* gives the reasons:—

See what the world is coming to, when no one can read anything, full tho it be of learning and goodness, without flinging it away at the end of three words! More artifice than patience goes nowadays to the writing of a book; more racking the brains to invent some whimsical title, which makes one take it up and read a word or two than the composition of the whole book demands. Just try to tell people to touch a volume labelled "Doctrine of Good Living" or "The Spiritual Life!" God preserve you! Put upon the title-page "An Invective against an Honest Man," or

<sup>1</sup> *Mondi Celesti, Terrestri, & Infernali*. In Vicenza, 1597, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *The Purple Island or the Isle of Man*, by P. F., Cambridge, 1633, Cant. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *The Purple Island*, Cant. 2.



"New Pasquinade," or "Pimps Expounded," or "The Whore Lost," and all the world will grab at it. If our Gelli, when he wanted to teach a thousand fine things, full of philosophy and useful to a Christian, had not called them "The Cobbler's Caprices," there's not a soul would have so much as touched them. Had he christened his book "Instructions in Civil Conduct" or "Divine Discourses," it must have fallen stillborn; but that "Cobbler," those "Caprices" make everyone cry out: "I'll see what sort of balderdash it is."<sup>1</sup> Just so with Doni. If he hadn't called his book the "Gourd," who on earth would have read or even touched the cursed book? If he hadn't called another "The Worlds," the paper would have been wasted; but people, when they felt their ears scratched with a sophisticated title, tore open their purses. Just to mention "Steps" made the whole lot jump for it.<sup>2</sup>

This same desire, here so baldly advocated, is one of the striking features of Jacobean poetry. *The Purple Island*, *The Anatomy of the World* are random examples of longer poems; any of Herbert's, such as the *Pulley*, the *Elirir*, or the *Collar*, examples of shorter ones. In both cases there is the same striving to individualize the work by a striking title.

Thus, slight tho the analogies are, there is a parallelism in the literary movements in Italy and in England. Without imitating Doni, the Jacobans, in their efforts to break away from the conventionalities of Petrarchism, are curiously like him in some respects. But as we know that the Italian movement was a deliberate one, are not the Jacobans also antipetrarchistic?

JOHN M. BERDAN.

<sup>1</sup> Part of this translation is taken from J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, New York, 1900, vol. v, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *I Marmi del Doni*. In Vinegia, MDLII, p. 26.



## X.—DRYDEN'S CONVERSION TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.

Early in 1659, when the poet was twenty-seven years old, appeared Dryden's first serious contribution to English literature, the *Heroic Stanzas consecrated to the Memory of His Highness, Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth*. In the very next year, he hailed the restoration of Charles as a return of the Golden Age in the poem entitled *Astræa Redux*, and in the year following published a *Panegyric on his Coronation*. In November, 1682, he published *Religio Laici*, a carefully reasoned defense of the English Church. Less than five years later, in April, 1687, in the *Hind and the Panther*, we find him ardently espousing the cause of Rome; and during these five years a Roman Catholic sovereign had succeeded to the throne of England. James II had become king in February, 1685; and, if we may trust an entry in Evelyn's Diary,<sup>1</sup> Dryden was already a Roman Catholic in the following January.

On sudden conversions, either in religion or in politics, we do not look with much favor; and when in Dryden's career we find two such conversions, both coincident with changes in the temper of the court, and hence with the poet's worldly interest, we cannot refrain the gravest suspicion. Was the great poet and critic a mere time-server, without conscience or convictions, ready to espouse any principles which should the better fill his purse? This was the judgment passed on him by many of his contemporaries, and by several critics of more recent years; and, on the surface at least, there is much to substantiate such a view.

<sup>1</sup> January 19, 1686.



Yet we are loath to accept this judgment. Though Dryden was doubtless a "power girt round with weakness," his power remains the dominant impression; and with the strength which we recognize in him it is very hard to reconcile the idea of such meanness as we have been supposing.

Among Dryden's contemporaries, as was but natural, personal jealousy and party prejudice gave rise to harsh and bitter judgments. When Dryden went over from Cromwell to Charles, so many of his countrymen went with him, that his change of front attracted but little attention. Indeed, had this conversion stood alone, it would have had but little significance for his later critics. We should have recognized that the young Dryden, growing up among Cromwellian relatives, quite naturally sang the praises of the Protector; and that, having nothing of the roundhead in his temperament, he just as naturally welcomed the advent of a more liberal era. A young man may take a few years to find himself. On the announcement of his second conversion, however, his enemies proceeded to make much of his first. They represented him as ever a turncoat; they held up against him his indifference towards religion and the moral laxity of his plays; they accused him openly of having gone over for a price.<sup>1</sup> These charges were repeated after the lapse of a century and a half in the brilliant pages of Macaulay's *History*.<sup>2</sup>

Though we now know that the renewal of Dryden's pension, on which Macaulay laid so much emphasis, was not a result of his conversion, Macaulay's charges have been, in their essential aspect, reiterated by many more recent critics: by Mr. Christie, editor of the Globe edition,<sup>3</sup> by

<sup>1</sup> See the Scott-Saintsbury Dryden, vol. x, pp. 101-107.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter VII (vol. II, pp. 196-198).

<sup>3</sup> Globe ed., p. lvii.



Mr. Churton Collins,<sup>1</sup> by Professor Minto,<sup>2</sup> and by the late M. Beljame.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand we find Johnson and Scott in their lives of Dryden arguing for his complete religious sincerity, and Mr. Saintsbury in his volume on Dryden in the English Men of Letters Series<sup>4</sup> following in their footsteps, though with some misgivings. None of these critics, I think, has examined with sufficient detail the fundamental tendencies of Dryden's own utterances in the case.

The *Heroic Stanzas* on Oliver Cromwell are an enthusiastic panegyric on the Protector's personal qualities as a great soldier and strong ruler. Nowhere is there any mention of Cromwell's religion, nor of the Puritan principles for which he fought. There is no attempt to justify regicide; there is no disposition to glorify the triumph of the Puritan cause. The poet praises Cromwell for having restored order at home, and for having made the English name respected abroad. The Puritan factions had by their civil broils made England an unbearable chaos; Cromwell had brought peace and order out of the confusion. This, the dominant tendency of the poem, may be illustrated by a few quotations. Thus in stanza 16 :—

Peace was the prize of all his toil and care,  
Which war had banished and did now restore.

or again, at the close of the poem, in stanza 36 :—

No civil broils have since his death arose,  
But faction now by habit does obey.

Even clearer is the spirit of stanzas 11 and 12 :—

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Studies*, London, 1895, pp. 56–60.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième Siècle*, 2d ed., Paris, 1897, pp. 214–221.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 99–106.



Our former chiefs, like sticklers of the war,  
 First sought to inflame the parties, then to poise,  
 The quarrel loved, but did the cause abhor,  
 And did not strike to hurt, but make a noise.

War, our consumption, was their gainful trade ;  
 We inward bled, whilst they prolonged our pain ;  
 He fought to end our fighting, and assayed  
 To stanch the blood by breathing of the vein.

The last of these lines was later interpreted by Shadwell in his *Medal of John Bayes* and by the anonymous author of *The Laureat*<sup>1</sup> as a justification of regicide ; but the context makes perfectly clear that the metaphor of bleeding a vein to stop a hemorrhage is a mere restatement of the preceding phrase : "He fought to end our fighting." In his praise of Cromwell, Dryden shows as clearly as in any of his writings that he was temperamentally a Tory, a believer in a strong personal, even autocratic, government as a guarantee of peace and order. Though it is never safe to argue from silence, the absence of any trace of enthusiasm for the Puritan cause is at least significant. Dryden had grown up amid the turmoil of civil war. To him, as to the majority of his countrymen, peace was the consummation most to be desired. He may have chafed, perhaps, at the illiberality of Commonwealth ideas ; but he had inherited no Royalist traditions. Cromwell's government promised peace ; and Dryden naturally gave it his support.

But Richard Cromwell had not the force of character necessary to carry on his father's work. Again there was danger of an indefinite period of the civil broils of faction. In the restoration of monarchy Dryden doubtless saw the best promise of established order ; and with perfect consistency he hailed the return of Charles. If we examine *Astræa Redux*, and look for its dominant tendency, we shall

<sup>1</sup> See Globe ed., p. 7.



find it in entire accord with such an attitude. There is no word against Cromwell; there is no talk of the divine right of kings. Charles is welcomed as the deliverer of his country, who shall, as the very title of the poem suggests, bring back once more the golden age of peace and justice, and establish it on a firm foundation. It is with this theme that the poem opens; with the same theme the poem ends:—

At home the hateful names of parties cease,  
And factious souls are wearied into peace.

This passion for peace and order shows itself again in the poem on the coronation, and in the poems which deal with Shaftesbury and the conspiracy of Monmouth. Near the beginning of *Absalom and Achitophel*, at line 69, we read:—

The sober part of Israel, free from stain,  
Well knew the value of a peaceful reign;  
And looking backward with a wise affright  
Saw seams of wounds dishonest to the sight,  
In contemplation of whose ugly scars  
They cursed the memory of civil wars.

If I have dwelt thus long on Dryden's earlier change of front, it is because I believe that the dominant motive which actuated him then plays a principal part in his later conversion to Romanism. It is now time to consider this later conversion more particularly.

There is nothing to suggest that Dryden had given much serious thought to questions of religion before he undertook his *Religio Laici*. The incidental references to religion which one finds here and there in his writings, when not merely perfunctory, are contemptuous rather than respectful. One remembers the often quoted line from *Absalom and Achitophel* to the effect that "priests of all religions are the same." Two at least of his comedies, *The Spanish Friar* and *The Assignment, or Love in a Nunnery*, find much of their humor in an



*exposé* of corruption in the monastic orders. It would be a mistake to regard these plays as serious attacks on the Roman Church; for they have in them no trace of the moral indignation of the reformer. Dryden, like Chaucer, saw in the hypocrisy of unworthy ecclesiastics a rich source of comic effect, and, as a clever playwright, recognized that the theme would appeal to an audience of English protestants. If they may be held to prove anything, they prove his tendency to scoff at religion in general, rather than any enthusiasm for the protestant cause. One of Dryden's assailants accuses him of having made it his business to laugh at all religions, "to bite, and spit his venom against the very name" of worship.<sup>1</sup>

In November, 1682, appeared *Religio Laici*. The trend of the poem is made clear by the Preface, which lays emphasis on the political, as opposed to the personal, aspects of religion. The author speaks of himself as one "naturally inclined to scepticism in philosophy." His acceptance of Christianity is based on a humble recognition of the fact that in the highest things reason is impotent. He defends his view that unconverted heathen are not necessarily lost. Then, coming to his main contention, he says: "By asserting the Scripture to be the canon of our faith, I have unavoidably created to myself two sorts of enemies: the Papists, indeed, more directly, because they have kept the Scripture from us what they could and have reserved to themselves a right of interpreting what they have delivered under the pretence of infallibility: and the Fanatics more collaterally, because they have assumed what amounts to an infallibility in the private spirit, and have detorted those texts of Scripture which are not necessary to salvation *to the damnable uses of sedition, disturbance, and destruction of the civil government.*"

<sup>1</sup> See the Scott-Saintsbury Dryden, vol. x, p. 103.



The Papists he considers less "dangerous;" "for not only the penal laws are in force against them, and their number is contemptible; but also their peerage and commons are excluded from parliaments, and consequently those laws in no danger of being repealed." Dryden is much more bitter in what he has to say of "that other extreme of our religion, I mean the Fanatics or Schismatics of the English Church." He accuses them of ingratitude in using the translated Bible to the destruction of the government which put it into their hands. He is bitter against Calvinism. Those who brought it in and tried to "graft it upon our Reformation" well knew "how nauseously that drug would go down in a lawful monarchy." He goes on to detail the history of Calvinism in England, showing that "wherever that discipline was planted and embraced, *rebellion, civil war, and misery attended it.*" "Never, since the Reformation, has there wanted a text of their interpreting to authorize a rebel."

The poem, then, is a defense of the Church of England ✓ as the *via media* between the foreign tyranny of Papistry on the one hand, and the seditious anarchy of the Fanatics on the other. Its argument is in brief as follows: Though the deist may through reason attain to some knowledge of God, he is lost without the doctrine of the atonement. We must fall back on revelation, and take the Bible as the guide of faith. But how is the Bible to be interpreted? Dryden insists that all things really necessary to salvation are so clear as to need no interpretation:—

It speaks its self, and what it does contain  
In all things needful to be known is plain. (368-369.)

The Roman Church claims infallibility in its interpretation of scripture:—

Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed;  
'Twere worth both Testaments, and cast in the Creed. (282-283.)

But the conscience cannot recognize this claim; and the



Roman Church, furthermore, is corrupt. The Fanatics, on the other hand, interpret the scriptures by the "private spirit :"—

The tender page with horny fists was galled,  
And he was gifted most that loudest bawled ;  
The spirit gave the doctoral degree,  
And every member of a Company  
Was of his trade and of the Bible free. (404—408.)  
. . . . .

Study and pains were now no more their care,  
Texts were explained by fasting and by prayer. (413—414.)

We must, then, waive each extreme. "The things we must believe are few and plain ;" for the rest we may consult ancient tradition :—

And after hearing what our Church can say,  
If still our reason runs another way,  
That private reason 'tis more just to curb  
*Than by disputes the public peace disturb.*  
For points obscure are of small use to learn :  
*But common quiet is mankind's concern.* (445—450.)

From these concluding lines, and from the Preface, it seems clear to me that Dryden is defending the established Church largely because it is established. He is seeking to ward off that "blow of fate," innovation, whether from the Fanatics or from the Papists. When the essentials are clear, why quarrel about the non-essentials? What matters a small point of theology compared with the public peace? The Church of England offers a convenient compromise between tyranny and anarchy, and should therefore be accepted by all who love peace and order. But to Dryden's clear, practical judgment it must have been no secret that compromise, though often expedient, seldom brings a lasting peace. Even while defending the established Church, Dryden had said, twixt jest and earnest :—

Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed.



With a Roman Catholic sovereign on the throne, the complexion of events changed. Again there was danger of dissension and even of civil war. While loyalty to the Church meant loyalty to the throne, Dryden, as a good Tory, found his course marked out for him; but when these interests ceased to coincide, the main prop of his churchmanship was gone. One had to choose between Church and King; and Dryden chose to stand by the King. -

The *Hind and the Panther* was published in April, 1687. In Part I, after introducing some of his *dramatis personæ*, Dryden devotes ninety lines to the personal aspects of his conversion; all the rest of Part I is political. After a bitter attack on the various dissenting sects under the figure of the several beasts of prey, the Panther is introduced, and the history of the English Church is reviewed with slighting allusion to the part played by Henry VIII. The Church is praised for her loyalty to the throne; but, a rebel herself, she cannot effectively curb rebellion in others, for "rebellion equals all."

Fierce to her foes, yet fears her force to try,  
Because she wants innate authority;  
For how can she constrain them to obey,  
Who has herself cast off the lawful sway? (452-455.)

Because of this lack of "innate authority," she cannot restrain dissent, and dissent is dissension. She is not, then, a safe guarantor of national peace.

Part II consists of a debate between the Hind and the Panther which further enforces this conclusion. It is a strong logical argument to prove the impossibility of any *via media* between an infallible and "omniscient" church and absolute liberty of dissent. We must either disown all authority and tradition, and rely exclusively on private judgment, in which case all fanatic sects are on an equal footing with the Church herself—an idea abhorrent to all Tory principles—or, desiring a "living guide" to interpret and



supplement the scriptures, accept the claims of the Catholic Church, the only church which pretends to infallibility.

Part III contains little that affects our argument, save as it serves to emphasize once more Dryden's interest in the political as opposed to the religious aspect of the situation. In the Preface the author tells us that he "was always in some hope that the Church of England might have been persuaded to have taken off the Penal Laws and the Test, which was one design of the Poem when I proposed to myself the writing of it." It is with this topic that Part III is largely concerned. "About a fortnight before I had finished it, his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience came abroad: which if I had so soon expected, I might have spared myself the labour of writing many things which are contained in the Third Part of it." The Declaration of Indulgence was obviously a political move, aimed to strengthen the Roman Catholics by winning to their side the equally persecuted dissenters in a struggle against their common enemy, the established Church. That Dryden approved of this step the concluding lines of his poem and the Preface alike bear witness.

From the evidence at our disposal two conclusions seem to me clear. No one, I think, can fairly question Dryden's essential consistency in matters political. In his praise of Cromwell, in his welcome to Charles, in his support of James, he is consistently a Tory, believing throughout that in the maintenance of a strong, autocratic government is to be found the best assurance of national peace. Equally clear is it that Dryden was devoid of any deep feelings of religion, that he was quite indifferent, at any rate, to the importance of nice distinctions in theology. Religion he regarded as a function of the state; and with perfectly logical consistency he desired an authoritative religion which should compel the acceptance of all. It is in this spirit that he defends the Church of England in *Religio Laici*. It is his recogni-



tion of the fact that only an infallible church can logically demand and enforce obedience which leads him to espouse the cause of Rome.

I should not deny that there may have been also an undercurrent of more personal conviction. Dryden's intellect, if not his heart, may have felt religious questionings. Though inclined, as he himself tells us, to scepticism, he was not an atheist; and his love of order in all things makes us ready to believe that he often longed for clear certitude in matters of religious faith. Several passages might be adduced in support of such a belief; but the overwhelming evidence of his writings, and the evidence which may be drawn from what we know of his character and temperament, make us unwilling to accept the theory of a real religious conversion, as maintained by Johnson and Scott.

For the opposite view, which sees in his apostasy mere venality and time-serving, there has never been any direct evidence. Dryden himself meets the charge with a flat denial. In Part III of the *Hind and the Panther* the Hind is made to say:—

Now for my converts, who, you say, unfed  
Have followed me for miracles of bread.  
Judge not by hearsay, but observe at least,  
If since their change their loaves have been increast.  
The Lion buys no converts; if he did,  
Beasts would be sold as fast as he could bid.  
Tax those of interest who conform for gain  
Or stay the market of another reign. (221-228.)

It cannot be proved that Dryden would have lost by remaining in the Church of England; it cannot be proved that he gained by leaving it. By changing, he took the risk of losing all, as he eventually did, in the "market of another reign," a risk which any clear-sighted observer of the national temper must have recognized as a large one.

ROBERT K. ROOT.



## XI.—SCHILLER AND HEBBEL, 1830–1840.

Considered with regard to the author's intention, nearly all of Schiller's dramas have established their right to be ranked among the most successful achievements in German literature. They were written for representation on the stage before a popular audience; and throughout the nineteenth century, in spite of the vagaries of literary fashion and the frequent hostility of literary men, the German people as such remained true to its admiration of *Wallenstein* and *Wilhelm Tell*. No student of the drama can fail to perceive that Schiller is an indispensable presupposition to all dramatic production in Germany since his time; or can underestimate the value of his example in all that pertains to the architectonics of the drama; or ought to suppose that Schiller will not continue to speak from the stage to the twentieth century and beyond. But on the other hand it cannot be denied that Schiller represents no *ne plus ultra* in the history of the drama; nor that those who found in his work the most to take exception to from the point of view of artistic unity, dramatic effectiveness and poetic value, were the men best qualified to judge. The imitators of Schiller all had their day; but that day is past, and the dramatists whose fame increases with the lapse of time were for the most part men who did not begin to become great until they had emancipated themselves from Schiller's immediate influence. Undoubtedly, an imitator seizes upon obvious things, externals that lend themselves to manifolding methods; and he usually distorts into a caricature elements which in his model have a meaning that does not lie upon the surface. Schiller's most conspicuous trait is a certain grandeur of style, which his admirers feel to be idealism,



and his critics declare to be occasionally sheer fustian. His idealism is an undaunted soaring above the commonplaces of life, which may seem freedom from the trammels of reality or inadequate representation of actualities, according to the temper and attitude of his reader. Schiller builds his philosophy upon a sense of the tragedy of human life. He takes account of the stubborn obstacles to goodness and beauty; he contemplates the individual's rebellion against the moral law and the swiftly ensuing punishment thereof; he interprets in symbolical form the contending forces that actuated the heroes of history; and in every one of his dramas he represents a more or less typical fate of man. But it may be said that the men and women whom he creates are more often types than characters, that they act from motives that are human but are not individual, so that his psychology appears in general true or in particular naïve, according to the expectation with which a penetrating mind examines his workmanship.

The ordinary theatre audience has neither time nor inclination for penetrating examination, and experience forbids us to underestimate even declamation and declamatory qualities of style. A measure of naïveté is indispensable to the enjoyment of any form of art. But a drama is not merely a play to be enacted; it is also a piece of literature; and a dramatist, or a student of the drama, who speculates on the means of literary expression and the things to be expressed in dramatic form, cannot long remain in the attitude of childlike receptivity which Schiller not improperly expected of his auditors. A youth hears or reads with sympathetic enthusiasm the speeches of Rudenz or Max Piccolomini; many a mature man has found them repulsive to hear and impossible to read. When young, most of the successors of Schiller on German soil knew no higher ambition than to walk in his footsteps. But Kleist, Grillparzer,



and Hebbel, once they had attained maturity, departed from Schiller's ways; Otto Ludwig became his most merciless critic; and Hauptmann inaugurated his dramatic career under the auspices of a tradition in which Schiller had little or no part, but which, immediately inspired by Ibsen, goes back through Ibsen to Hebbel. The decisive moment in Hebbel's life, however, was the moment of his escape from thralldom to the rhetorical sentimentality of Schiller.

We run no risk of exaggerating the importance of the revelation that came to Hebbel through acquaintance with Uhland's *Sängers Fluch*. Almost any boy could write the verses:<sup>1</sup>

"Tugend, Tochter besserer Welten,  
Schmückend mit dem schönsten Lohn,  
Thronend in des Bettlers Zelten,  
Thronend auf des Kaisers Thron;  
Treue wandelt dir zur Seite,  
Unschuld führst du an der Hand—  
Dir zur Rechten steht die Freude,  
Hoffnung folgt im Sternengewand."

And not every boy could learn from Schiller's "Freude, schöner Götterfunken" that warmed-up ardor for abstract conceptions is not the mood in which poetic ideas are engendered. Uhland taught Hebbel that lyrical poetry expresses feeling for objects and not feeling for thoughts. Werner has shown<sup>2</sup> that Hebbel learned this lesson as early as January, 1831. Hebbel did not indeed immediately slough off the scaly rhetoric in which his lyrical utterances had glistened; and it is not surprising that his first attempts at dramatic composition should have been copied after the works of his most popular predecessor. Nevertheless, it is humanly probable that along with the conviction that

<sup>1</sup>*Hebbels Werke*, ed. Werner, Berl., 1901 ff., VII, 14 (1829).

<sup>2</sup>*Werke*, VII, p. xl.



Schiller was not a lyric poet of the highest type represented by Uhland, there also came to Hebbel some doubt as to the authority of a playwright, many of whose persons speak in a strain so similar to his lyric style. Werner is undoubtedly right in assigning the fragments of *Mirandola* to the year 1830, and probably right in the opinion that Uhland's influence deterred Hebbel from completing this palpable imitation of Schiller.<sup>1</sup>

*Der Vtermord, ein dramatisches Nachtgemälde*, written apparently towards the end of the year 1831, has a totally different aspect, and bears, both in the nature of the subject and in the laconic treatment, a strong resemblance to the manner of Heinrich von Kleist. The bastard Fernando unwittingly shoots his father, and begs his mother to curse the dead man, so that he may be no ordinary parricide but may feel that he has slain the seducer of his mother. The confusion of feeling in the breast of the hero is a genuine Kleistian motif. To look for any influence<sup>2</sup> of Schiller's *Braut von Messina* in this quasi-operetta is absurd. The short story, *Der Brudermord*<sup>3</sup> (printed December 8, 1831), might with more reason be derived from Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*; and the little pleasantry, *Wie die Krähwinkler ein Gedicht verstehen und auslegen*<sup>4</sup> (printed January 9, 1831), is extremely like some of the anecdotes that Kleist published in the *Berliner Abendblätter*.

There is no evidence that Hebbel read Kleist before 1835. But it is clear that he had before then developed a type of mind very similar to Kleist's, and it is significant that his first independent and permanently valuable critical pronouncement was a vindication of the poetic and dramatic

<sup>1</sup>L. c., v, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Fries, *Vergleichende Studien zu Hebbels Fragmenten*, Berl., 1903, 7 f.

<sup>3</sup>*Werke*, VIII, 6.

<sup>4</sup>*Ib.*, IX, 9.



superiority of Kleist to Theodor Körner. Hebbel's paper, *Über Theodor Körner und Heinrich von Kleist*,<sup>1</sup> read before the "Wissenschaftlicher Verein" in Hamburg on July 28, 1835, is a remarkable document, showing a deeper insight into the nature of the drama than could be predicated of any other German of that time except Grillparzer. With one stroke Hebbel corrects the error of an entire generation as to Kleist, and he condemns Körner for precisely the reasons that had led to his abandonment of Schiller: "während . . . Kleist alles hat, was den grossen Dichter und zugleich den echten Deutschen macht, ist . . . Körner bloss dafür erglüht."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Hebbel not only describes Körner as a second Schiller, but in contrasting Schiller with Goethe he says:<sup>3</sup> "Schillers Charaktere sind . . . dadurch schön, dass sie gehalten sind, Goethes Charaktere dadurch, dass sie nicht gehalten sind. Schiller zeichnet den Menschen, der in seiner Kraft abgeschlossen ist und, wie ein Erz, nun durch die Verhältnisse erprobt wird; deswegen war er nur im historischen Drama gross. Goethe zeichnet die unendlichen Schöpfungen des Augenblicks, die ewigen Modifikationen des Menschen durch jeden Schritt, den er tut; dies ist das Kennzeichen des Genies und es kommt mir vor, als ob ich es auch in Heinrich von Kleist entdeckt habe." By the same token that Hebbel discovers this genius in Goethe and Kleist, he implies the lack of it in Schiller. There are, I think, other implied criticisms of Schiller. Hebbel calls Juranitsch an inferior Max Piccolomini<sup>4</sup> without thereby committing himself to a high opinion of Max; for although we may not assume that he had already felt the "innere Nichtigkeit" of the "lebloose Schemen," Max and Thekla,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, IX, 31.<sup>3</sup> *L. c.*, p. 56.<sup>2</sup> *L. c.*, p. 31.<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 52.<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, XI, 208 (1848).



it is perhaps not too rash to connect the words, "dass er, wie ein Wahnwitziger, schönen Phrasen zuliebe auf alles Verzicht leistet" (p. 44), with Max's speech, "Ihr reisst mich weg von meinem Glück" (*Wall.*, 2424 ff.). There can be no question that what Hebbel says of the *development* of a dramatic character: "So ist es Sache des dramatischen Dichters, der, wenn er seine Aufgabe kennt, sich bestrebt, die Geschichte zu ergänzen, zu zeigen, wie der Charakter, den er sich zum Vorwurf gemacht, geworden ist, was er ist" (p. 49)—is true of Kleist's Prinz Friedrich and not true of the ready-made heroes Max and Juranitsch; and when he declares of Kleist's drama, "das ganze Stück enthält . . . nur Charaktere, keine einzige Figur" (p. 40), he differentiates Kleist's work from Körner's, but foreshadows also the criticism later passed upon Körner's model: "Den dramatischen Dichter macht vor allem, wenigstens in der modernen Welt, die Kunst, zu individualisieren, d. h. auf jedem Punkt der Darstellung Allgemeines und Besonderes<sup>1</sup> so in einander zu mischen, dass eins das andere niemals ganz verdeckt, dass das nackte Gesetz, dem alles Lebendige gehorcht, der Faden, der durch alle Erscheinungen hindurchläuft, niemals nackt zum Vorschein kommt und niemals, selbst in den abnormsten Verzerrungen nicht, völlig vermisst wird. Von dieser Kunst besass Schiller nun allerdings zu wenig, und wenn seine Figuren zwischen den mit Notwendigkeit im Basreliefstil gehaltenen Charakteren der Alten und den markigen, bis in die letzte Faser hinab selbständig gewordenen Gestalten der Neueren in der Mitte stehen, so war das keineswegs Absicht, ging keineswegs, wie man

<sup>1</sup> Describing the effect of the revelation that he owed to Uhland, Hebbel noted as the first and only rule of art, "dass sie . . . an der singulären Erscheinung das Unendliche veranschaulichen solle." *Tgb.*, 5. Jan., 1836; ed. Werner, I, p. 29. I refer to volume and page of Werner's edition. *Tgb.* = *Tagebücher*; *Br.* = *Briefe*.



glauben könnte, aus einem etwa in höheren Prinzipien begründeten Vermittlungsversuch hervor, sondern war die einfache Folge eines inneren Mangels.”<sup>1</sup>

By very nature, Hebbel was closely akin to Kleist. Independence, a highly developed sense of individuality, an unabashed eagerness to grapple with the most baffling problems of existence, uncompromising devotion to the determination of the truth, originality that did not halt at the bounds of eccentricity, fondness for the study of life in its uncommon and striking phases, and especially an almost morbid preoccupation with the phenomenology of sex—all of these traits they had in common. If, therefore, Hebbel, being still a very young man, had written a drama in 1835, we should expect it to show some likeness to the dramas of Kleist—perhaps some traces of influence by Kleist—and should not expect it to be written, as Körner's were, in imitation of Schiller. Hebbel's first completed drama, *Judith*, dates from the early winter of 1839–40. But meanwhile he had been getting only farther and farther away from Schiller as a lyric poet and as a dramatist. He notes in his diary that Schiller exercises his chief charm upon the young.<sup>2</sup> In Heidelberg he comes a thousand paces closer to Nature;<sup>3</sup> he reads Shakspeare;<sup>4</sup> he buries himself in Goethe;<sup>5</sup> he writes with cold-blooded judicial precision short stories<sup>6</sup> of concentrated horror like Kleist's; he desires to dedicate a volume of poems to Uhland,<sup>7</sup> whom he calls “diesen Mann, den ich unter Deutschlands lebenden und—

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XI, 139 (1848).

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 14. Jul., 1835, I, 13; 5. Jan., 1836, I, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Tgb.*, 1. Jan., 1837, I, 105.

<sup>4</sup> *An Læiss*, 14. Jun., 1836, *Br.*, I, 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Tgb.*, 28. Jun.–1. Jul., 1836, I, 37 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Anna, W.*, VIII, 229 ff.; completed June 9, 1836.

<sup>7</sup> *Br.*, 4. Jul., 1836, I, 66.



Goethe ausgenommen — auch toten Dichtern am meisten verehere.”<sup>1</sup> From Munich he inveighs against “fine writing:” “Der Teufel hole das, was man heutzutage schöne Sprache nennt; es ist dasselbe in der Dramatik, was die sog. schönen Redensarten im Leben sind. Kattun, Kattun, und wieder Kattun! Es flimmert wohl, aber es wärmt nicht. Das schreibt sich auch noch, wie so manches Unwesen, von Schiller her.”<sup>2</sup> He defines poetry: “Ich erachte sie [*i. e.*, die Dichtkunst] für einen Geist, der in jede Form der Existenz und in jeden Zustand des Existierenden, hinuntersteigen, und von jener die Bedingnisse, von diesem die Grundfäden erfassen und zur Anschauung bringen soll. Sie erlöse die Natur zu selbsteigenem, die Menschheit zu freiestem und die uns in ihrer Unendlichkeit unerfassbare Gottheit zu notwendigem Leben. Das geschieht freilich nicht, wenn wir die Natur in eine ihr nicht gemässe, sog. höhere Region hinüber führen und z. B. sterbenden Blumen unsre Empfindungen und unseren Trost unterlegen. Das geschieht nicht, wenn wir mit Schiller des Menschen Angesicht durch ein Vergrösserungsglas betrachten und den Hintern entweder gar nicht, oder durch ein Verkleinerungsglas.”<sup>3</sup>

We cannot bound the field of Hebbel's prodigious reading in Munich—his diaries and letters teem with references to it. Jean Paul and Goethe stand out above all others; Lessing is not neglected; the Romantics, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Lenz, Seume, Gibbon, Ben Jonson, Scott, and many others are included. There are indications of some attention to Schiller. Hebbel appears to have read the *Geisterseher* even in Heidelberg.<sup>4</sup> The letters from which I have just quoted imply no recent reading of Schiller; on the contrary, they

<sup>1</sup> *An Voss*, 14. Jul., 1836, *Br.*, I, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *An Elise*, 19. Dez., 1836, *Br.*, I, 138.

<sup>3</sup> *An Rousseau*, 30. Dez., 1836, *Tgb.*, I, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Tgb.*, 14. Jun., 1836, I, 36.



lend color to the presumption that the writer would be little inclined to read him. We find Hebbel, however, reading<sup>1</sup> A. W. Schlegel's essay on Dante's *Hölle* in the third, and Heinrich Meyer's *Ideen zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Kunst* in the second number of Schiller's *Horen*, and there is every probability that he did not omit Schiller's *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* in the same volume; but he makes no mention of these. Then suddenly he writes to Elise:<sup>2</sup> "Du wirst Dich wundern, wenn ich Dir sage, dass ich zwar noch nicht ausführend, aber doch im Kopf entwerfend, an einer dramatischen Komposition und zwar—an einer neuen *Jungfrau von Orleans* arbeite. Die Schillersche gehört ins Wachsfiguren-Kabinett; der bedeutendste Stoff der Geschichte ist auf eine unerträgliche Weise verpfuscht. In der Geschichte lebt, leidet und stirbt sie schön; in Schillers Trauerspiel—spricht sie schön. Oder kannst Du dies ewige Deklamieren und Spreizen aushalten? Ich hab' eine grosse Idee; der Himmel verleihe mir Ausdauer! Freilich ist vor einigen Jahren an die Vollendung nicht zu denken." A month later he writes to Elise:<sup>3</sup> "Wenn meine *Jungfrau von Orleans* zu Stande kommt, so werd' ich sie lieber auf den Scheiterhaufen als auf die Bühne bringen. Ich verachte das deutsche Theater einesteils recht sehr, dann aber—solche Verachtung soll bei Schauspieldichtern zuweilen schnell vorübergehen—liesse sich's gar nicht denken, dass in den ersten zwanzig Jahren auf den Brettern neben einem Schil-

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 5. Jan., 1837, I, 116 f.

<sup>2</sup> 17. Jan., 1837, *Br.*, I, 145.

On January 6, 1837, Schiller's *Jungfrau* was played in Hamburg; cf. Johannes Hoffmann, *Schillers Maria Stuart und Jungfrau von Orleans auf der Hamburger Bühne in den Jahren 1801–1848*, Greifswald, 1906, p. 47. Hebbel had encouraged Elise to go to the theatre (letter of Nov. 29, 1836, *Br.* I, 123), and it is possible that she attended this performance and wrote him about it.

<sup>3</sup> 15. Feb., 1837, *Br.*, I, 170.



lerschen Stück ein anderes, das denselben Stoff behandelte, fortkäme. Zudem ist Schillers *Jungfrau* eine echte Theater-Jungfrau; neben diesem Pfau würde ein einfach-edles Mädchen, das, nachdem Gott durch seinen schwachen Arm ein Wunder ins Leben gerufen, vor sich selbst, wie vor einem dunklen Geheimnis, zurückschauderte, schlecht figurieren."

If we ask what put into Hebbel's head the "great idea" for a dramatic composition on the subject of the Maid of Orleans, the answer may be that he suddenly realized that in Schiller's *Jungfrau* this idea was not expressed—of such sudden flashes of inspiration his private papers show reflections enough—it is possible also that the idea was the fruit of meditation on the subject as treated—or not treated—by Schiller; it is quite conceivable, as Kuh suggests,<sup>1</sup> that Hebbel heard something about the Maid from Josef Görres. Hebbel's words to Elise lay stress on the historical character and would seem to indicate that he approached the subject from that side, that he had acquired new insight through the recent acquisition of new historical information, and looked back upon Schiller's play from the vantage ground of supposedly superior wisdom. We may bear in mind his confession,<sup>2</sup> "Ich kann das Licht, das mir leuchten soll, recht gern bei einem anderen anzünden, obgleich ich, wenn er nicht zur Hand wäre, allerdings bald meine Fähigkeit, selbst Feuer zu schlagen, entdecken möchte," and must yet say that if at this time Schiller's *Jungfrau* gave Hebbel any light on the dramatic possibilities of the subject, the process was a *lucus a non lucendo*.

The relative importance of Schiller's drama and the study of historical sources in the further development of Hebbel's "idea" must appear from the records of his life and work

<sup>1</sup> *Biogr.*, Wien, 1877, I, 303; cf. *Tgb.*, 1. Jan., 1837, I, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 5. Jan., 1837, I, 117.



in Munich, and we must note all of the records that have any bearing on Hebbel's general attitude toward Schiller. The next things that we find are oracular: "Wiederholen alter Lektüre ist der sicherste Probierestein gewonnener weiterer Bildung. Schillers *Jungfrau von Orleans* ist ein grosses Dichterwerk."<sup>1</sup> Whether the two sentences have any connection with each other is altogether uncertain. But if they have, and Hebbel has revised his opinion after a new perusal of Schiller's drama, what are we to understand by "Dichterwerk"? The answer to this question is probably to be found in a letter to Elise:<sup>2</sup> "Es fällt mir ein, dass ich in irgend einem meiner Briefe an Dich über Schiller und namentlich über seine *Jungfrau von Orleans* ein albernes und kindisches Urteil gefällt habe. Dies kam daher, weil ich Schiller in der Zeit meiner Reife nicht mehr gelesen hatte und die Eindrücke, die er auf mich als Knaben und jungen Menschen gemacht, mit den Eindrücken, die er überhaupt macht, verwechselte. Schiller ist ein grosser Dichter und die *Jungfrau von Orleans* ist ein grosses Gedicht. Doch gilt mein altes Urteil über ihn in voller Ausdehnung in Bezug auf seine lyrischen Hervorbringungen; diese sind wirklich die kalten Früchte des Verstandes, nicht die charakteristischen Ergüsse eines erregten Gemüts. Auch hab' ich keineswegs den Gedanken aufgegeben, selbst eine *Jungfrau von Orleans* zu schreiben; meine Idee hat mit der Schillerschen durchaus keine Verwandtschaft, wodurch sie nicht gewinnt, aber auch nicht verliert." In view of Hebbel's intellectual honesty and habitual accuracy of statement, we may unhesitatingly deduce from this passage several important conclusions: (1) on January seventeenth, 1837, Hebbel had not recently read Schiller's *Jungfrau*; (2) before June eighteenth, perhaps about April first, he did reread it; (3) his "idea," having no

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 4. Apr., 1837, I, 151.

<sup>2</sup> 18. Jun., 1837, *Br.*, I, 215.



relation to Schiller's, is not affected by this rereading ; (4) he has not altered his intention to write a *Jungfrau von Orleans* ; (5) he feels that he has done an injustice to the *poetic* merits of Schiller's *Jungfrau* ; (6) his former opinion was one-sided and prejudiced because, on the one hand, he blamed Schiller for not treating the subject as he himself would have done, and, on the other hand, he laid too much stress on defects of outer form ; (7) his opinion of Schiller's lyrical productions remains unchanged ; and (8) by "grosses Dichterwerk" he means "grosses Gedicht"—an idea germane to his remarks about Thorwaldsen's Schiller in a letter to Amalie Schoppe.<sup>1</sup> Be it observed, however, that Hebbel, writing to Elise, "dem einfachen Mädchen,"<sup>2</sup> and writing in a spirit of unusual large-heartedness, might well revoke a judgment which tended to interfere with the naïve enjoyment of a dramatic work as *poetry* without having modified his own critical opinion of its *dramatic* qualities. He does not call Schiller's *Jungfrau* "ein grosses Drama ;" nor does he give any hint here of the qualities which now seem to him to make it great as poetry.

So far as I am aware, Hebbel made no further reference to Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* in the diary or the letters written in Munich. There are indeed references to Schiller and to the Maid of Orleans. On August thirteenth, 1837, Hebbel copies without comment, from Eckermann, Goethe's extraordinary explanation of the reproof administered to Johannes Parricida by Tell :<sup>3</sup> "Es ist kaum begreiflich—sagte Goethe—allein Schiller war dem Einfluss der [l. von] Frauen unterworfen, wie andere auch." During the ensuing

<sup>1</sup> 25. Mai, 1837, *Br.*, I, 209. The word *Gedicht* does not, of course, exclude the idea "drama"—in a letter to Amalie Schoppe, Hebbel calls his *Judith* "ein Gedicht," *Br.*, 25. Mai, 1840, II, 61—neither does it suggest dramatic qualities.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his letter to Elise dated 20. Sept., 1837, *Br.*, I, 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 191.



months he jots down general observations having to do with lyrical poetry, and presupposing no recent reading of Schiller: "Alles Raisonement (und dahin gehört doch auch was Schiller unter der Firma des Sentimentalen als Poesie einschmuggeln will) ist einseitig und gewährt dem Geist und dem Herzen keine weitere Tätigkeit, als die der einfachen Verneinung oder Bejahung;"<sup>1</sup> and "Schiller in seinen lyr. Gedichten hat eigentlich nur Gefühl für Gedanken. Doch haben seine Gedichte, diese seltsamen Monstra, Spiritus genug, um sich noch lange in ihrem eigenen Spiritus zu erhalten."<sup>2</sup> Then, on March sixth, 1838, more than eight months after Hebbel, so far as we know, had said a word about Schiller's *Jungfrau*, he wrote in his diary:<sup>3</sup> "Die Gottheit selbst, wenn sie zur Erreichung grosser Zwecke auf ein Individuum unmittelbar einwirkt und sich dadurch einen willkürlichen Eingriff (setzen wir den Fall, so müssen wir ihm die korrespondierenden Ausdrücke gestatten) ins Weltgetriebe erlaubt, kann ihr Werkzeug vor der Zermalmung durch dasselbe Rad, das es einen Augenblick aufhielt oder anders lenkte, nicht schützen. Dies ist wohl das vornehmste tragische Motiv, das in der Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans liegt. Eine Tragödie, welche diese Idee abspiegelte, würde einen grossen Eindruck hervorbringen durch den Blick in die ewige Ordnung der Natur, die die Gottheit selbst nicht stören darf, ohne es büssen zu müssen. (Besser auszuführen)." This supremely important paragraph may include more than the "idea" confided to Elise February nineteenth, 1837, but it appears to be a development of that idea; it deals with the history of the Maid, and has nothing to do with Schiller's tragedy. On the tenth

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 3. Sept., 1837, I, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 22. Okt., 1837, I, 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, 216.



On the twenty-eighth of December, 1838, Hebbel refers to the *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Wilhelm von Humboldt*, which, according to Werner,<sup>1</sup> he drew from the library on the twenty-first; and finally he says,<sup>2</sup> "Schiller ist alles, was das Individuum sein kann, was sich selbst gibt, ohne sich selbst zu erkennen, und in der Meinung, etwas Höheres zu geben."

If we now review this series of utterances and endeavor to follow the operations of Hebbel's mind, so far as Schiller was concerned, during the two years that they cover, we perceive that Hebbel was at the end of the period more discriminating, fairer, more respectful, more inclined to see things as in themselves they really were, than at the beginning. It does not appear, however, that his real opinions underwent any considerable change, or that he became any less conscious of the fundamental difference between Schiller and himself. At the beginning, he is offended by Schiller's "fine writing" and distorting idealization. Before long, however, he distinguishes between a drama and a poem, between a dramatist and a poet. As a dramatist, Schiller fails to give form to *ideas* such as Hebbel conceives; his dramatic characters are often mere mouthpieces for lyrical effusions; his poetry is not spontaneous and original but more or less self-conscious, as if springing from the secondary source of the understanding instead of a primary source in the senses; he is no lyric poet; but one must not fail to do justice to certain aspects of his work because one does not approve the whole, or because one's own genius sees things in different relations and expresses things with a different purpose and with different means; Schiller's works bear, all of them, the stamp of a great and admirable personality.

Some of Schiller's works Hebbel certainly read in Munich, but they are all but lost in the mass of literature in which he

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 2. Feb., 1839, I, 313.



delved. Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* may have contributed something to Hebbel's plan of a tragedy on the same subject; but no less than four other possible sources of information were accessible to him, and of these, two are known to have been in his hands. On the thirteenth of April, 1837, his friend Emil Rousseau joined him in Munich; and Rousseau owned a copy of Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte*.<sup>1</sup> Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* has a paragraph (I, xv, v, § 2) on "die berühmte Johannam Darciam von Orleans;" and Hebbel noted the title of this work in the margin of his diary,<sup>2</sup> opposite January 5, 1838. On the sixth of June, 1838, however, Hebbel received from the library a copy of Friedrich Schlegel's *Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans*,<sup>3</sup> immediately before or after he had written in his diary,<sup>4</sup> "Die Jungfrau von Orleans wäre als Novelle (à la Kleist) zu behandeln;" and on the thirteenth of June, 1838, he drew from the library *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* by Guido Görres.<sup>5</sup> Let us recall the chronology: Hebbel's explicit references to Schiller's *Jungfrau* fall in the first six months of the year 1837. On January 17 he communicates his "great idea" to Elise; on February 15 he calls Schiller's heroine a "peacock;" about April first he (probably) rereads Schiller's play; on April 13 Rousseau comes to Munich, perhaps with a Rotteck already in his possession; on June 18 Hebbel calls Schiller's drama "a great poem." In 1838, he may have read Arnold, in January; on March 6 he formulates the tragic motif in the story of the Maid of Orleans; in June, Friedrich Schlegel and Guido Görres are in his hands, the subject is still on his mind; in December, Schiller seems to him a greater lyric poet in his dramas than in his lyrical poems.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Br.*, I, 346.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Berl., 1802; cf. *Tgb.*, I, 432.

<sup>4</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 250.

<sup>5</sup> Regensburg, 1834, 2. Aufl., 1835; cf. *Tgb.*, I, 432.



In the absence of incontestable evidence to the contrary, these facts would seem to establish the conclusion that Schiller had as little to do with the development of Hebbel's "idea" as he had to do with the first conception of it. Hebbel was interested in the Maid of Orleans as a historical character. She was only one of several such characters<sup>1</sup> that he then thought of as subjects for dramatic treatment. Such were Napoleon, Julian the Apostate, Alexander the Great, the Emperor Maximinus, Genoveva (or rather Golo) and Judith—all of them individuals whose very greatness, or particular fate, made them conspicuous examples of the dualism that Hebbel saw in every human life. In his diary he notes the salient points of these characters. We nowhere find any elaboration of plots like the schemes preserved in Schiller's private papers. Hebbel discovers tragic characters in historians, such as Gibbon. It is not probable that the impulse to write a *Napoleon* came from Grabbe, whose bombast Hebbel condemned, but from Maitland, Las Cases and O'Meara, whose narratives he read. For the *character* of the Maid of Orleans Hebbel could have got little inspiration from Schiller, in whose work he missed significant characterization; and the very notion of treating this subject in narrative form emphasizes Hebbel's concern for the character and his unconcern about the theatrical treatment of it by Schiller.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Werke*, v, 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On Dec. 27, 1841, Hebbel wrote in his diary, "Auch das tiefste, geistreichste Wort, was der Mensch spricht, verweht und verliert . . . . seine Bedeutung durch ein erzeugtes zweites oder drittes, nur er selbst dauert und bleibt. Ein gemeiner Gedanke, möchte man sagen. Allerdings, aber ich wollte, er würde noch etwas gemeiner, er fände auch im Gebiete der Kunst Anwendung, dann würde man erkennen, dass im Dramatischen selbst die schönsten und gewichtigsten Reden, wie man sie bei Schiller auf jeder Seite findet, niemals für Charaktere entschädigen können." *Tgb.*, II, 127. For the sake of completeness the three references to Schiller



Individual character, by which a typical human destiny is exemplified, seemed to Hebbel from the beginning to the end of his career the only proper subject for treatment in a serious drama. Nor did he fail to distinguish the different manifestations of character depending upon sex. It is at least suggestive that only a week after the first mention of a *Jungfrau von Orleans* Hebbel writes to Elise,<sup>1</sup> "Wenn Du einmal etwas in Mark und Bein Dringendes lesen willst, so lies die *Iphigenie* von Goethe. Lieber Junge, den es in den Fingern jückt—ich bin kein solcher, das weißt Du—da sieh hin und lerne, dass es besser ist, die Finger abzubeissen, als damit zu schreiben. O, wenn man an Iphigeniens Monolog kommt :

‘Vor meinen Ohren tönt das alte Lied’ [v. 1718 ff.]

da springt 's Herz aus einander." It is perhaps with some recollection of Iphigenie's words, "Wie eng-gebunden ist des Weibes Glück" (v. 29), that on the nineteenth of February, 1837, he writes to Gravenhorst,<sup>2</sup> "Für das Weib gehört der beschränkteste, der engste Kreis. Für sie gerinnt das Welt-All in einen Tropfen zusammen." In the essay, *Über Körner und Kleist* (1835), Hebbel had declared,<sup>3</sup> "Das Drama schildert den Gedanken, der Tat werden will durch

during the year 1839 may be here adduced from the diary ; there are none in 1840. "Schillers Talent war so gross, dass er durch die Unnatur selbst zu wirken wusste ;" 3. Apr., 1839, *Tgb.*, I, 347. "Schillers Poesie tut immer erst einen Schritt über die Natur hinaus und sehnt sich dann nach ihr zurück ;" 19. Okt., 1839, *Tgb.*, I, 385. "Wie soll die Liebe zum Echten sich äussern, wenn nicht im Hass gegen das Schlechte? In Anlass des Gesprächs über Schiller, wodurch die Kirchenrätin sich verletzt fand ;" 30. Dez., 1839, *Tgb.*, I, 420. In this conversation Hebbel seems to have spoken with his accustomed impulsive fierceness, and the good lady, who doubtless did not understand his meaning at all, must have thought him a "Schillerhasser" indeed.

<sup>1</sup> *Br.*, 24. Jan., 1837, I, 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, IX, 35.



Handeln oder Dulden." With just ridicule he now says,<sup>1</sup> "Die Weiber aktiv zu machen, um sie zeichnen zu können, ist ein Kniff Laubes." His own view, on the contrary, was,<sup>2</sup> "Durch Dulden Tun : Idee des Weibes."

Besides the *Jungfrau von Orleans*, Hebbel conceived in Munich the idea of the tragedies *Maria Magdalene*, *Judith*, and *Genoveva*. In the preface to the first edition of *Judith* (1840), he described how this subject dawned upon his mind :<sup>3</sup> "Das Faktum, dass ein verschlagenes Weib vor Zeiten einem Helden den Kopf abschlug, liess mich gleichgültig, ja es empörte mich in der Art, wie die Bibel es zum Teil erzählt. Aber ich wollte in Bezug auf den zwischen den Geschlechtern anhängigen grossen Prozess den Unterschied zwischen dem echten, ursprünglichen Handeln und dem blossen Sich-Selbst-Herausfordern in einem Bilde zeichnen, und jene alte Fabel, die ich fast vergessen hatte und die mir in der Münchener Galerie vor einem Gemälde des Giulio Romano einmal an einem trüben Novembormorgen wieder lebendig wurde, bot sich mir als Anlehnungspunkt dar." There was, to be sure, no Judith by Giulio Romano in Munich at that time, and there are in the diary no references to visits to the gallery ; but Hebbel may have meant Domenichino's Judith in the *Alte Pinakothek*,<sup>4</sup> and I see no reason for distrusting the allusion to a picture. Hebbel's memory was tenacious, but he might easily confuse the names of two artists about whom he knew little. In the poem *Ein Geburtstag auf der Reise* (1852) he again testifies to the conception of *Judith* in Munich.<sup>5</sup> I should be inclined

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 6. Dez., 1838, I, 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 24. Feb., 1839, I, 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, I, 410.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Werner, *Biogr.*, Berl., 1905, 107. Hebbel was in the Pinakothek on Jan. 1, 1837 ; cf. *an Elise*, *Br.* I, 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, VI, 250 ; cf. also Letter, 23. Febr., 1863, *an Engländer*, *Br.*, VII, 303.



to assume that the November in question was of the year 1838, and should connect with Hebbel's meditation on the problem of *Judith* a passage in the letter to Elise dated November twentieth:<sup>1</sup> "Lest das *Käthchen von Heilbronn* von dem gewaltigen, herrlichen, unglücklichen Kleist, den niemand lobte, nicht einmal Goethe, was ihm Gott verzeihe. Da ist reine, edle Weiblichkeit dargestellt, und zwar im Kampf mit sich selbst, nicht mit einer rohen gemeinen Bärenseele; das ist der Triumph des Weibes." Hebbel encloses his romance, *Schön Hedwig*<sup>2</sup> (composed November 7, 1838), a variation on the theme of *Käthchen*. *Käthchen* and *Hedwig* are true to their feminine nature, and by patience triumph over obstacles; Klara (in *Maria Magdalene*), Judith, and Genoveva represent the tragedy of womanhood because, for different reasons, obedience to their feminine instincts is a challenge to fate; and Joan of Arc, as Hebbel conceived her character, was also a pure and natural woman "im Kampf mit sich selbst," a woman whom fate raised far above her sphere, and could not then save from destruction.

In the summer of 1840 Hebbel wrote for Berendsohn's *Wohlfeilste Volksbibliothek* a prose *Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans*<sup>3</sup>—ostensibly the work of "Dr. J. F. Frauz," but none the less characteristic of its real author. Hebbel compiled his material from Guido Görres<sup>4</sup> and from Fouqué's<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans nach authentischen Urkunden und dem französischen Werke des Le Brun de Charmettes*, Berlin 1826, although he saw fit to make no mention of Fouqué and cited Charmettes<sup>6</sup> as his source. Since he failed to carry out his plan of a dramatization of the subject, this historical treatment of it has much more than

<sup>1</sup> *Br.*, I, 360 f.<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, VI, 172.<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, IX, 223 ff.<sup>4</sup> An Elise, 26. Jul., 1840, *Br.*, II, 90.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Werner, *Werke*, IX, p. xxvii ff., and *Biogr.*, 139.<sup>6</sup> *Werke*, IX, 255.



intrinsic importance ; but intrinsically it is a highly respectable performance, in which Hebbel, for all his dependence upon his predecessors as to matters of fact, maintains no little independence in the weighing of evidence ; and so groups and interprets his material as to give a clear and readable exposition of his personal views. He admits that Johanna is the most mysterious character in history,<sup>1</sup> conceives her for himself, however, as “eine religiös-naive [Natur], bei der sich jeder Gedanke in Anschauung und jedes Gefühl in Tat verwandelte.”<sup>2</sup> *Religiös-naiv* describes his own attitude toward his subject. He expresses a religious veneration for history as the record and the evidence of a divine teleology in human affairs, assuming divine intervention during great crises to secure in fact a solution of problems which in idea were already solved.<sup>3</sup> He accepts without question the divine sanction of Johanna’s mission, representing her as from first to last filled with the divine spirit and unhesitatingly acting in accordance with its inspiration. She nowhere denies her nature as a simple-minded, pure, and child-like maiden,<sup>4</sup> whom God has chosen to be the mouthpiece of his truth ;<sup>5</sup> and Hebbel refuses credence to his sources when they attribute actions to her that are not in accord with this character.<sup>6</sup> He dwells upon the rustic life of her youth, which differed from that of her playmates only in being more deeply rooted in religion than theirs, and in bringing her ere long into direct communication with voices from on high. Thus she became “die Auserwählte des Herrn, die mit Kinderhand in die Speichen des Schicksals eingreifen sollte ;”<sup>7</sup> and thereafter she lived in and for this idea, taking the unwonted duty upon herself

<sup>1</sup> *L. c.*, p. 356.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>3</sup> P. 238.<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 286, 287, 311, 316, 323.<sup>5</sup> P. 313.<sup>6</sup> *E. g.*, p. 281.<sup>7</sup> P. 247.



as a self-sacrificing woman,<sup>1</sup> but retiring to the closet of her own heart when duty was done ;<sup>2</sup> proving her warrant by prophecy that became fulfilled ; and leading to the accomplishment of great deeds that had been despaired of,—an avenging angel against the enemies of God and France, but at the same time a woman who shuddered at bloodshed,<sup>3</sup> and who never killed a human being.<sup>4</sup>

In the margin of Hebbel's diary for April, 1840, we find the sentences,<sup>5</sup> "Das echte Idyll entsteht, wenn ein Mensch innerhalb des ihm bestimmten Kreises als glücklich und abgeschlossen dargestellt wird. So lange er sich in diesem Kreise hält, hat das Schicksal keine Macht über ihn." They are no less pertinent than the declaration of August 13, 1840,<sup>6</sup> "Zur *Jungfrau von Orleans* ist für die poetische Gestaltung die Naivetät der Schlüssel. Als der König ihr nicht glauben will: 'Versündigt euch nicht; wenn ihr, für den das alles geschehen soll, es nicht glauben könnt, wie soll ich, die es ausführen soll, es glauben?' (von mir). Als sie gar fliehen will und die Stimmen es ihr abraten, springt sie vom Turm herab und denkt, Gott wird mich schon unterstützen, wenn ich nur den Anfang mache (historisch)."

A month earlier, while in the midst of his work on the *Geschichte*, Hebbel wrote,<sup>7</sup> "Was der Behandlung der *Jungfrau von Orleans*, als Drama, sehr entgegen steht, ist der erbärmliche Charakter des Königs, um dessentwillen alles geschieht. Freilich stehen die Volksinteressen im Hintergrunde, aber als letztes Motiv, der König ist das nächste. Schiller scheint dies gar nicht gefühlt zu haben. Dass Frankreich selbständig bleiben, dass Gott ein Wunder tun musste, um dies zu veranlassen: dies war nötig, weil von Frankreich die Revolution ausgehen sollte." Johanna

<sup>1</sup> P. 314.<sup>2</sup> P. 298.<sup>3</sup> P. 282.<sup>4</sup> P. 329.<sup>5</sup> *Tgb.*, II, 34.<sup>6</sup> *Tgb.*, II, 58.<sup>7</sup> *Tgb.*, 27. Jul., 1840, II, 55.



incurred her fate because she left the bounds of her appointed and natural sphere; she left them in naïve and unquestioning obedience to the call of duty; this duty was to preserve the French nationality in order that France itself might fulfil a mission to emancipate the modern world. Johanna served a greater cause than she knew, or any one could know in her time—she, from motives of pure altruism, and those whom she led to victory, pursuing as selfish and temporary ends the objects of Eternal solicitude. Hebbel regrets that the Germans, having in Schiller's drama a sentimental, unnaturally cruel, and untimely weak Johanna, have overlooked the poetry and pathos in the life of the real Johanna of history: <sup>1</sup> "Ein berühmter deutscher Dichter, der Johanna zum Gegenstand eines Dramas machte und das Naive ihrer Natur in einem See von Sentimentalität ertränkte, legt ihr auf der andern Seite einen förmlichen Trieb zum Würgen und Morden in die Seele, der sich nicht, wie es psychologisch gewesen wäre, bei dem Anblick des ersten Bluts, das sie vergoss, in sein Gegenteil umwandelt, sondern der sich erst bricht, als sie sich plötzlich, mitten im Gewühl der Schlacht und in der Hitze des Kampfes, in einen der Feinde verliebt. Leider ist dies Drama, in Deutschland wenigstens, bekannter geworden, als Johannas wirkliche Geschichte, die dasselbe doch an echter Poesie, wenn Poesie anders im Erfassen des Kerns der Dinge und nicht im hohlen Überpinseln der Wahrheit mit idealer Schminke besteht, unendlich übertrifft."

A critic who believes firmly in the essential difference between the modern drama and that of Schiller, Dr. O. E. Lessing, has said <sup>2</sup> that *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* comes nearer in idea to meeting Hebbel's requirements than any other of Schiller's plays. In its more obvious aspects,

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte, Werke*, ix, 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Grillparzer und das neue Drama*, München, 1905, p. 154.



Schiller's idea is this: a young peasant girl, miraculously inspired to arouse the sentiment of patriotism in a disintegrated nation, becomes in her own person the incarnation of the categorical imperative "for God and our native land." She encourages the timid, unites the estranged, and leads armies to victory. Called, however, to mortal hatred of the enemies of France, she proves unequal to her task of exterminating them all, by yielding, shortly before her goal is reached, to the natural feminine instinct of love for one of these enemies. Conscious that this yielding is a betrayal of her trust, she cannot defend herself against the charge that the trust itself was no divine commission; for she feels guilty and must atone, even though her guilt is not that alliance with the devil of which she is accused. She departs in shame, but is privileged to return, and by dying on the field of battle, she gives the ultimate and convincing proof of absolute devotion to a cause which through her very sacrifice is seen to be divine. With true dramatic instinct, Schiller seized in this subject the opportunity of treating in typical persons the constituent elements of the two great nations contending for mastery in France, dwelling especially upon the representatives of the different social classes among the French, and showing how Johanna first brought them, even the King, into true relations to the national ideal.<sup>1</sup> The effective manipulation of battle-scenes had now become second nature to him. If, however, we look a little below the surface, we see that however much attention Schiller gave to the action, the characters, and their historical setting, his real interest in the subject was not in the history, nor in the persons and their doings, but in the fate of Johanna as illustrating in a new sphere "das Los des Schönen auf der Erde." Johanna comes, as it were, from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eugen Kühnemann, *Schiller*, München, 1905, 527 ff.



another world to ennoble and uplift this world, and her experience is that of every saint and prophet: she must first overcome incredulity; for a brief season she is extolled as the bringer of success; but hard hearts turn away from her when success is won, and no champion arises to defend her from the accusations of well-meaning but unintelligent error; so that she can establish the truth only by becoming a martyr to it.

It was only with reference to this less obvious aspect of Schiller's idea that Hebbel could later say,<sup>1</sup> "Die Jungfrau von Orleans ist Schillers höchste bewusste Konzeption." In still another respect, however, Hebbel saw<sup>2</sup>—likewise, so far as we know, later than in the period to which this paper is limited—that Schiller's idea included a sense of the tragic in individual life similar to his own conception of tragedy: Johanna performs her miracles and feats of arms as the instrument of a higher power; she shudders to resign herself to this service, but having once entered upon it, is no longer herself; hence her unnaturalness is no reproach to her but is an act of Providence, like all her acts committed in His name. Such a situation, however, is potentially tragic in the case of any human being. From the pinnacle to which an individual has been lifted so far above his natural station a fall is easy and a single misstep means death: so that even the particular fault of Johanna—to which Hebbel never became reconciled, and for which Schiller indeed made scant preparation in the previous exposition of her character—has, as a fault, human and natural, a certain symbolical significance. The willingness of the spirit and the weakness of the flesh, the inadequacy of human nature to the demands of a superhuman task—

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 13. Feb., 1850, III, 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XI, 283 ff. (1849).



specifically, the failure of a woman to subordinate her womanhood to the exactions of an ideal, be it never so lofty and all-compelling: this was genuinely tragic.

Whatever we may hold Hebbel's opinion of Schiller's *Jungfrau* to have been in the decade under discussion—and it is fair to leave questions of style and external form entirely out of account—there can be no doubt, I think, that the difference between the two poets was caused by an aboriginal difference in point of view. Schiller's tragedy may be said to be a variation on the theme, *Das Ideal und das Leben*. If Hebbel had written a *Jungfrau von Orleans*, its theme would have been *Das Leben*. Hebbel would have been less philosophical, and also more philosophical than Schiller: he would have taken a simpler problem, but would have solved it the more convincingly by first reducing it to its lowest terms. The idea of Schiller's play is not unlike the idea of Grillparzer's *Sappho*. Both Johanna and Sappho betray the ideal by yielding to the insistent demands of life. But neither Schiller nor Grillparzer debates his problem in its simple and inevitable forms. Sappho comes to grief because she happens to fall in love with the wrong man; and the cause of Johanna's downfall appears to be scarcely less accidental. Schiller shifted the question of Johanna's fate from the ground of conflict between life and duty to the ground of the conventional, not to say, trite conflict of love and duty. Hebbel would have made no such shift. Schiller's Johanna perishes because she momentarily proved unfaithful to her task. Hebbel's would have perished because, though faithful, she was, as a human being, unequal to it; because life and the conditions of life do not permit such a perversion of individuality,<sup>1</sup> even to secure divine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Einen Menschen zum blossen Mittel herabzuwürdigen: ärgste Sünde." *Tgb.*, Sommer, 1839, I, 363.



ends, and the very Providence that blessed her above women must in so doing compass her destruction.

*How* Hebbel would have represented the tragic fate of the Maid of Orleans we can only conjecture ; but he has given us ample evidence of *what* he would have represented. In the prose history she is the victim of an unscrupulous self-interest which would be petty if it were not so monstrously cruel. After the coronation of Charles VII she besought him for leave to return home, now that her mission was accomplished ; but he, fearing that with her all good luck would forsake him, persistently refused to grant her request.<sup>1</sup> And so, with uncomplaining obedience, she remained. The king raised her to the nobility, as if seeking by these worldly honors to atone for the selfishness which had retained her against her will in his court. She continued to accompany his armies, with varying success, until finally taken captive by the English, who had long sought to capture her away from the French for the same reason that the King of France had desired to keep her, namely, as a hostage of fortune. She is unfairly tried and illegally condemned, for no other purpose than that, by putting her out of the way as a witch, the English may discredit her miracles already performed and prevent the repetition of them ; and the chief conspirer against her is the rebellious and revengeful bishop of Beauvais, who satisfied a personal grudge at the same time that he capped the climax of his treason to France. The king whom she had crowned did not lift a finger to save her from her enemies while there was yet time. His subsequent review of the proceedings in accordance with which she had been sentenced and executed, exonerated her but did not exculpate him.

The key to the meaning of this series of facts Hebbel

<sup>1</sup> P. 309.



furnished in his diary on March sixth, 1838 :<sup>1</sup> Providence, to attain a great object, allowed itself a direct and capricious interference with the established laws of life. The great object to be attained was the preservation of the French monarchy. The means to this end was the miraculous inspiration of a maiden. The maiden so inspired was able to give for a while a new direction to a great force in the world. She counteracted, she could not annihilate this force ; for it was a force inseparable from the very idea of individual existence, namely, the centrifugal force of self-assertion, private interest, in a word, the individualistic impulse, which led in France to anarchy and discord, and which the Maid of Orleans temporarily guided into the channel of a collectivistic ideal. This ideal realized, the forces of self-interest reasserted themselves in another form, and the Maid was crushed under the weight of them. Providence itself could not save her from this fate. Providence does not abrogate its laws ; it can at most suspend their operation ; and they act all the more swiftly and ruthlessly when the suspension is removed. Inconspicuous stability as a small fraction of the great whole is the state of safety in human society. But the individual who exceeds the bounds of his station as a fraction exposes himself to danger. His excess may be an exaggeration of egotism, and the forces of the whole promptly suppress this disturbance of the social equilibrium. Or, on the other hand, he may immolate himself in a cause, he may attempt to make of his personality a mere instrument in the hands of the Almighty. But this very altruism is from the point of view of the whole an exaggeration of the ego ; and from the point of view of the idea of existence, is an offence against the individual which no less tragically disturbs the equilibrium of safety, the permanency of individual form and life.

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, I, 216 ; cf. *supra*, p. 321.



Furthermore, the instrument in this case was a woman. Any human being would have felt with fear and trembling the responsibilities of such an exalted office, would have shuddered at the thought of the consequences of human frailty, might at any moment have made the horrifying discovery that the motives of this or that act of self-sacrifice were not unmixed with personal and selfish impulses. But in a woman the contrast between the person and the instrument was still greater than it would have been in a man. "Durch Dulden Tun" was Hebbel's "Idee des Weibes"<sup>1</sup>—and the *Iphigenie* that he admired so much furnishes a sufficient illustration of this self-evident proposition. Iphigenie restores her brother to sanity, and converts a whole barbarian nation, not so much by what she does as by what she refuses to do. Her patient upholding of a standard of right conduct is more potent as an example than any active measures that she could have taken would have been as an inducement. Joan of Arc, on the contrary, was called to take active measures as unfeminine as they could possibly be: "ein Tun, was doch kein Handeln ist;"<sup>2</sup> and the more effective her action, the wider the gap would have become between her character as an instrument and her real self as a woman.

As I have said, we cannot construct the tragedy that Hebbel had in mind, however certain we may be as to his conception of it. That the subject so conceived, without a shadow of such "guilt" as Schiller found indispensable,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 24. Feb., 1839, I, 338; cf. *supra*, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 24. Nov., 1839, I, 404: "In der *Judith* zeichne ich die Tat eines Weibes, also den ärgsten Kontrast, dies Wollen und Nicht-Können, dies Tun, was doch kein Handeln ist."

<sup>3</sup> Schiller's unconditional apologist, L. Bellermann, writes in *Schillers Dramen*, Berlin, 2d ed., 1898, II, p. 284: "Dem Verfasser [Vilmar] ist also keine Ahnung davon aufgegangen, dass ohne Johannas Liebe zu Lionel für Schiller schlechthin kein Motiv gewesen wäre, sein Stück über-



contained all the elements that he needed, is abundantly proved by his *Agnes Bernauer*. The very innocence and morality of Agnes is her undoing. As the mistress of Albrecht she could have lived unmolested ; but as his wife she was a menace to the state. To be sure, it was easier for Hebbel to make the fate of Agnes appear tragic, inasmuch as she was condemned to death by the most enlightened collective conscience, personified in Herzog Ernst ; but I doubt not that Hebbel could have given to the death of Joan

haupt zu schreiben." And again (p. 288), "Wohl jeder Leser hat die unmittelbare Empfindung, dass der Punkt, der diesen hier veranschaulichten Schicksalsgang zu einem tragischen macht, in der Lionelscene liegt."

In my opinion, Beller mann here goes too far. Schiller appreciated the tragic content of the situation in which a woman is also an instrument of prophecy. Cf. in his poem *Kassandra* (1802) these lines of the prayer to Apollo :

"Nimm, o nimm die traur'ge Klarheit,  
Mir vom Aug' den blut'gen Schein !  
Schrecklich ist es, deiner Wahrheit  
Sterbliches Gefäss zu sein."

For *dramatic* purposes, indeed, Schiller does seem to have needed the motif of love for Lionel ; but we may distinguish between the idea as such and the particular terms in which Schiller expressed it in this play, between the tragic content of the situation and the motif of the action.

M. Evers, in his pamphlet, *Die Tragik in Schillers Jungfrau von Orleans in neuer Auffassung*, Lpz., 1898, maintains that the cardinal point of the action is to be found in the scene with Montgomery ; that Johanna's guilt consists in exceeding from personal motives the limits of her commission, first by taking active part in the slaughter of the English, and then further by falling in love with Lionel. This idea, the inability of Johanna the person to make of herself an impersonal instrument, is closely allied to Hebbel's ; but it can scarcely have been Schiller's.

In Percy MacKaye's *Jeanne d'Arc*, New York, 1906, the tragic motif is a doubt in the divine commission, which temporarily disconcerts the heroine. Jeanne is restored to faith when she sees that d'Alençon, a sceptic and lover, has been converted to belief in her sanctity. Such a motif involves a conflict more to Hebbel's mind than the conflict in Schiller's *Jungfrau*.



a similar collectivistic sanction, in spite of the fact that the immediate cause of it was an individualistic intrigue. Here as elsewhere death would have been the full measure of devotion, the ultimate and most potent example of patience. It was therefore not because of insuperable difficulties that Hebbel did not carry out his plan for a new *Jungfrau von Orleans*. The chief reason was probably that, although he did not immediately abandon the plan, he had meanwhile found another subject in which the same situation was still more strikingly exemplified, and in which the chief person was a woman to the full extent of her being. Virginity is a state in which the difference between the sexes is only partially developed. After *Judith*, a *Jungfrau von Orleans* would have been a kind of anti-climax. In none of Hebbel's tragedies, as a matter of fact, is the heroine a maid.

That Judith was an elder sister of Joan of Arc, Hebbel makes clear in his exposition of the tragic motif in *Judith*:<sup>1</sup> "Meine ganze Tragödie ist darauf basiert, dass in ausserordentlichen Weltlagen die Gottheit unmittelbar in den Gang der Ereignisse eingreift<sup>2</sup> und ungeheure Taten durch Menschen, die sie aus eigenem Antrieb nicht ausführen würden, vollbringen lässt. Eine solche Weltlage war da, als der gewaltige Holof[ernes] das Volk der Verheissung, von dem die Erlösung des ganzen Menschengeschlechts ausgehen sollte,<sup>3</sup> zu erdrücken drohte. Das Äusserste trat ein, da kam der Geist über Judith und legte ihr einen Gedanken in die Seele, den sie (darum die Scene mit Ephraim) erst fest zu halten wagt, als sie sieht, dass kein Mann ihn adoptiert, den nun aber auch nicht mehr das blosse Gottesvertrauen, sondern nach der Beschaffenheit der menschlichen Natur,

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 23. Apr., 1840, II, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tgb.*, 6. März, 1838, I, 216, *supra*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Weil von Frankreich die Revolution ausgehen sollte," *Tgb.*, 27. Jul., 1840, II, 55, *supra*, p. 331.



die niemals ganz rein oder ganz unrein ist, zugleich mit die Eitelkeit ausbrütet. Sie kommt zum Holof[ernes], sie lernt den 'ersten und letzten Mann der Erde' kennen, sie fühlt, ohne sich dessen klar bewusst zu werden, dass er der einzige ist, den sie lieben könnte, sie schaudert, indem er sich in seiner ganzen Grösse vor ihr aufrichtet, sie will seine Achtung ertrotzen und gibt ihr ganzes Geheimnis preis, sie erlangt nichts dadurch, als dass er, der vorher schon mit ihr spielte, sie nun wirklich erniedrigt, dass er sie höhnend in jedem ihrer Motive missdeutet, dass er sie endlich zu seiner Beute macht und ruhig einschläft. Jetzt führt sie die Tat aus, sie führt sie aus auf Gottes Geheiss, aber sie ist sich in dem ungeheuren Moment, der ihr ganzes Ich verwirrt, nur ihrer persönlichen Gründe bewusst; wie der Prophet durch den Samaja, so wird sie durch ihre Magd, durch die einfach-menschlichen Betrachtungen, die diese anstellt, von ihrer Höhe herabgestürzt; sie zittert, da sie daran erinnert wird, dass sie Mutter werden kann. Es kommt ihr aber auch schon in Bethulien der rechte Gedanke: wenn die Tat von Gott ausging, so wird er sie vor der Folge schützen und sie nicht gebären lassen; gebiert sie, so muss sie, damit ihr Sohn sich nicht zum Muttermord versucht fühle, sterben, und zwar muss sie durch ihr Volk den Tod finden, da sie sich für ihr Volk als Opfer dahingab. Das Schwanken und Zweifeln, worin sie nach ihrer Tat versinkt, konnte sie allein zur trag. Heldenin machen, auch können und dürfen solche Zweifel gar nicht ausbleiben, da der Mensch selbst in den Armen eines Gottes nicht aufhört, Mensch zu sein, und da er, sobald der Gott ihn loslässt, augenblicklich in die rein menschlichen Verhältnisse zurücktritt und nun vor dem Unbegreiflichen, was von ihm ausgegangen ist, erbebt, ja erstarrt." A still fuller explanation of this last point Hebbel gave in another place:<sup>1</sup> "Eine Kritik, die nicht

<sup>1</sup> *Tgb.*, 3. Apr., 1840, II, 26.



zum Kern meines Werks durchdränge, könnte fragen, wie Judith durch eine Tat, die Gott durch seinen Propheten verkündigte, und dadurch zur Notwendigkeit stempelte, in ihrem Gemüt vernichtet werden könne; sie könnte hierin einen Widerspruch erblicken. Aber hier wirkt der Fluch, der auf dem gesamten Geschlecht ruht; der Mensch, wenn er sich auch in der heiligsten Begeisterung der Gottheit zum Opfer weiht, ist nie ein ganz reines Opfer, die Sündengeburt bedingt den Sudentod, und wenn Judith auch in Wahrheit für die Schuld aller fällt, so fällt sie in ihrem Bewusstsein doch nur für ihre eigene Schuld. Hieran aber knüpft sich der Schluss des Stücks in seiner unbedingten Notwendigkeit. Die Wage muss, weil keine irdische Ausgleichung denkbar ist, in beiden Schalen gleich schweben, und der Dichter muss es unentschieden lassen, ob die unsichtbare Hand über den Wolken noch ein Gewicht hineinwerfen wird, oder nicht."

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to cull from Hebbel's numerous later references to his drama further elucidations of the central idea or of particular details, and it would be difficult to add anything to the interpretation of the play as a whole already given by Werner.<sup>1</sup> My purpose is to present materials for comparison. I have wished to show, first, in what sense Hebbel's conception of the tragedy of Judith was the ultimate development of his conception of the tragedy of the Maid of Orleans, and secondly, in what relation Hebbel's *Judith* stands to Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans*. Hebbel was himself aware of the novelty of his dramas:<sup>2</sup> "Ihr Unterscheidendes liegt wohl darin, dass ich die Lösung, die andere Dramatiker nur nicht zu Stande bringen, gar nicht versuche, sondern, die Individuen als

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, I, p. ix ff., and *Biogr.*, 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Tgb.*, 26. Okt., 1840, II, 73.



nichtig überspringend, die Fragen immer unmittelbar an die Gottheit anknüpfe." He was aware of the originality of his "ideas," and he had himself in mind when he addressed to modern dramatists in general the precept, "Nur wo ein Problem vorliegt, hat eure Kunst etwas zu schaffen."<sup>1</sup> His constant problem was to show how the elemental forces of life operated to produce, to animate, and to destroy a given individual character, and, in depicting the fate of that character, to debate the sanction of institutions, customs, laws, and conditions that determined for it the forms of life and death. He sought fate in character, and, doing justice to the infinite changes caused in character itself by reaction upon its momentary environment, he created persons of a highly complex individuality, and nevertheless demonstrated in each the inexorable logic of the facts of life. Schiller's dramas are symbols of life as it manifests itself in forms already developed and established. From his exalted station, as the heir of the culture of ages, Schiller saw the great things of life in their true perspective and their right relations. But Hebbel, standing closer and looking deeper, saw "the very pulse of the machine."

For better or worse, Hebbel's plays are different from Schiller's; and in spite of some crudeness of execution, *Judith* is an irrefutable declaration of independence. Witkowski says,<sup>2</sup> "Die *Judith* darf das erste moderne Drama des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts genannt werden, weil hier zuerst, unbekümmert um die künstlerische Überlieferung, der Ausdruck des eigentümlichen Wesens der Gegenwart in einem entsprechenden dramatischen Stil versucht wurde." Schiller treated a similar subject in the *Jungfrau von Orléans*, and in this play he came nearest to an idea like Heb-

<sup>1</sup> *Vorwort zur Maria Magdalene* (1844), *Werke*, XI, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Das deutsche Drama d. 19. Jahrh.*, Lpz. [1904], p. 52.



bel's. But with both the outer and the inner form of Schiller's *Jungfrau* Hebbel was dissatisfied, and I hope to have shown the great antecedent improbability that Schiller's *Jungfrau* in any way affected the conception of Hebbel's *Judith*. Hebbel, it is true, recognized the merits of composition in Schiller's tragedy. Nevertheless, the argument must be more conclusive than any that has yet been brought forward,<sup>1</sup> if we are to believe that even in the disposition of his matter he was directly influenced by Schiller.

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. E. O. Eckelmann, *Schillers Einfluss auf die Jugenddramen Hebbels* [Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs, 1, New York, 1906], and my review of this work in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1907.

The latest monograph on Hebbel, a study by Arthur Kutscher entitled *Friedrich Hebbel als Kritiker des Dramas*, Berl., 1907, contributes nothing to the discussion of the relations between Schiller and Hebbel.



## XII.—CHATEAUBRIAND'S AMERICA.<sup>1</sup>

### ARRIVAL IN AMERICA AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

One or two generations ago, when every novel was in two volumes and serious works filled a shelf or so, our fathers or grandfathers may have read Chateaubriand. To-day the Americans who read French works usually confine themselves to writers earlier or later than he. Yet Chateaubriand was the first European author to make America the scene, and the Indian the subject of his romances. Moreover, he claims to have seen a large part of the territory east of the Mississippi; he asserts that he lived in the huts of the savages; and he describes the aborigines, flora, and fauna of the country from Niagara to Natchez.

His description of America was not received without question in France, and he replied in 1805<sup>2</sup> to his critics by saying that *Atala* might be a poor production, but that all travelers who had visited Louisiana and the Floridas agreed that in it American nature was painted with scrupulous fidelity. "If the pictures had lacked truth," he asks, "would they have succeeded among a people who could say at each step: 'These are not our rivers, our mountains, our forests?'" *Atala* has returned to the wilderness and her fatherland has recognized her as a veritable child of solitude." In *Les Natchez*<sup>3</sup> he says that he has been a faithful historian of the country and customs of the Natchez.

<sup>1</sup>The following works of Chateaubriand have been examined in connection with this article: *Atala*, *René*, *Les Natchez* (*Œuvres complètes de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1859-1862, Furne, Jouvet et Cie, vol. v: *Romans et Poésies diverses*); *Voyage en Amérique* (*Œuvres*, vol. ix: *Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*); *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe* (Paris, 6 vols., LeGrand, Troussel et Pomey).

<sup>2</sup>Preface to first edition of *Atala*.

<sup>3</sup>P. 534.



In the course of time an American did call in question Chateaubriand's pictures of the New World. In 1827 a writer in the *American Quarterly Review*<sup>1</sup> declined to receive Atala as a veritable child of American solitude or to believe that Monsieur de Chateaubriand ever saw Florida or Louisiana; but this single anonymous article seems to have been the only protest from the United States; and as America tacitly accepted the portrait, the cavilings of the French critics were silenced.

Recently the subject has been revived in France. Mr. Joseph Bédier has made a careful study<sup>2</sup> of Chateaubriand's travels, and reaches the conclusion that in the time spent in the United States, five months, and under the conditions of travel then existing, the journey Chateaubriand declares he took would have been impossible. Mr. Bédier also points out in various earlier works<sup>3</sup> incidents and descriptions that tally strangely with many which Chateaubriand offers as his own.

On the other hand, Mr. Madison Stathers, who has lived in the valley of the Ohio and should be competent to deal with the parts of Chateaubriand's studies treating of that region, also goes over the ground in his thesis for the doctorate,<sup>4</sup> and maintains that the journey could have been completed in the time and under the conditions given. While admitting many inaccuracies in Chateaubriand's treat-

<sup>1</sup> December, 1827, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> *Études critiques*, Paris, 1903, pp. 127-294.

<sup>3</sup> François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1774; Wm. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida and the Cherokee Country*, Philadelphia, 1791, London, 1792, etc.; Jonathan Carver, *Travels to the Interior Parts of North America*, London, 1778; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758; J. E. Bonnet, *Les États-Unis d'Amérique à la fin du XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1795.

<sup>4</sup> *Chateaubriand et l'Amérique*, Grenoble, 1905.



ment of animal life, Mr. Stathers defends his Indians and his American flora.

Finally Mr. E. Dick, in an article entitled *Quelques Sources ignorées du "Voyage en Amérique,"*<sup>1</sup> brings to light two further works<sup>2</sup> as the source of most of the authentic descriptions for which Mr. Bédier is unable to account, notably the descriptions of the Ohio valley and of the country between Albany and Niagara. He also shows that the *Voyage*, which Chateaubriand pretends to have written before 1800, must have been composed after 1824.<sup>3</sup>

Since Chateaubriand's "paintings," as he is fond of calling his descriptions of America, have been anew arousing discussion in France, some of them may prove interesting to those Americans who have forgotten the brilliant colors of his canvas or are too busy to turn aside from the rush and whirl of modern life and watch him while with the large leisure of the eighteenth century he deliberately spreads before us the green and gold, rose-color and carmine of his America.

François Auguste de Chateaubriand, Chevalier de Combourg,<sup>4</sup> was twenty-three years old when he sailed from St. Malo for America on the brig Saint-Pierre. He came endowed with a dreamy disposition, a florid imagination, and a plan to discover, alone and unaided, the Northwest Passage. His financial resources were limited and he had never before been out of France, but these considerations did not daunt him. He burned, he says, to throw himself into an enterprise for which he had no preparation save his

<sup>1</sup> *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, 1906, pp. 228-245.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Beltrami, *La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi*, New Orleans, 1824; Sir Alexander MacKenzie, *History of the Fur Trade*, London, 1801.

<sup>3</sup> The *Voyage* was published in 1827.

<sup>4</sup> He inherited the title of viscount a short time later on the death of his elder brother, who was executed during the French Revolution.



imagination and his courage. His plan was to cross the continent to the Pacific shore above the Gulf of California and to follow the coast all the way around, "reëntering the United States by Hudson's Bay, Labrador, and Canada." "In case of success," he continues, "I should have had the honor of conferring French names on unknown regions, of endowing my country with a colony on the Pacific, of carrying away from a rival power the rich trade in furs, and, by putting France in possession of a shorter way to India, of preventing its being opened by that rival power."<sup>1</sup>

Emerson's advice: "Hitch your wagon to a star" would have been superfluous here. This young man had hitched his to a comet, with the precaution, as will presently appear, of not making the harness too fast.

The Saint-Pierre brought also several Sulpician priests and seminarists who came to Baltimore under the guidance of the Abbé Nagot to found St. Mary's, the first great Catholic seminary in the United States. In the archives of the seminary is a manuscript life of the Reverend A. Garnier, which mentions<sup>2</sup> that Chateaubriand was a passenger on the brig and adds that he "often joined the priests and seminarists and even asked to be permitted to take part in their pious exercises. Father Nagot granted his petition, but, as Chateaubriand read with excessive emphasis, reminded him that such a tone was not conducive to piety. From that time he did not show the same eagerness to assist in the exercises, though he continued to join the party. His conversation even had a bad effect on one of the students, who later made but a short stay at St. Mary's."

Chateaubriand speaks of the Abbé and his companions as fellow-travelers, and refers to the student, Francis Tullock,

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, vol. I, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 19-20. The author of this life, which was written in France, is not given. I am indebted for this extract to the Reverend A. Boyer.



who afterward left the order. He omits the Abbé's reproof, but gives us to understand that he sometimes wearied of the other passengers, and says that his retreat when he wished to avoid them was the top of the mainmast, up which he climbed lightly amid the applause of the sailors, and sat dominating the waves.<sup>1</sup>

The day they entered the Chesapeake Bay a boat was sent ashore for provisions and water. Chateaubriand landed and passed through a little wood of balsams and Virginia cedars, where he observed cardinal birds and mocking birds, to a building which appeared to be a combination of English farm-house and Creole cabin. Herds of cows were grazing around, and black, striped, and gray squirrels were playing in the clearings. Blacks were sawing wood and whites cultivating tobacco. The gate was opened by a young negress "almost naked and of surpassing beauty . . . like a young night."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stathers points out that black squirrels are rare in that section and that the three kinds do not play together.

They bought provisions and returned to the brig, which proceeded to the "roadstead and port of Baltimore." "As we approached," he says, "the water grew narrower and was smooth and motionless. We seemed to be ascending an indolent stream bordered with avenues. Baltimore appeared as if at the head of a lake. Opposite the city rose a wooded hill, at the foot of which buildings were beginning to arise. We moored at the quay of the port and I slept on board, not going ashore till next morning, when I took my baggage and went to lodge at the inn."<sup>3</sup> Chateaubriand does not

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 370; *Voyage*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 370; *Voyage*, p. 48. The Baltimore newspapers of 1791, beyond noting the arrival of the *Saint-Pierre*, have no record touching the presence of Chateaubriand in the city.



give the date of the landing, but the records of the seminary show it to have been the tenth of July.

Baltimore is described as a "pretty little Catholic city," where society and manners strongly resembled those of Europe.<sup>1</sup> This comprehensive statement is the result of one day's observation, for he left on the stage-coach for Philadelphia at four o'clock on the second morning after his arrival in Baltimore, traveling over a road "traced rather than made."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stathers thinks this criticism of the highway from Baltimore to the capital too severe; but roads in America, even to-day, are often a painful surprise to visitors from the Old World.

The Chevalier found the aspect of Philadelphia cold and monotonous, and comments on the lack in Protestant America of great works of architecture, a lack which he attributes to the spirit of the Reformation. Protestantism, he says, having neither age nor imagination, has rarely elevated those domes, those aerial naves, those twin towers with which the ancient Catholic religion has crowned Europe. No monument in Philadelphia, in New York, in Boston, rises above the mass of walls and roofs. The eye is saddened by the dead level.<sup>3</sup>

Chateaubriand professed himself disappointed by the evidences of wealth and dissipation he found in the cities of the United States. He expected in a republic, he says, the severity of the earliest Roman manners. The Quakers sepecially incurred his displeasure on account of their commercial spirit. Their sisters and daughters found more favor in his eyes, and he admits that the Quakeresses with their gray dresses, their uniform little bonnets, and their pale faces, were beautiful. Later he relents toward the

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 375; *Voyage*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 375; *Voyage*, p. 49.



Quakers and ascribes the harshness of his first judgment to his political disappointment.<sup>1</sup>

Washington, he says, was not in Philadelphia when he arrived, and he waited for a fortnight according to the *Voyage*,<sup>2</sup> or a week according to the *Mémoires*,<sup>3</sup> to see him and present the letter of introduction which he brought from the Marquis de la Rouërie. This nobleman had fought for the Colonies in the Revolution and was known in America, according to Chateaubriand, as Colonel Armand.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Bédier doubts the reality of the visit to President Washington, of whose absence from Philadelphia, at the period during which Chateaubriand says he was waiting at that place, there seems to be no record. The description of Washington's house and of his manner of receiving Chateaubriand seem to him hardly probable. I have been able, however, to find conclusive evidence that the letter of introduction existed and was presented, for an examination of Washington's papers, preserved in the Library of Congress, has revealed it on file, endorsed in Washington's hand: "From General Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie." While the fact that Washington received the letter does not prove that he saw Chateaubriand, it renders it at least probable. The letter is as follows:

LA ROUËRIE, 22d March, 1791.

Mr. le Chevalier de Combourg, a nobleman of the State of Brittany and a neighbour of mine, is going over to North America. The purpose of that journey, I presume, is to enrich his mind by the active contemplation of such a moving and happy country and to satisfy his soul by seeing the extraordinary man and thoses respectable citizens who, led by the hand of virtue through the most difficult contest, have made their chief counsellor

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<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 377; *Voyage*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> P. 50.

<sup>3</sup> I, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> He entered the American army as a colonel but was afterward made brigadier-general.



of her in establishing and enjoying their liberty—his relations, for whom I have a very high regard, desire me to recommend him to the notice of your excellency. I do it with pleasure, because that gentleman has allways appeared to me to have a good right to the commendable reputation which he does enjoy—he is a man of wit and much of his time is taken up by the cultivation of that natural gift.

Our political affairs in this part of the world are in the most deplorable situation—loyalté, good sense, firmness, seems to be banished from our unhappy, and perhaps more guilty, country—the compassion of god almighty is the only resource which remain to us; But I am sure he is just, and of course I fear his mercy will be only felt long after his severity.—May France, by her present condition, be now and in all future times a tremendous instance for all peoples on earth of the great risk and destruction which threaten nations, when without any regard to their moral and physical circumstances, instead of wisely and slowly reforming abuses and repairing breaches made to their constitution, they confide the oversetting of the whole into the hands and at the discretion, of ambition, avarice, ignorance, caprices, and of all the private interest which follow of course—may your, dear général, follow, while this world will last, the impulsion given her by your great heart, your incomparable wisdom, and by that candour which so well characterize the present generation of North America.—I have been honored in January last with your letter of the 13th of October 1789—Mr. du Moustier is not the speediest nor the most faithfull messenger in europe—but at this time, it appears essential to theses men to counterpoise with all their hability the conveniency and inconveniency of all their steps; even that of delivering up a letter directed from a free country to a lover of that country who reside in our.—

I beg leave to offer here to lady Washington the best homage of my respect—I have the honour to be with the most profound impression of that sentiment

Sir

Your Excellency's

the most humble and obedient and faithfull servant

ARMAND.

G. Washington president of the United States of North America.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Manuscripts: Letters to Washington, vol. 76 (1790), p. 210. This is the last of a number of letters from the Marquis preserved among Washington's papers, where it was found in April, 1905. Thanks are due Mr. Worthington Ford, of the Library of Congress, for his kind help in locating it.



On going, says Chateaubriand, to present the letter, he found the simplicity of the old Romans. A young servant girl opened the door of a little house much like its neighbors, and preceded him through a narrow corridor into a parlor. There were no guards, no valets. "I was not moved; neither grandeur of soul nor that of fortune awes me. I admire the first without being crushed by it; the second inspires me rather with pity than with respect. The face of man will never trouble me."<sup>1</sup>

In a few moments General Washington entered, "tall, with a calm and cold rather than a noble air." The young man presented his letter and Washington, on seeing the signature, exclaimed: "Colonel Armand." Chateaubriand then explained the object of his journey and, on Washington's seeming astonished, said with a little vivacity: "But it is less difficult to discover the Northwest Passage than to create a people as you have done." "Well, well, young man" was Washington's comment, and these are the only words of his that Chateaubriand records. They were perhaps the only ones he found a chance to say!

Chateaubriand says he dined with Washington the next day, but his account of the occasion relates only to the key of the Bastille which Washington showed him and which aroused his indignation against the Parisian mob.

On the day following he went to New York, "a gay, populous, and commercial city," and thence made a pilgrimage to Boston "to seek there, as afterward at Sparta, the tomb of those warriors who died to obey the holy laws of their fatherland."<sup>2</sup> Beyond this allusion to Lexington he has nothing to say about Boston, and even Mr. Stathers doubts the probability of the pious pilgrimage.

After his return from Boston to New York, Chateaubriand

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 390.



was impatient to continue his journey. "It was not the Americans I came to see, but something more in accord with the habitual order of my ideas. I burned to throw myself into an enterprise for which I had no preparation but my imagination and my courage."<sup>1</sup>

His plan had met with no encouragement in Philadelphia; and some one having given him a letter to a Mr. Swift in Albany, who traded with the Indians, he proceeded thither, he says, by packet boat up the Hudson. He maintains, however, a silence about the Palisades, which seems strange in this ardent admirer of nature.

This Mr. Swift, when Chateaubriand explained what he wished to do, objected that such a journey could not be made without assistance and without recommendations to the English, American, and Spanish posts; that, if he had the good fortune to pass safely through so many "solitudes," he would reach glacial regions where he would perish of cold and hunger; that to fit himself for such an enterprise he must first learn the Indian languages and live among the hunters and trappers. Then, after four or five years, he might, with the assistance of the French government, proceed on his mission. Chateaubriand says that these words displeased him and that if he had followed his own inclinations he would have set off straight for the Pole, but that he yielded and asked Mr. Swift to find him a guide and two horses to take him to Niagara and Pittsburg. From the latter place he meant to descend the Ohio river and collect ideas useful for his further projects. A guide was engaged, horses were bought, and the eighteenth century knight set out on his quest.<sup>2</sup> How the trip down the Ohio river was to aid in his discovery of the Northwest Passage and the Pole, beyond the experience and power of endurance resulting from travel through a wild country, he does not explain.

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 392; *Voyage*, p. 55.



## THE WILDERNESS.

The Chevalier de Combourg, on his way from Albany to Niagara, sometimes found, he says, little villages built by the colonists or solitary houses in clearings by the road side ; but the country was for the most part a wilderness. After he had passed the Mohawk and entered the virgin forest he fell into a sort of "intoxication of independence." He ran from tree to tree, to right and left, crying : " Here there are no more roads, no more cities, no more monarchy, no more republic, no more president, no more king, no more men." He gave himself up to "acts of the wild," which made his astonished guide doubt his sanity. In the midst of these exercises he came suddenly upon a shanty and the first savages he had ever beheld : a number of men and women, smeared like sorcerers, half naked, with ravens' feathers in their hair and rings through their noses. A little Frenchman, powdered and curled, in an apple-green coat and a drugget waistcoat, with cravat and cuffs of muslin, scraped a pocket violin and taught these gentle Iroquois to dance. They paid for their lessons, the dancing-master explained, in beaver skins and bear hams. He greatly praised their lightness and in speaking of them always said : " These savage gentlemen and ladies." " Was there not," exclaims Chateaubriand, " something overwhelming to a disciple of Rousseau in this introduction to savage life by a ball which a scullion of General Rochambeau gave to Iroquois Indians ?" <sup>1</sup> This reference to himself as the disciple of Rousseau is a key to the character of Chateaubriand's savages and indicates the source to which he went for some of his local color.

He bought a complete outfit from the Indians—two bear

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 394.



skins, "one for a demi-toga, the other for a bed." It is interesting to contemplate this outfit to be used in New York in midsummer. He added to his new costume, he says, the red cap, jacket, belt, horn,<sup>1</sup> and shoulder belt of the *coureurs de bois*. His hair and beard were long and his appearance suggested "the savage, the hunter, and the missionary."<sup>2</sup>

He tells us of going badger hunting with these Indians and some *coureurs de bois* and of finding no badgers, but of killing lynxes and musk rats. The women went along to carry the provisions. It seems strange, as Mr. Stathers suggests, that lynxes and musk rats, which are hunted only for their fur, should be killed in summer when the fur is not good.

In the *Mémoires*<sup>3</sup> Chateaubriand says that these Indians were the first he saw; in the *Voyage*,<sup>4</sup> however, he states: "The first savage we met was a young man who walked before a horse on which was seated an Indian woman, decorated (*parée*) after the manner of her tribe." This is odd. All the Indian men of our time would have been themselves seated on the horse, with the squaw walking behind, decorated, after the manner of her tribe, with whatever there was to carry.

Chateaubriand and his guide stopped to rest on the shore of the "Lake of the Onandagas." They built a bower of boughs and used their saddles for pillows and their cloaks for covering. Wandering about examining plants and watching birds, Chateaubriand came to a little valley in which was "the wretched cabin of a savage." This savage was a woman and her lean cow was being beaten and driven out

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stathers is in error when he comments that the hunter's horn is not used in the United States. It was and is still used for calling the pack in Maryland and Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> I, p. 394.

<sup>4</sup> P. 56.



by three white men who brought five or six fat cows to pasture in the field. After the men had gone away, Chateaubriand approached the poor Indian woman, his eyes full of tears, and gave the Indian word of greeting. The woman made no answer—possibly she did not understand Chateaubriand's "Indian." He then continued in English and learned that the field had belonged to her husband, now dead, and that the whites were accustomed to drive her cow out and graze their cattle on her land.<sup>1</sup> A family that claimed a special field and kept a cow in it, and a squaw living alone, separated from her tribe,<sup>2</sup> must have been as rare among the Onandagas as were, among the wild creatures of the Alleghanies, those tame bears and otters we shall presently see taking part in Indian feasts.

From his bower of boughs Chateaubriand went to visit the chief of the Onandagas.<sup>3</sup> In the *Voyage*<sup>4</sup> he says: "The sachem was an old Iroquois in all the rigor of the word: the tradition of ancient times and the usages of the desert survived in his person. His ears were cut, a pearl hung from his nose, his face was streaked with various colors, and on top of his head was a little tuft of hair. He wore a blue tunic, a mantle of skin, a leather belt, with tomahawk and scalping knife and moccasins. His arms were tattooed and he held a string of beads in his hand." Here the old warrior is fully equipped, but in the *Mémoires*,<sup>5</sup> he says: "The 'old gentleman,' as the English accounts never fail to call the sachem, wears only a feather or fish bone in his nostrils, and sometimes covers his head, shaved and round like a cheese, with a three-cornered hat."

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> On the communal system prevailing among the Indians, see Fisk, *The Discovery of America*, vol. I, pp. 61-78.

<sup>3</sup> Beltrami gives an account of a visit to the chief of the Onandagas; see Dick, *l. c.*, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> P. 60.

<sup>5</sup> I, p. 403.



Eight or nine leagues from Niagara the travelers spent a night with some Indians who were on the march. The Chevalier and his companion sat at their fire and roasted ears of corn for supper. The next morning the Indians went on their way, the women carrying the babies suspended from their shoulders in furs.

At an Indian village nearer Niagara the babies were hung in nets to the branches of trees. In this village the children obeyed no one but their mothers. They never quarreled nor fought, were never noisy, mischievous, nor peevish. "They had the air of something serious like happiness, noble like independence." If one of them cried for something that his mother had not, she told him to go and take it. When he found he was not strong enough to do this, he forgot it. The girls had the same liberty as the boys, but stayed more with their mothers, who instructed them in household duties. When one of them behaved badly her mother threw a few drops of water in her face and said: "You dishonor me." This reproach was rarely made in vain.<sup>1</sup>

When the sun grew hot at midday and Chateaubriand sat at the door of the cabin with some of his hosts, one of them called to the little boys who were playing in the sun that it would "eat their heads;" they must come out of it and go to sleep. They answered: "That is true," and went on playing. Then the women came and one showed hominy in a wooden bowl; another a favorite fruit; a third unrolled a mat to lie on. They called the obdurate troop, joining to each name a word of tenderness. Instantly all the children flew to their mothers, and each one carried away her struggling son, who ate in the maternal arms what had just been given him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 415. Mention of this custom may be found in Charlevoix.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage*, p. 65.



All this would do for an eclogue, and the scene might be laid equally well in the gardens of Fontainebleau, the forests of Arden, or the fields of Arcadia.

The traveler now reached Niagara and proceeded to look at the falls. Not content with the view from above, he wished to see the cataract from below. The Indian ladder which was formerly there was broken, he says, so, in spite of his guide's remonstrances, he climbed down a perpendicular rock about two hundred feet in height to within forty feet of the bottom. There he hung by his hands till he fell, landing on a ledge half an inch from the abyss. One arm was broken, but he managed to make signs to the guide, who ran to bring some savages, and they with great difficulty drew him up by cords of birch and carried him to their camp. He had a simple fracture, and a bandage, a string, and two laths were sufficient for his cure.<sup>1</sup>

The guide refused to go further than Niagara, and the Chevalier joined some traders who were setting out to descend the Ohio river;<sup>2</sup> or some Canadians who had a part of their family in "St. Louis of the Illinois;"<sup>3</sup> or some planters whose families were established at St. Louis.<sup>4</sup> He seems uncertain with whom he went.

Just here he gives in the *Voyage*<sup>5</sup> a "detached page" of his journal which transports us into the midst of the Appalachians. To the north and west, he says, they resemble perpendicular walls several thousand feet high, from which height fall the streams which flow into the Ohio and Mississippi. On the south and east the Appalachians can hardly claim the name of mountains. Their summits slope gradually to the soil which borders the Atlantic.

After this digression showing his intimate acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Unpublished material in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*; see Bédier, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> P. 77.



with the Appalachian system, he returns to his itinerary. Setting out with his companions, he went toward Pittsburg. Some days later the company separated into three parties, Chateaubriand remaining with the one whose peregrinations seemed most conformed to the plan of his voyage. Along with this party he descended the Ohio and the Mississippi, whether by barge, by canoe, or in some other fashion he does not say. The *Voyage*<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate that he continued as far as New Orleans. Mr. Stathers thinks the accuracy of his description of the Ohio valley proves that he took this part of the journey; but Mr. Dick points out that wherever the account is correct he is following Beltrami, from whom he borrows whole passages, sometimes with only slight alterations. In the *Mémoires*<sup>2</sup> he tells us he stopped at Natchez, and asks: "What had I to do with the mouths of the Mississippi, I who wished to journey to the north?" In truth, New Orleans is not on the direct route from Philadelphia to the North Pole. However, he had begun, he says, to realize the force of Mr. Swift's arguments and his lack of preparation for "attacking the Rocky Mountains;" his resources were running low; and besides he was so charmed with his travels that he hardly thought about the Pole. A company of traders coming from the Creeks permitted him to follow them. The planters of Georgia and maritime Florida, he explains, came to the Creek tribes to buy the half wild horses and cattle which multiplied infinitely on the Savannas.

Here follows what, in the *Voyage*,<sup>3</sup> he calls "Descriptions of some Sites in the interior of the Floridas." The manuscript, he says, contains extracts from Bartram, but so mingled with his own rectifications, observations, additions, and descriptions that it is impossible to tell which is his and

<sup>1</sup> P. 88.<sup>2</sup> I, p. 436.<sup>3</sup> P. 89.



which Bartram's.<sup>1</sup> Although the *Voyage* assigns these descriptions to Florida, the *Mémoires*<sup>2</sup> refer them to an island in a lake of the Ohio river, where he landed and found a field sprinkled with yellow rag-wort, rose-colored hollyhocks, and purple obeloria. The sight of an "Indian ruin" thrilled his heart, and he wondered what people had formerly inhabited the island. He found poppies with rose-colored blossoms and pale green stems growing on the ruin. The Indians, he says, make a soporific drink from the root of the poppy, and the stem and flowers have an agreeable odor which clings to the hand that has touched them. "This plant was created to adorn the tomb of a savage: its roots give sleep and its perfume is a lovely image of innocent life spent in solitude." Any one who has ever touched the stem of a poppy will agree that its odor clings to the hand; but this rose-colored variety with the pleasant perfume must be extinct. There are two or three species of poppy native to western North America. I have been unable to find any evidence that the hollyhock is indigenous to this country. This species, like the rose-colored poppy, may be a special variety confined to that island of Cocagne in the Ohio river.

That "most charming of trees," the pawpaw, grew on this island, as well as in the neighborhood of Natchez and in other places along the Mississippi. From Chateaubriand's description it seems to be the tropical *carica papaya*. There are in the United States several varieties of trees or shrubs called pawpaw or papaw,<sup>3</sup> but they do not in the least resemble Chateaubriand's charming tree.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bédier does not think this task so difficult.

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Stathers is evidently unfamiliar with the small tree or shrub called pawpaw in Maryland and Virginia. See Stathers, *l. c.*, p. 111, note.



## THE SYLPHS AND THE RETURN.

"At a time when we least expected it," writes Chateaubriand, "we saw a flotilla of canoes come out of a bay. They brought two families of Creeks, one family Seminole, and the other Muskogean, and along with them were some Cherokees and half-breeds." He was impressed by the elegance of these savages. The women who landed near them were of mixed Cherokee and Castilian blood. Two of them resembled Creoles of Santo Domingo and the Ile de France. The traders began to inquire about the horses—is it possible that the Indians brought them in the canoes? The plain of the camp, Chateaubriand continues, was covered with bulls, cows, horses, bison, buffaloes, geese, turkeys, and pelicans. The green background of the Savanna was mottled by the black and red color of the birds. It would be useless for us to speculate as to how and from whence all this teeming multitude of creatures came.

While the traders went to the cattle and the hunters went to the chase, Chateaubriand stayed with his two "sylphs" on an other ground. They wore short skirts, large sleeves, and a Spanish fashion, the Indian bodice and moccasins. They were bound around with strips of buck skin. They painted their hair with henna. They decorated themselves with purple berries from their own garden. A parrot was perched on the shoulder of one of the women. The women of the band as the great ladies of the court would have been called. The women of the band as the great ladies of the court would have been called.

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Florida grind with their white teeth the "tears" of the sweet gum (liquid amber) which has the mingled fragrance of angelica, citron, and vanilla. They live in a perfumed atmosphere which emanates from themselves. One of the sylphs, he says, was the model for Atala, the other for Céluta. He could not understand their speech nor they his; but he went for water for their cup, twigs for their fire, and moss for their bed; amused himself dressing their hair, watching one while she prayed and listening to the other while she sang with a velvet voice a song with a plaintive cry at the close. This idyllic scene was rudely interrupted by a Seminole and a half-breed who carried off the daughters of solitude on their horses, and Chateaubriand was left lamenting.<sup>1</sup>

With their disappearance he lost his interest in the Floridas and turned to the north. Here again the account is not definite. In the *Voyage* he says nothing about his return; in the *Mémoires*<sup>2</sup> he says: "We repassed the Blue Ridge and approached the European clearings towards Chillicothe. I had gained no light on the principal aim of my enterprise, but I was escorted by a world of poesy;" and at another place:<sup>3</sup> "We followed very nearly the paths now forming the highway running from Natchez to Nashville by Jackson and Florence, and into Virginia by Knoxville and Salem."

Since the way by Nashville is the only one he mentions, Mr. Bédier assumes that he returned by this route to Philadelphia, or rather to Chillicothe. Why, if he went as far east as Salem, he should have wandered back to Chillicothe, several hundred miles to the west and across the Alleghanies, does not appear, and he could not have crossed or recrossed the Blue Ridge on the way from Salem to Chillicothe, for

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, I, pp. 441-449.

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> I, p. 436.



society superior to any other which existed on the earth : " a society composed of his Indian wife, Céluta, her brother Outougamiz, a young Indian girl, Mila, and a young French captain from Fort Rosalie.

Chateaubriand's Indians are blood relations of Richardson's heroines. No other beings ever possessed so much sensibility, such delicate nerves. Enough tears are shed in his romances to irrigate the desert lands of Arizona and to make the barren plains of New Mexico blossom like the rose. Young men and maidens, old men and lusty warriors all dissolve in tears. Once they flowed in such torrents that they could be heard.<sup>1</sup> His Indian maidens blush and turn pale and faint exactly as if their names were Clarissa and Pamela instead of Atala and Céluta. Adario, the stern chief of the Natchez, pressed his daughter and niece to his heart ; Céluta sang the song of welcome for René, and " all the family wept for regret, love, and virtue ; " Outougamiz, having adopted René as his foster brother, made a speech and " tears fell from his eyelids ; " when René and Outougamiz returned from the country of the Illinois, there was a " general effusion of hearts. " <sup>2</sup>

One of the most interesting bits of description in *Les Natchez* is the characterization of the Sioux.<sup>3</sup> " He unites, " we are told, " all that is desirable in the savage and civilized man : his manners are as sweet as the plants by which he is nourished. " It is to be feared that since Chateaubriand's day the Sioux has changed his diet. The best known chiefs of recent times, Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, and Sitting Bull were not clothed in gentleness as in a garment, nor were the braves who followed them remarkable for the sweetness of their manners.

The appearance of the Indians of Chateaubriand's romances

<sup>1</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> P. 279.



is not what we have been led to expect of the race. Atala's hair was a 'veil of gold:' the blue veins could be seen in her dazzlingly white cheeks.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Atala was only half Indian, having a Spanish father; but Chactas, her Indian lover, was not aware of this till she told him: 'he found nothing in her appearance to indicate that she was not all Indian. Céluta, a pure Natchez Indian, was dazzling like ivory.'<sup>2</sup> In the opening pages of *Les Natchez* she enters blushing. "The blush among young Indians," Chateaubriand explains, "is perceptible." After her journey to New Orleans her black hair shaded a brow which had grown pale and her beauty seemed divine.<sup>3</sup>

Garments of bark are frequently mentioned. Atala made a mantle of the bark of the ash for Chactas; Céluta wore a white robe made of mulberry bark which trailed lightly behind her, her rosy heels lifting the border at each step. The air was embalmed by the odor of the magnolia in her hair.<sup>4</sup> When she went to steal the reeds and if possible save René's life, she carried cords of wild linen and a roll of cloth made of mulberry bark which she used for a veil. These Indian women were addicted to wearing veils, usually made of bark. Mila even went swimming in one.<sup>5</sup> They had also a habit of wrapping their babies in furs, which must have been uncomfortable in summer, and it is no wonder that the infant daughter of Céluta did not thrive. This unfortunate child was swathed in layer after layer of ermine skins, although it was summer and they were traveling from New Orleans to Natchez.<sup>6</sup> How the skins of the ermine, an animal which lives in a cold climate, came to the country of the Natchez, we are not informed.

The favorite beverage of the Natchez Indians seems to

<sup>1</sup> *Atala*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 420.



have been "water of the maple" (perhaps the sap of the sugar maple), but they also partook of "cream of nuts" (possibly cocoanut milk?), fresh sumac, and water of the smilax, all decoctions unfamiliar to the present inhabitants of the United States. The fruit oftenest mentioned is the may apple, though persimmons sometimes appear, and strawberries are mentioned twice.

That a people who could get anything else should eat may apples is a mystery. Wild grapes grew rampant all over the country; blackberries, huckleberries, and raspberries are indigenous to the United States, and according to Parkman<sup>1</sup> crab apples, plums and cherries. Why do these Indians never touch them?

Chateaubriand's Indians spun the sinews of the deer, for what purpose we are not informed. Chactas smoked the pipe of peace, "filled with the fragrant leaves of the mountain laurel."<sup>2</sup> The leaves of the mountain laurel have no fragrance and are poisonous. The laurel of the Mediterranean, *laurus nobilis*, has aromatic leaves. Céluta embroiders on moose skin with purple thread the wars of the Natchez and the Seminoles.<sup>3</sup>

"After I returned home," says Chateaubriand, "I received a pamphlet printed among the Cherokees which was addressed to me in their interest as the defender of the liberty of the press;"<sup>4</sup> and in the *Voyage*<sup>5</sup> he muses: "If I returned to-day to the United States, Chactas might be a deputy to Congress." Here is progress, for he says the *Voyage* was written before 1800 and in the *Mémoires*<sup>6</sup> we read: "At the beginning of the war of American Independence the Indians still ate their prisoners, or rather they killed; and an English captain, in taking soup out of the kettle of an Indian, dipped up a hand."

<sup>1</sup> *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> P. 207.

<sup>6</sup> I, p. 421.



Not the least of the wonders Chateaubriand found in America was the amazing docility of all the Indians he encountered. He traveled, according to his account, from Albany to Niagara with a single companion, and thence with a small party to Pittsburg and down the Ohio and Mississippi as far as Natchez. He also claims to have been in Louisiana and "the Floridas" (a general name, he explains, for Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida), to have followed the Mississippi to its mouth, and to have returned to Philadelphia by Chillicothe. Yet not once did he encounter anything worse than a few black looks from a Seminole and a half-breed; the very animals seemed to grow timid at his approach. Wolves and wildcats, panthers and bears disappeared from the forests and mountains. In all his wanderings the only creature that even threatened was a rattlesnake in the underbrush near Niagara.

The free play Chateaubriand gives his imagination in regard to American animals has been mentioned. He peoples the shores of the Mississippi with reindeer and moose. Paroquets abounded, and somewhere along the course of the Ohio they learned words from the settlers and repeated them in the woods. They were so numerous and destructive that a bounty was paid for their heads. Blue herons and rose-colored flamingos and pelicans also light up, in his pages, the Mississippi landscape.<sup>1</sup> Chateaubriand tells us that at the feasts of the Indians one often sees seated, pell-mell with the savages, bull-dogs, bears, and tame otters;<sup>2</sup> in the *Voyage* there are mentioned a serpent whose breath is deadly and a two-headed snake.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Atala*, pp. 20, 21, 109; *Les Natchez*, p. 423; *Voyage*, p. 81, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> P. 107; Carver had already introduced the former. Mr. Bédier sought long and eagerly for the two-headed snake and at last discovered him in Bonnet; see Bédier, *l. c.*, p. 226.



Mr. Stathers admits that Chateaubriand's fauna is unreliable but asserts that his flora is substantially correct, except that plants and trees belonging to large stretches of the country are brought together in a small space. "His works," says Mr. Stathers, "show a profound knowledge of plants." <sup>1</sup> In the main, it is true, Chateaubriand's authorities on botany seem to have been trustworthy, but in several instances the trees or plants he refers to as found in the United States are tropical. So the tamarind,<sup>2</sup> a native of the East Indies; the pawpaw<sup>3</sup> (*carica papaya*; not the American species), a tropical tree and one of his favorites; the terebinth,<sup>4</sup> a native of Africa, Palestine, and the Greek islands; the latania,<sup>5</sup> or fan-palm, a native of the Old World; the cobæa,<sup>6</sup> a native of Mexico and South America. René and his hosts drink water of the maple from a bamboo knot.<sup>7</sup> The wax tree<sup>8</sup> may mean the wax palm of the Andes, though there are a Brazilian tree and a tree or shrub in China called wax tree.

To sum up, a careful examination of Chateaubriand's works shows that two of his statements about his visit to America may be accepted without hesitation: he came to Baltimore, and his letter of introduction from the Marquis de la Rouërie was received by Washington.

EMMA KATE ARMSTRONG.

<sup>1</sup> *L. c.*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Atala*, p. 30; *Les Natchez*, p. 421; *Mémoires*, I, p. 455, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage*, p. 92; *Atala*, p. 38, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 282.

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoires*, I, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Natchez*, p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> *Voyage*, p. 88.



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XIII.—HISTORY AND RELATIONS OF THE TAIL-  
RHYME STROPHE IN LATIN, FRENCH, AND  
ENGLISH.

I.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TAIL-RHYME STROPHE.

No one well acquainted with mediæval literature will deny that the tail-rhyme strophe was a favorite stanza form in English poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When we meet, in any period of literature, such a fashionable garb of thought, an interest is roused to discover, if possible, whence it comes, and why it prevails. For instance the heroic couplet, darling of the eighteenth century, has had many students. That had its vogue in an age we know well, and we can easily discover its origin and the cause of its popularity, but it is quite otherwise with the tail-rhyme strophe. Although recognized as important,<sup>1</sup> it has never been discussed in all its bearings, nor

<sup>1</sup> "The most important advance in strophe formation was growth into a a b c c b." Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 1905, pp. 324, 322.



has its origin and history ever been generally acknowledged or established. In the following paper, an effort is made to bring together and examine the various theories of its origin, to investigate its forms and history in Latin, French and English poetry, and to trace the connections, if any, of the form in the three literatures. In brief, it aims to be the biography of the tail-rhyme strophe.

What is the tail-rhyme strophe? The name is a translation of the French *rime couée*, which seems in its turn due to the Latin *versus tripertiti caudati*.<sup>1</sup> The well-known passage in Robert Mannyng of Brunne must needs be quoted in beginning an account of this form :

I made it not forto be praysed,  
bot at þe lewed men were aysed.  
If it were made in rime couwee,  
or in strangere or enterlace,  
þat rede Inglis it ere inowe  
þat couthe not haf coppled a kowe  
þat outhere in couwee or in baston  
sum suld haf been fordon,  
so þat fele men þat it herde  
suld not witte howe þat it ferde.<sup>2</sup>

The lines are not luminous, but one point is plain, that the author ranks the verse among foreign, artificial forms, bewildering to simple readers.

The strophe is formed of six or twelve lines, of which the unit is a couplet followed by a third line, usually shorter ;<sup>3</sup> for example :

Jhesu Cryst, yn trynyte  
Oonly god and persons thre,  
Graunt us well to spede.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wolf, *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841, pp. 31 f. I use the three terms interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> Robert of Brunne, *Story of England*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1887, vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I refer to this line throughout as the b-line.

<sup>4</sup> *Erl of Tolous*, ll. 1-3.



Such a group of three lines, united with one, two, or three like groups, the whole bound together by the same rhyme in the b-lines makes the tail-rhyme strophe. The number of accents may vary, as may the number of syllables in lines having the same number of accents—the order of rhyme is the important thing. In English the normal stanza has four accents in the couplet lines and three in the b-lines. The stanza of six lines is most common in short poems, that of twelve lines (a a b c c b d d b e e b)<sup>1</sup> in romances. There are

4 4 3 4 4 3 4 4 3 4 4 3

many variations, but what was apparently felt essential in the stanza was that it should have at least two groups of three lines each, the couplet and the b-line, united by the same rhyme in the b-lines. The normal type in each language and the variations from it will be considered later.

## II.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE METRE.

In regard to the origin of the tail-rhyme strophe, there have been practically but two theories advanced. That of Wolf,<sup>2</sup> which appeared in 1841, I shall examine first, although it was not first in the field. In a rather full discussion of this stanza, Wolf attempts to show that it is half-popular, half-liturgic in origin, developing out of the Latin sequence. He makes no special attempt to account for the couplet, except that it is popular, as the mark of folk-poetry is the rhyming of successive lines, that of art-poetry, the crossed rhymes.<sup>3</sup> He believes it possible to

<sup>1</sup>At the risk of some confusion, I count accents in examining English forms,—where the number of syllables is not arbitrary,—and syllables in Latin and French forms.

<sup>2</sup>Wolf, *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841.

<sup>3</sup>From this opinion du Méril dissents, *Poésies populaires latines*, Paris, 1843.



show, through the historic development, that the b-line, which links the couplets together, is not interwoven rhyme, but springs from actual refrains—in this particular case those of the church-songs, the Alleluia—and has never belied its true character.<sup>1</sup> The form built up in this way came first from the actual folk-song in vulgar Latin, next from the popular church-song, whence it passed into other languages, as the Provençal or French or Welsh. It is, therefore, in no sense a product of art-poetry. The length of the b-line, which ought as a refrain to be shorter, but is sometimes of the same length as the couplet and sometimes longer, he regards as a matter of no significance, but conditioned on the melody. He supports his points by numerous examples, in some of which the b-line is undoubtedly a refrain. He mentions as one of the most striking proofs of his theory a drinking-song of the thirteenth century, *Lætabundus*,<sup>2</sup> which is a parody of the famous *Prosa de Nativitate Domine* of S. Bernard.

The objections to his explanation are that it does not cover all important forms of the stanza, and that, even in early specimens, the b-line seems usually to have nothing of the refrain-nature, but to be an integral part of the thought. The source, too, in the Latin sequence would fail to account for the regularity in length of line. All intermediate proofs of the historical truth of the theory are lacking.<sup>3</sup> It is accepted, however, by Schipper<sup>4</sup> and, in a somewhat simplified form, by Bartsch.<sup>5</sup>

The second theory endeavors to account for the whole

<sup>1</sup> *Über die Lais, &c.*, pp. 19, 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Über die Lais, &c.*, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1889, p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, Paul's *Grundriss*, VII, pt. 2, 354 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Vorträge*, p. 355.



unit, a a b, making any refrain-nature that the b-line may occasionally show incidental, not significant. Its advocates find the source of the unit in a long line broken up with sectional rhyme, or with one of its parts repeated to form a longer couplet. To prove it they must go to the Latin, where the stanza first appears. The first to advance this theory, or indeed any theory on the subject, was Guest.<sup>1</sup> He does not speak with great emphasis, nor develop his idea very fully, being chiefly concerned with English metres; and the later investigators have usually ignored his treatment of the subject.<sup>2</sup> He points out that from the sixth to the fourteenth century, the iambic and the trochaic long line of fifteen syllables was common throughout Europe.<sup>3</sup> This is the line we have imitated in English in the Ormulum :

Nu, brotherr Walterr, brotherr min after the flæshess kinde.

It is from these long lines that he derives the tail rhyme strophe. Of the form a a b c c b, he remarks:<sup>4</sup> "It is formed

4 4 7 4 4 7

from the rhyming couplet of the imperfect trochaic tetrameter by introducing a sectional rhyme into each verse."

Again, "Another kind of *rime couée* is made by applying sectional rhyme to the imperfect iambic tetrameter."<sup>5</sup> "There is a species of tail-stave formed by a duplication of the first section,"<sup>6</sup> which accounts for the type a a b c c b. Here we

8 8 7 8 8 7

have the essentials of the theory, developed more fully later by Jeanroy and by Meyer, apparently without knowledge of Guest's work.

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Rhythms*, London, 1838.

<sup>2</sup> Wolf briefly dissents from his theory, *Über die Lais*, &c., p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *English Rhythms*, II, 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> *English Rhythms*, II, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, p. 307.



Jeanroy<sup>1</sup> opposes Wolf's theory chiefly because it does not explain forms where the b-line is longer than the couplet line, which he, having in mind specially French poetry, believes to be the earliest form. It is therefore the one which he specially wishes to account for. He is not satisfied with Suchier's explanation<sup>2</sup> that the stanza is derived from the Latin hexameter for two reasons. First, hexameters were academic exercises without influence on the people; and second, the first forms of *rime couée* are far from having such regularity as this would give. The first reason assumes the popular origin of the stanza, while the second applies only to the limited form of it, a form, however, which if not the earliest, is certainly early, and should find explanation in any adequate theory. Origin in the hexameter line, however, does not seem to explain conditions of movement and length in all the most common types.

Jeanroy's own theory, like Guest's, is that the *rime couée* comes from the dismemberment of a long line, the trochaic tetrameter. This, born perhaps among the people, had never ceased to live there, and had given birth to several "*vers romans*." This origin he believes to account exactly for the number of syllables in each verse and for their arrangement in the strophe.<sup>3</sup>

This fifteen-syllable verse always had a caesura, usually after the eighth syllable, which broke it into two members, as,

Apparebit repentina / dies magna Domini.

If sectional rhyme is introduced into the first member we

<sup>1</sup> In *Les Origines*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Reimpredigt*, xlix f., Stengel has much the same theory. Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Origines*, &c., pp. 368 f.



have at once the form  $aabaab$ , which is just the type  
 $\quad\quad\quad 4\ 4\ 7\ 4\ 4\ 7$   
 Jeanroy is seeking to explain. In illustration he gives the following from the tenth century, where we have lines with and without sectional rhyme: <sup>1</sup>

Num quis promāt summae pacis quanta sit laetitia,  
 ubi vivis, margaritis, surgunt aedificia  
 anno celsa, meant tecta, radiunt trichinia.

For the longer form,  $abccbb$ , he seems to accept Gautier's  
 $\quad\quad\quad 8\ 8\ 7\ 8\ 8\ 7$   
 theory <sup>2</sup> that it is formed from the  $abab$  stanza—itsself from the trochaic tetrameter—by doubling the a-line. Having thus explained the unit, Jeanroy examines the whole strophe, usually of six lines. As the original fifteen-syllable lines were frequently in *laisses monorimes*, it would seem as if we should have the form  $abccbddbeeb$ , &c., which, in fact, does sometimes occur. The long couplet was, however, no less ancient nor less frequent. <sup>3</sup>

This theory, that the unit of the *rime couée* results from the breaking of a long line, finds several supporters. Stengel says that it may be considered at first a one-rhyme verse, taking into account a long line. <sup>4</sup> Schipper, <sup>5</sup> without reference to this metre, remarks that the origin of four-accent verse is the halving of an eight-accent line. Meyer, in the latest treatment of the verse, solely in reference to Latin forms, works out the theory more completely than Jeanroy, but adds nothing essential to it. His study is based on the history of Latin versification, while Jeanroy has the French chiefly in view, and Guest, the English. He establishes more fully the fact that the favorite trochaic fifteen-syllable

<sup>1</sup> *Les Origines*, &c., p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Ec. Ch.*

<sup>3</sup> *Les Origines*, &c., pp. 373 f.

<sup>4</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *Englische Metrik*, p. 208.



verse in Latin often fell into two half lines, and that in the oldest poetry the half-line was often sub-divided.<sup>1</sup>

To test the reasonableness of the explanation, let us take a special instance for each form. The best-known Latin example of the type aabccb is the *Stabat Mater*. If, as

8 8 7 8 8 7

the sense allows, we leave out the second line of each couplet, it gives us two trochaic fifteen-syllable lines :

Stabat mater dolorosa dum pendebat filius.  
Cujus animam gementem, pertransivit gladius

Now double the first metrical half of each line, with rhyme :

Stabat mater dolorosa  
juxta crucem lacrimosa  
dum pendebat filius ;  
cujus animam gementem  
contristatam et dolentem  
pertransivit gladius.<sup>2</sup>

We have the normal *versus tripartiti caudati*, with b-lines which are certainly far from being refrains.

The form aabccb is not so common, by any means, in Latin poetry, but it occurs at least as early as the tenth century. We have only to write it in two lines—as we frequently find it written—to see at once that it makes a trochaic tetrameter couplet. Here is a stanza used six times as a refrain in a poem of the twelfth century, *Chant du Croisé* :<sup>3</sup>

Lignum crucis, signum ducis, sequitur exercitus  
Quod non cessit, sed praecessit in vi Sancti Spiritus.

The theory is supported by the fact that the melody

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, 1905, p. 204. Manitius bears testimony to the same facts, without regard to this metre, *Geschichte der christ.-lat. Poesie*, Stuttgart, 1891, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, 1854, II, No. 446.

<sup>3</sup> du Ménil, *Poésies populaires*, Paris, 1843, p. 408.



applied to the first member of the strophe is exactly repeated for the second,<sup>1</sup> and also by the manner of writing it in some MSS. The following seems to have been written by an Anglo-Norman scribe:<sup>2</sup>

Du chastel d'amours vous demer	}	D'amer lealment.
Dunt est li primer fundement		
Or me nomer le mestre moeurs	}	Celer sagement.
Qi plus li fet fort et seürs		

An examination of old poems in trochaic tetrameter also makes the theory seem probable, for we find the sectional rhyme appearing irregularly, apparently whenever the poet could accomplish it.<sup>3</sup> That we frequently find three a-lines, and sometimes four or even six, supports the idea that the first half of the line could be doubled.

This theory then seems reasonable and adequate for the two most common types, from which there are many variations even in Latin. The lines are sometimes all of the same length, of eight, seven or six syllables, and we have a few very eccentric forms. It is not necessary to trace these back to special Latin lines, though, in some cases perhaps, it might be done. It was not long before the rhyme-arrangement came to be felt as the essential point in the stanza, and not the length of the line. When each line was regarded as distinct, poets tried to equalize them, having lost the notion of the original, as we have in common metre (a b a b) which

8 7 8 7

is also divided tetrameter.<sup>4</sup> In many cases the effect of the original form is kept, while others seem to be merely metrical experiments. The forms for which this theory exactly accounts are by far the most numerous.

<sup>1</sup> Jeanroy, *Les Origines, &c.*, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, XIII, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> See du Méril, *Poésies populaires*, p. 131. A poem ascribed to S. Augustine, also Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Leipsic, 1855, I, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Jeanroy, *Les Origines, &c.*, pp. 374 f.



## III.

## THE STANZA IN LATIN POETRY.

It is not necessary here to trace the origin of syllable-counting and rhyme as essentials of verse-form. It is quite evident, when we come to mediæval Latin verse, that the classic system of measurement by vowel-quantity has given way to modern methods. As early as the fourth century, Commodian abandoned the properly constructed hexameter, regulating his verses by word-accent.<sup>1</sup> The lyric poets seem to have begun early to copy the Byzantine writers, who, in turn, took form and contents from Syrian poetry. Semitic verse counted syllables, and used rhyme.<sup>2</sup>

As early as the sixth century we find simple stanza forms, as in Fortunatus, Eugenius, Isidor, Ausonius, and others.<sup>3</sup> In trying to discover just when the *versus tripertiti caudati* begins its career, we are met by the difficulty of knowing the exact dates of Latin hymns. It is safer to depend upon the dates of the manuscripts, yet many of these are as late as the fifteenth century, while many of the poems they contain must be much earlier. The earliest specimen I find is *De contemptu Mundi* of the tenth century, if it is correctly ascribed to Theodatus<sup>4</sup> (a a b a a b):

4 4 7 4 4 7

Pauper amabilis et venerabilis est benedictus,  
Dives inutilis insatiabilis est maledictus.

There seem to be few poems remaining, however, in this form, which we can confidently put so early. The hymns

<sup>1</sup> Manitius, *Geschichte der christ.-lat. Poesie*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *Abhandlungen*, I, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Cursus*, LXXXVIII, col. 81, 305, 306; LXXXVII, 368; LXXXIII, 1255; XIX, 854.

<sup>4</sup> Guest, *English Rhythms*, II, 289.



of the Abbot Morisac<sup>1</sup> have no rhyme, and are not based upon syllable-counting. If the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in *versus caudati* is rightfully attributed to King Robert of France († 1031), it must belong early in the eleventh century. Its form is very near that of the normal tail-rhyme strophe:<sup>2</sup>

Veni, Sancte Spiritus  
et emitte cœlitus  
    lucis tuæ radium.  
Veni, pater pauperum,  
Veni, dator munerum  
    Veni, lumen cordium.

The metre is aabccb, the b-rhyme the same throughout the  
7 7 7 7 7 7  
 thirty lines. In a manuscript of 1084 is found a *Prosa sur S. Nicolas*, in irregular tail-rhyme strophe.<sup>3</sup> Some stanzas aabccb are found in two plays contained in eleventh  
4 4 7 4 4 7  
 century manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

The twelfth century furnishes more examples, five hymns to saints where the measure prevails in whole or in part,<sup>5</sup> part of *De vita Christi*, and all of *De nativitate domini*.<sup>6</sup> Gröber mentions an anonymous poem celebrating the physical beauty of Mary.<sup>7</sup> The stanza forms part of a poem in honor of Thomas Becket, written probably soon after his death (1170).<sup>8</sup> In another manuscript of the twelfth century we find a poem of eight and a half stanzas in praise of the

<sup>1</sup> Drèves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi*, Leipzig, 1886, vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Its earliest written form seems to be in a MS. of the 13th century. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, I, No. 186.

<sup>3</sup> du Méril, *Poésies populaires*, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Consemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1860, pp. 10, 16-20.

<sup>5</sup> Mone, III, 985, 987, 1208.

<sup>6</sup> Mone, I, 28, 40.

<sup>7</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 335.

<sup>8</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 345.



city of Lübeck.<sup>1</sup> Before 1179, was written a poem of twenty-five stanzas, a prayer of the dying for mercy.<sup>2</sup> In the works of Hilarius<sup>3</sup> the *Epistle to Superba* employs a form of this stanza (a a b c c b), and it occurs occasionally in three plays

with lines varying in length from ten syllables to four. We have also four religious lyrics,<sup>4</sup> and a satire, *De ruina Romæ* of one hundred and eighty-three lines, which probably belongs in this century.<sup>5</sup> If the long series of poems called *Oratio*

*Hildeberte* is correctly ascribed, it, too, is of the twelfth century, as Hildebert died in 1134.<sup>6</sup> It has been attributed also to S. Thomas Aquinas and to Anselm. In the form a a b c c b and a a b c c b, the stanza is used in four plays,

*Daniel, Le Juif Voli, Les saintes femmes au Tombeau, and La Résurrection de Lazare* (a a b a a b)<sup>7</sup>; evidently the form was already well-established.

In all collections of Latin verse we find numerous examples for the thirteenth century. In one manuscript are three Christmas songs (a a b c c b + a a b c c b) and in another a *Débat de l'Eau et du Vin*.<sup>8</sup> To about the middle of the century seems to belong a song of 4 stanzas (a a b c c b + d d d d) in honor of Bishop Bruno of Olmütz.<sup>9</sup> A nine-

<sup>1</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 349. See also Müldener, *Walter von Chatillon*, 1859, No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Hilarii Verus et Ludi*, ed. Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1838, pp. 11, 26, 28, 31 f., 36, 39, 52, 58 f.

<sup>4</sup> Morel, *Latéinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Einsiedeln, 1868, pp. 59, 408.

<sup>5</sup> Wright, *Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, p. 217.

<sup>6</sup> Roth, *Latéinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Augsburg, 1887, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Guinemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 71 f., 80, 117 f., 189.

<sup>8</sup> du Méril, *Poésies inédites*, Paris, 1854, pp. 295, 297, 303.

<sup>9</sup> Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, 23, 90: "Written not long after 1245 by Masner."



line stanza (a a b a a b a a b) forms part of a *Disputation between Mary and the Cross* by Philippe de Grève.<sup>1</sup> In the *Cärmina Burana* there are eight songs in variations of this metre,<sup>2</sup> besides one I have put earlier. Probably some of the Bohemian songs edited by Drèves<sup>3</sup> belong here, though no manuscript seems earlier than the fourteenth century. In Mone's large collection there are two hymns in praise of God, eleven to the Virgin and eleven to saints.<sup>4</sup> Three poems to dignitaries belong here also, one in honor of King Philip Augustus († 1223), one to Chancellor Hugh<sup>5</sup> and one to Simon de Montfort, after the battle of Evesham (1265) where the *versus tripertiti caudati* forms part of the stanza.<sup>6</sup>

In the fourteenth century we find, as we should expect, many specimens of this metre. In Mone alone there are seven songs in praise of God,<sup>7</sup> nineteen to the Virgin,<sup>8</sup> and thirty-two in honor of saints.<sup>9</sup> To this number Morel<sup>10</sup> adds nine, Roth<sup>11</sup> five, and Drèves<sup>12</sup> forty-two, nine of which are by Prior Konrat von Gaming and twenty-eight by Albert von Prag. There are political poems, a song for those

<sup>1</sup> Peiper in *Arch. für Litt.-gesch.*, VII, 418.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Schmeller, Breslau, 1894, from a 13th century MS. There is also part of a short German poem in same measure, pp. 1, 5, 16, 56, 71, 187, 207, 123, 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. I.

<sup>4</sup> Mone, vols. I, II, III.

<sup>5</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, pp. 339, 345.

<sup>6</sup> Wright, *Political Songs of Eng.*, Edinburgh, 1884.

<sup>7</sup> *Lateinische Hymnen*, vol. I.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, vol. II.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, vol. III.

<sup>10</sup> Morel, *Lateinische Hymnen*.

<sup>11</sup> Roth, *Lateinische Hymnen*.

<sup>12</sup> Drèves, *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. III.



# ADOLPH STRONG.

... and Crecy, and a Lament for the  
... (1313).<sup>1</sup> Here, too, belongs  
... by Bernard de Clairvaux.  
... of Saint Thomas of Lancaster, all  
... twelve-line stanza, a a b a a b a b

... specimens of the *versus tripertiti cau-*  
... century, nor have I included  
... The number of such poems in  
... manuscripts is very large. In order to  
... comparative number in each century, I  
... tabular form. Undoubtedly more  
... each period, but the proportion would  
... about the same.

Century.	Number of Examples.
Twelfth .....	1
Thirteenth.....	4
Fourteenth.....	25
Fifteenth.....	41
Sixteenth.....	118

... imperfect enumeration, poems have been included  
... is used for but a part of the whole, and  
... the length of line departs from the normal.  
... is to examine the poems in order to determine  
... normal or prevailing type of the *versus caudati*.  
... pay no attention to the date of the poems, except  
... manuscripts later than the fourteenth century,  
... observation leads me to believe that the proportion  
... the same in each period. I have examined two  
... and thirty-five poems with the following result:—

<sup>1</sup> *Chaucer's Grounds*, 364, 366, 377.  
<sup>2</sup> *English Political Songs*, 1884, vol. iv, p. 53.



	Type.	Examples.
aabccb or aabaab	887887.....	128
	777777.....	20
	776776.....	17
	447447.....	15
	888888.....	7
	774774.....	3
	886886.....	2
	666666.....	2
	667667.....	2
	1010410104.....	2
	885885.....	1
	665665.....	1
	337337.....	1
	778778.....	1
		202
aaabcccb or aaabaaab	Type.	Examples.
	88878887.....	22
	10101041010104.....	2
	10101071010107.....	3
	66686668.....	1
	77777777.....	1
	77767776.....	1
	44434443.....	1
		31
	8888788887.....	1
	8888887888887.....	1
		33

A glance at the table makes plain at once what is the prevailing or normal type (aabccb).<sup>1</sup> When the unit is aab or aab, the effect of the measure is practically the same. It seems reasonable to exclude all forms of which there are not more than three specimens, as they are probably mere experiments, often occurring in a single stanza of a single

<sup>1</sup>It may be well, however, to remember Jeanroy's caution: "Nous sommes loin de posséder toutes les pièces composées, et s'est peut être au hasard qu'est due la prédominance de telle ou telle forme," *Les Origines*, p. 364. The remark applies in all three of the literatures considered.



poem. This limits the forms to five in the *aab* group and one in the *aaab* group.

Having discussed the prevalence and varying types of the *versus tripertiti caudati*, we may consider the subjects for which it was used. It does not appear at all in narrative poetry, either religious or secular.<sup>1</sup> It plays no important part in the drama, although we find a little of it in eight plays.<sup>2</sup> In one short play the stanza *aabcccb* is  
10 10 4 10 10 4
employed throughout. In none of these, however, is the verse of the normal type.

It is quite clear that it is from the beginning regarded as a lyric measure, even if we should restrict the use of the word lyric to poems meant for singing. It is the metre of religious poetry intended to be used in public worship. A study of Mone's collection of Latin hymns makes this evident. Seventy of the *Marienlieder*, ninety-seven of the *Heiligenlieder*, and a number of the songs to the praise of God, use some form of this metre in whole or in part. That in all forms it was meant for singing is quite certain, as many of the poems are accompanied in the manuscript by the music. They are given various names; *sequentia* is the most common. This is applied to songs entirely in the normal tail-rhyme strophe, but more frequently to a more complicated scheme; for instance, the following, which is a common combination, though the order of parts may vary:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 9 \text{ } aabcccb + 1 \text{ } aaabcccb + 4 \text{ } abab^3 \\
 \begin{array}{cccccc} 8 & 8 & 7 & 8 & 8 & 7 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{cccccc} 8 & 8 & 8 & 7 & 8 & 8 & 8 & 7 \end{array} \\
 \text{or} \\
 10 \text{ } aabcccb + 2 \text{ } aaabcccb + 1 \text{ } aaaabccccb^4 \\
 \begin{array}{cc} 8 & 7 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{cc} 8 & 7 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{cc} 8 & 7 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

<sup>1</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, 2-1, pp. 392-415.

<sup>2</sup> Conssemaker, *Dramas liturgiques*, pp. 10, 16 ff., 71 f., 80, 117 f., 189; *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*, pp. 26-32, 34-36, 52-59.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologica*, Leipzig, 1855, II, 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 69; *Sequentia Paschalis*.



Sometimes the form is even more elaborate, but almost all of the poems have their accompanying melody.<sup>1</sup> Another name for poems often composed of *versus tripertiti caudati* is *prosa*. du Méril mentions an ancient one, sung at the mass the day of the feast of Saint Loup, and still to be found in the *Missale bajocense* of 1584.<sup>2</sup> The most famous of all the religious songs is the Stabat Mater,<sup>3</sup> written in part at least before 1216. The ten stanzas, one of which I have already quoted, are of the normal type. It was very popular—at least fifteen manuscripts of it remain—and very likely it did much to bring the stanza into repute.<sup>4</sup> If there remain any love-poems in Latin, I have found none in this measure. Except for a few political and satirical poems, already mentioned, all specimens are religious lyrics.

It seems difficult, if not impossible, to determine in what country the *versus tripertiti caudati* most flourished. The most extensive collections are made largely from German manuscripts, but this does not prove German authorship. Mone, as has been said, considers many of his hymns the work of French authors. A few come from Italian manuscripts, more from French, a very few from English. The Cambridge manuscript contains none, though the few specimens of elegiac verse, given by Gröber, are English.<sup>5</sup> It is in an English manuscript of the fourteenth century that we find interesting definitions of the *rithmi caudati dissoni*

<sup>1</sup> Mone considers such studied forms a sign of French authorship (see notes on the poems), while Morel remarks of a similar form that it is probably a copy of a German *Leich*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> du Méril, *Poésies inédites*, p. 112, note.

<sup>3</sup> Mone, II, 446.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer calls this stanza "the famous Stabat-Mater Strophe."—*Abhandlungen*, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> *Grundriss*, p. 345.



(aabcbb) and the *rithmi caudati consoni* (aabaab) illustrated by stanzas in the normal type.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

##### THE STANZA IN FRENCH POETRY.

It is easier to make a chronological survey of a given form in French than in English literature, because the dates, as well as the authorship, seem much better established. The earliest specimen of the *rime couée* that I find is quoted by Dinaux from a MS. of the twelfth century :<sup>2</sup>

Gaite de la tor  
Gardez entor  
    Les murs, si Deus vos voie,  
Car sont a séjor  
Dame et seignor  
    Et lairron vont en proie,

which sounds as if it were meant to sing. To the beginning of the same century belong two rhymed sermons, one of one hundred and twenty-nine stanzas, the other of one hundred and twenty-two (aabcbb); to the last half, *De Marcoul et de Salemon* (aabaab, the *b* a refrain), the *Life of Saint Thomas*<sup>3</sup> (aabaab), three translations of Cato's Distichs and a translation of the Psalms (aabcbb), together with one specimen in octosyllabic lines. There are also three specimens of the *douzaine*,<sup>4</sup> making thirteen examples in all.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Reliquae Antiquae*, London, 1845, I, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Dinaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs et ménestrels*, Paris, 1837, II, 42.

<sup>3</sup> Gröber, p. 646, assigns this to the beginning of the 13th century; Nætebus (p. 99) to the end of the 12th.

<sup>4</sup> Here, also, Nætebus, p. 197, and Gröber, p. 697, differ. Rohnström, editing Bodel, agrees with Gröber, giving Hunsel as authority.



The thirteenth century gives altogether between ninety and one hundred poems where this arrangement of rhyme exists in whole or in part. Among them we have an unfinished life of S. Magdalen (a a b c c b), the collections

of proverbs, and at least twenty-two short poems. Jeanroy's examples belong in this century. To this century also Nætebus assigns positively twenty-six examples of the *douzaine*, while thirteen more, to judge from the date of the manuscripts in which they appear, cannot be later.

In the fourteenth century we find twenty-two specimens of the *douzaine*, and about thirty other poems in varying forms, and here we may close the survey. If we arrange results in tabular form, they are as follows :

<i>Century.</i>	<i>No. of Specimens.</i>
<b>Twelfth.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Thirteenth.....</b>	<b>90 to 100</b>
<b>Fourteenth.....</b>	<b>52</b>

The numbers are probably not exact, but cannot be very far wrong.

The variations made by differing use of the unit *aab* are, in French as in Latin, very numerous. They may result from using lines of different length, or from different arrangement of lines in a stanza in regard to length and number of rhymes. Thus we find in actual examples lines varying in length from four syllables to twelve.<sup>1</sup> By far the most common, however, are lines eight or six syllables long. There are in French no very eccentric combinations, except perhaps here and there when the measure forms a small part of some complicated poem. As a rule, the b-line

<sup>1</sup> *Song of Annunciation* by Bozon, early 14th century (a a b a a b); Nætebus, <sup>4</sup>  
*Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 97.  
*Ave Maria* by de Renie, 1270–1280; *Ib.*, p. 132.



is of the same length as the couplet. Jeanroy's<sup>1</sup> remark, that in the oldest examples the b-line is usually longer than the two which precede, applies in general only to the poems of which he writes.

In the twelve-line stanza, as well as in the six-line, there are, as a general rule, but two rhymes, and I have found no specimen where there are more than three. Even within these bounds we find in the list given by Nætebus<sup>2</sup> nineteen different forms of the strophe built up in this unit.

We have good data for determining how far this arrangement of rhyme was prevalent in early French literature in the careful analysis made by Nætebus of non-lyric strophe forms in old French. He has examined three hundred and thirty-eight poems,<sup>3</sup> which he groups under eighty-four distinct strophe forms. Of fifty-nine of these there are only from one to three specimens. Only seven have as many representatives as ten or more. The most common form of all seems to be the four-line, one-rhymed stanza (aaaa) with twelve syllables in a line, represented by one hundred and seven specimens.<sup>4</sup> Next in popularity to this comes a twelve-line stanza—the *douzaine*—built up on one unit with octosyllabic lines (aabaabbbabba). Of this Nætebus gives sixty-four specimens. The similar six-line stanza (aabaab)<sub>8</sub> comes next with twenty specimens and the same form with three rhymes to the stanza has twelve specimens, and with six syllables to a line, ten. These forms, then, of our metre rank next to the most common

<sup>1</sup> Jeanroy, *Lais et descorts français du XIII<sup>me</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1901, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Nætebus, *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that some of these may be different versions of the same poem.

<sup>4</sup> This was frequently used for the *dit*. It seems to have been first used by Jehan Bodel and Gautier; v. Coicy, Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, pp. 819 f.



form. Of the other sixteen types there are from one to four specimens.

This calculation is made from what Nætebus calls the non-lyric strophes, but it is somewhat difficult to draw a hard and fast line between those and the lyric. Nætebus,<sup>1</sup> following Tobler,<sup>2</sup> defines the non-lyric as those in which lines, corresponding in their place in the strophe, with similarity of metre, show different kinds of rhyme.<sup>3</sup> They are meant for speaking, not singing. No one has made such an analysis for lyric forms as Nætebus for the non-lyric, therefore figures cannot so easily be had, but my own examination leads me to believe that the use of this rhyme-arrangement was far less frequent in songs. In Mätzner's collection of old French songs,<sup>4</sup> by far the greater number are in alternate rhyme and not one is in *rime couée*. This is to be found, however, in what appear to be stanzas meant for singing, for example, in "Arras ki ja fus," by an Artesian trouvère of uncertain date, where the stanza is formed by two groups of six lines each (a a b a a b c c b c c b).<sup>5</sup> It occurs

5 5 3 5 5 3 6

also in a number of so-called *lais*, alone or in combination.<sup>6</sup> Here, as a rule, the lines are very short, from two to six syllables, and the b-line frequently longer than the couplet. Usually the strophe forms only part of the poem, and sometimes the arrangement is very peculiar, as the following in an unnamed *lai*, a a b a a b c c b c c b.<sup>7</sup> We can feel pretty sure that

4 3 6 4 3 6 4 3 6 4 3 6

these *lais* were meant to sing; indeed, after one title, *Lai á la*

<sup>1</sup> P. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The history of the Latin *versus tripartiti caudati* seems to prove that Nætebus is wrong in excluding this from lyric measures.

<sup>4</sup> Mätzner, *Altfranzösischen Lieder*, Berlin, 1853.

<sup>5</sup> Diniaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs et ménestrels*, Paris, 1837, III, 17.

<sup>6</sup> See Jeanroy, *Lais et descorts*, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Jeanroy, p. 64.



*Vierge*, is added, "sur le Chant d'Aëlis," the name of another *lai*.<sup>1</sup> Jeanroy gives eight such songs where this arrangement prevails. It is also sometimes a small part of an elaborate poem, such as one ascribed to Gilles Le Venier of the thirteenth century,<sup>2</sup> where of ten stanzas no two are alike in structure. The one in question is of twelve lines (aabaabaabaab). In *pastourelles* we sometimes find this

4 5 10 4 5 10

arrangement of rhyme with very short lines.

Gröber<sup>3</sup> names three religious songs in the regular *rime couée* (aabcbb), a measure which Nætebus includes in his

8 8 6 8 8 6

non-lyric metres, although he remarks of one of these, *Song on the Five Joys of Mary*, "Since the next to the last stanza begins: *Pur celes joies qe je vers chaunt*, one might believe that it had to do with a song, but the sixth and seventh strophes differ from the others in kind of rhyme."<sup>4</sup> Gröber gives also a Christmas and Drinking Song (aabcbb with

8 8 4 8 8 4

couplet refrain).<sup>5</sup>

The form appears occasionally in political songs, sometimes alone, sometimes combined with other strophes. Of three Anglo-Norman specimens given by Wright<sup>6</sup> only one seems adapted for singing. A peculiar arrangement is found in the *Lament of Simon de Montfort* (aabcbbddefeggh  
4 4 6  
iih) where the stanza is written in six long lines, the last two a refrain.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 159. It contains sixty-one lines and has two stanzas aabaab  
4 4 5  
cbbccb. It is Anglo-Norman and is accompanied in the MS. by a Latin  
3 3 5  
text of exactly the same arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundriss*, 2-1, p. 652.

<sup>4</sup> Nætebus, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *Grundriss*, 2-1, p. 947.

<sup>6</sup> Wright, *The Political Songs of England*, ed. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1884, 4 v., I, 53, 68; II, 50.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, II, p. 50.



The use of this arrangement of rhyme in other kinds of poetry can be briefly treated. The only notable instance which appears in narrative is a *Life of Saint Thomas*, Anglo-French, written by Benoit of Saint Albans, early in the thirteenth century, after a Latin original.<sup>1</sup> Gröber mentions also the fragment of a Magdalen-legend of the same measure, and a *Life of Placidus* of twelve-strophes, in Anglo-French, but like an English version. We find, also, in the *Chronicle* of Pers de Langtoft (cir. 1307), which is chiefly in Alexandrine single-rhymed laisses, twenty-three stanzas aabccb, the lines varying in length from four to eight syllables giving seven variations. The two most used are a four-syllable line in ten stanzas, and an eight-syllable line in six stanzas.<sup>2</sup> Beyond these somewhat insignificant examples, there is no trace of this rhyme arrangement in narrative poems, which use exclusively the twelve, ten, or eight-syllable line, rhyming in the laisse or in couplets.<sup>3</sup> In the drama, also, examples of the use of this strophe are so few as to have no significance. I find but three cases<sup>4</sup> which approach the normal type. In *Li jus de Saint Nicolas*, by Jean Bodel, there are seventy-three stanzas, aabccb, and thirteen divided between two other measures (aaaa, abab<sup>8</sup>ccdd). In *Li jus Adam ou de la feüllée*, by Adam de la Halle, out of thirty-five stanzas thirty-two are aabccb.<sup>5</sup> *Le Miracle de Theophile* by Rutebeuf has nine stanzas aabaabbbabba, while sixteen are in one-rhymed qua-<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, 2-1, p. 646. It consists of two hundred and forty strophes (aabaab).  
8 8 4 8 8 4

<sup>2</sup> Nætebus, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Very rarely some six syllable lines are introduced among those of ten syllables, as in *Jourdain de Blaive*.—Gröber, *Grundriss*, 2-1, 571.

<sup>4</sup> Nætebus, pp. 177 f.

<sup>5</sup> The other three are aaaa.  
12



trains. It is worth noting that each of these plays is by a writer who has proved in his other work his fondness for this rhyme arrangement.

The subjects treated in verse of this description in French literature, 1100–1400, are practically limited to those of a very serious nature, chiefly religious. This is true of all the forms we have, except the irregular ones in the *lais* and *pastourelles*, which are really out of the count, because they form so small a part of the poem in which they appear. Of the one hundred and twenty-nine specimens given by Nætebus, so far as one can judge from titles, sixty-eight are religious, sixty very serious in tone, and only one on love.<sup>1</sup> Guy's comment on the *douzaine*, "On l'a adopté pour les congés, les dits d'amour, les vers de la Mort, les complaints, bref, pour les circonstances où la poésie s'élève et s'applique à des choses graves,"<sup>2</sup> can be extended to other applications of this form of stanzas. Even when the title sounds secular, the poem usually proves to be religious, as in *La Plainte d'Amour*,<sup>3</sup> a dialogue between Love and a good man, embodying the Franciscan ideas on the love of Jesus.

Such is the history in French poetry of the form *aab aab* or *aabccb*. In order, however, that a comparison of it with the tail-rhyme strophe of England should be of any value, it is necessary to exclude many forms which are not properly *rime couée*. One of these, the so-called *douzaine*, merits a word because it is by far the most common applica-

<sup>1</sup> *De l'amant hardi et de l'amant creneteus* by Jean de Condé (1300–1340) *aabccb*. Nætebus. See Dinaux, 4, 241, where the first stanza, a description of spring, is given alone. One cannot judge the nature of the poem.

<sup>2</sup> Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres littéraires du trouvère Adam de la Hale*, Paris, 1898, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Rom.*, xi, 292. The Camb. ms. (Gg. 1, 1) has for title, *Romanes de amour*.



tion of the general form. It is a twelve-line stanza of octosyllabic lines, with but two rhymes to a stanza, arranged aabaabbbabba. It is sometimes called the Hélinand-strophe, because *Les Vers de la Mort* (1175–1190) by Hélinand is one of the first—if not the first—specimen we have. As I have said, we have, according to Nætebus, sixty-four extant specimens of it, ceasing with the fourteenth century. Its prevalence may be explained by the popularity of the three earliest specimens. *Les Vers de la Mort* remains in twenty-six MSS., *Li Roman de Carité* in thirty-one, and *Le Miserere* in thirty-six. The only example of the strophe on English ground is *Le Debat de la Vierge et de la Croix* in the Cheltenham MS. of the first half of the fourteenth century,<sup>1</sup> which Meyer judges from the language to be a continental French poem.<sup>2</sup> The form was very popular for work of a serious character. Once, in six syllable lines, it appears in a *pastourelle*, but this is by Bodel, who is fond of the measure. It seems to have had no influence whatever on English metres.<sup>3</sup>

Strictly speaking, the term *rime couée*, used as synonymous with the English tail-rhyme strophe, must be limited to a stanza where the unit aab has the a-line of from nine to six syllables—four-accent or three-accent lines in English—and where the b-line is shorter by one or two syllables. With these limitations we find it surprisingly rare in old French poetry, where it is common to have the lines the same length. Nætebus gives six specimens of the arrangement where the couplet has eight syllables and the b-line four, to which may be added one from *Rom.*

<sup>1</sup> Nætebus, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, XIII, 521.

<sup>3</sup> It is briefly discussed by Raynaud, *Rom.*, IX, 231, but Nætebus more than doubles his list.



xiii : 53. There is but one of the form  $aabaab^1$  and one  
 $abccb.^2$   
 $ssssss$

Table (compiled from Nætebus).

No. of poems examined.....	338
“ “ strophe-forms.....	84
“ with but 1-3 specimens.....	59
“ “ from 4-10 specimens.....	18
“ “ at least 10 specimens.....	7
Most common form.....	107 (aaaa)

RIME COUÉE.

Type.	No. of Specimens.
$aabccbbbabba$ ( <i>dousaine</i> ).....	164
$8$ $aabaab$ .....	20
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} aabccb..... \\ ssssss \end{array} \right.$	12
$aabccb$ .....	10
$ssssss$ $aabaab$ .....	7
$ss4ccb$ $aabaab$ .....	2
$ccb$ $ssssss$	} =tail-rhyme strophe.

V.

THE STANZA IN ENGLISH POETRY.

It is in English poetry that the tail-rhyme strophe assumes the greatest importance, and has perhaps the most interesting history, as it has much wider application. Chaucer's parody of the measure in *Sir Thopas* is good evidence of its popularity, for there would be no point in his use of it there, had it not been so familiar as instantly to recall the sort of thing parodied.

A chronological survey is not so satisfactory as in either French or Latin poetry, for it is even more difficult to assign dates to the poems. In many cases the age of the

<sup>1</sup> *Gedicht auf die fünf Freuden Marias* from an Eng. ms., 1307-1327. Nætebus, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *The Song of the Barons*, 1263 ; Wright, *Political Songs*, t. 68.



manuscript is quite uncertain, and the language is too imperfectly written to be a safe guide. The earliest specimens of the stanza seem to date toward the end of the thirteenth century; there are many in the fourteenth and a few in the fifteenth :

<i>Century.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>No. of Romances.</i>
Thirteenth.....	4	1
Fourteenth.....	36	26
Fifteenth.....	6	6

It seems a small list, but it is far from insignificant when compared with other forms, and when the length and importance of many of the poems are considered. Besides, we have undoubtedly lost many others. The following table will illustrate its comparative prevalence in one department :

Whole number of extant romances.....	65-70
“ in tail-rhyme strophe.....	30 + 2 (in part)
“ “ octosyllabic couplet. ....	28
“ “ alliterative verse.....	5-10

The proportion is probably not so large in minor poems. The varying forms of the tail-rhyme strophe I will present in a table. In a few cases, among minor poems, two types may occur in the same poem, when each is counted. Sometimes the strophe is but part of a more elaborate stanza.

	<i>Type.</i>	<i>Examples in Romance. Minor Poems.</i>	
12 ll. stanza, a a b c c b d d b e e b	(4 4 3 4 4 3 <sup>1</sup> ) × 2. ....	24	12
	(3 3 3 3 3 3 ) × 2. ....	2	1
6 ll. stanza, a a b c c b	4 4 3 4 4 3.....	4	23
	3 3 3 3 3 3.....	—	8
	4 4 2 4 4 2.....	1	2
	2 2 2 2 2 2.....	—	1
	4 4 4 4 4 4.....	—	1
	3 3 1 3 3 1.....	—	1
10 ll. stanza, a a a b c c c b d d d b e e e b	(4 4 4 3 4 4 4 3) × 2.....	1	2
	(3 3 3 2 3 3 3 2) × 2.....	1	—
8 ll. stanza, a a a b c c c b	4 4 4 3 4 4 4 3.....	—	4

<sup>1</sup>Accents, not syllables.



It will be at once seen that the prevailing type, both in romances and in minor poems, is the same as in Latin (a a b c c b), that is, a couplet of four-accent verses and a  
<sub>8 8 7 8 8 7</sub>  
 b-line of three. The metre is so rough in most of the poems as we have them that it is hard to tell whether variations are accidental or planned.

It is also apparent that the twelve-line stanza, rare in Latin and in French—except the douzaine—is very common in English. It prevails in narrative poems, as the column of romances will show. Of the twelve specimens among minor poems, seven are narrative. But in almost every long poem, where the twelve-line stanza is used, we find also nine-line and six-line stanzas. The latter is of course a normal type, used alone in many poems, but the nine-line is never found alone.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, probably, three lines have dropped out, as the sense sometimes indicates. We may suspect sometimes that the author found it impossible to get a fourth b-rhyme. When he was rich in rhymes, he sometimes went on for more than four groups. In the *Greene Knight*,<sup>2</sup> where the six-line stanza forms about half the poem, we find one place where twelve units in succession have the same b-rhyme, in the *Carle of Carlile*<sup>3</sup> and *Sir Eglamour*<sup>4</sup> five and six groups are united, and so elsewhere.

In all but one possible exception,<sup>5</sup> there is constant departure from the normal rhyming scheme, the rhymes of the four couplets being combined in as many different ways as possible, for instance :

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should except the *Nut-brown Maid*, quoted later.

<sup>2</sup> Madden, *Syr Gawane*, London, 1839, pp. 224 f.

<sup>3</sup> Madden, *Syr Gawane*, London, 1839, pp. 187 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances* (Camden Soc.), London, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Gowghter*, ed. Breul, Oppeln, 1886.



aabccbddbeeb (normal)

aabaabccbccb

aabccbaabdddb

aabccbddbccb

aabaabaabccb

aabaabaabaab, &c., &c.

The effort is evidently to reduce the number of rhymes.

The stanzas are sometimes linked to each other by rhyme, but never regularly nor consistently. It is not uncommon, however, for the b-rhyme of one stanza to become the a-rhyme of the next. The last couplet of a stanza has occasionally the same rhyme as the first couplet or the b-line of the following stanza, but this seems more a matter of chance than of design.

As to sense-connection each stanza is complete in itself, except as the course of the narrative proceeds from one to another. Enjambment is by no means unknown, but it is not common, and does not occur at all in many of the poems. It is infrequent even between the units in the same stanza, which seem to correspond to sentence-structure.<sup>1</sup> In *Syr Perceval*,<sup>2</sup> there is obviously a studied effort to link one stanza with another. Part of the last line of one is used as the beginning of the next, often the identical phrase, sometimes a variant. This occurs one hundred and seven times out of one hundred and forty-three opportunities. It is of course planned for effect, as in the carefully constructed *Pearl*.<sup>3</sup>

Not only was this elaborate stanza popular, but it was also of general utility; its makers, not fastidious, used it for everything. We have seen how common it is in romances.

<sup>1</sup> Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus*, Leipzig, 1890, p. xvii f.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Gollancz, London, 1891.



It is used also in shorter, less dignified tales, like *The Kyng and the Hermyt*, *King Edward and the Shepherd*, *Tale of the Unnatural Daughter*, and others.<sup>1</sup> For the legend it does not seem to have been frequently employed. The best example we have is the *Legend of S. Eustas*,<sup>2</sup> which is plainly the same story as that of *Sir Isumbrace*.<sup>3</sup> Among other poems we have one so-called ballad<sup>4</sup>—a sort of vulgar burlesque—the *Proverbs of Hendyng*,<sup>5</sup> some political songs,<sup>6</sup> some love-lyrics,<sup>6</sup> and a great many religious poems.<sup>6</sup> It also found its way into the drama, and has a somewhat conspicuous place among the elaborate verse-forms there.

To determine what part of England it most flourished in is more difficult and yet important. I cannot feel that I have gone far toward an answer. All sorts of hindrances lie in the way, our ignorance of the original home of many poems, our small knowledge of literary conditions in various parts of England before Chaucer's time, complete obscurity as to the authorship of the romances, and the mystification of scribal alterations. We can hardly do more than guess.

In the thirty-two romances, if anywhere, must lie the clue. Of these, twenty-two seem to belong to the various Midland dialects, six to the northern, and four to the southern.<sup>7</sup> It seems easy to conclude that the Midland was the home of the romance, not quite so easy to assert that the tail-rhyme strophe was more popular there than the couplet. To the Midland, also, belong the majority of the romances

<sup>1</sup> Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, London, 1822.

<sup>2</sup> Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1888, p. 211. If Horstmann is right in dating it cir. 1290, it would seem to have preceded our version of the romance.

<sup>3</sup> *Thornton Romances*, pp. 88–120.

<sup>4</sup> Hartshorne, *Anc. Met. Tales*, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I, p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Böttcher, *Altenglische Dichtungen*, Berlin, 1878.

<sup>7</sup> List of romances, with dates and dialects (ms.), Muriel B. Carr.



in the octosyllabic couplet. It is doubtful whether a close examination of the minor poems would illuminate the subject. So far as I have tested them—by no means thoroughly—the Midland dialect seems to predominate. Yet Lawrence Minot,<sup>1</sup> probably of the north, uses the stanza, and so does William of Shoreham,<sup>2</sup> a Kentish man. It must have been known all over England, but we find none of it in Scottish verse before Dunbar (1460–cir. 1513), who was familiar with English rhythms.

## VI.

LATER HISTORY OF THE STROPHE IN FRENCH  
AND LATIN.

Although the importance of this stanza-form ceases with the fourteenth century, it may be of some interest to trace its history in French and English down to our own time, for its persistency is another proof of its popularity and wide use.

Froissart (1337–1410), who ought perhaps to be counted in the fourteenth century, in his *Virelai of the Mourning Lover*,<sup>3</sup> has two stanzas out of five in *rime couée* (a a b a a b).  
8 8 4 8 8 4

In the fifteenth century, there are two examples by Henri Baude, and one by Guillaume Coquillart.<sup>4</sup> In the sixteenth century, Ronsard (1524–1585) has two odes (a a b c c b) and  
8  
du Bellay (1524–1560), de Magny (died cir. 1560), Passerat (1534–1602), Regnier (1573–1613), each at least one. In the early seventeenth century, De Viaud (1590–1626) uses the stanza.<sup>5</sup> These are all lyric poems in the modern sense

<sup>1</sup> *Poems*, ed. Hall, Oxford, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems*, ed. Wright (Percy Soc., v. 28), London, 1850.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres de Poésies*, publiées par M. Aug. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1871.

<sup>4</sup> Gröber, *Grundriss*, 2-1, pp. 1160, 1162.

<sup>5</sup> All quoted by Saintsbury, *French Lyrics*, London, 1882, pp. 77, 81, 93, 111, 117, 124.



of the term. I find no further trace of the form before Chénier (1762–1794), who employs it in *Charlotte Corday* and *La jeune captive*. In the form  $\overset{a}{12}.\overset{a}{12}.\overset{b}{8}$  or  $\overset{a}{12}.\overset{a}{12}.\overset{b}{6}$  it is a favorite of Victor Hugo's, as he uses it no less than thirteen times. In popular collections it appears frequently, the a-line having usually twelve syllables. In *Le Chien du Louvre*, by Delavigne (1794–1843), I find the nearest approach to the real *rime couée* aabccb, but each of the eleven stanzas is preceded and followed by a single, identical quatrain. It is interesting to find it a favorite measure in revolutionary poems and war-songs, often meant unmistakably for singing.<sup>1</sup> In these we are much nearer as a rule to the regular *rime couée*, the a-line usually of eight syllables and the b-line shorter. The latest specimen I find is *La Petite France* by Michel Saron.<sup>2</sup>

To assure ourselves of the persistence of the tail-rhyme strophe in English verse, we need not go through every by-path of our literature from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, but we can never go far on any without meeting the familiar form.<sup>3</sup> Just when it ceased to be a common form no one can say. It seems probable that Chaucer's parody helped to bring it into disrepute among poets, but it must long afterwards have continued to tickle the ears of groups about the fireside or the ale-house door. Several of the romances in this metre, as the group of Gawain poems in the Percy Folio ms., *Sir Triamour*, and *Torrent of Portugal* seem to belong to the fifteenth century. One rather common

<sup>1</sup> See Vingtrenier, *Chants et chansons des Soldats de France*, Paris, 1902; *Poésies nationales de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1836; *Poésies révolutionnaires et contre-révolutionnaires*, Paris, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> *Almanach des Petits Jeux Floraux de Marseille* for 1884, pp. 44, 89.

<sup>3</sup> The twelve-line stanza, however, does not, so far as I know, occur later than the fifteenth century.



form of the metre is found in the *Nut-brown Maid*—of the same century :

Be it right or wrong, these men among  
On women do complain ;  
Affirming this, how that it is  
A labor spent in vain  
To love then wele, for never a dele  
They love a man again.<sup>1</sup>

This is also the measure of the famous drinking-song in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*,<sup>2</sup> and of one of Wyatt's songs, written about 1520. Archbishop Parker also chooses it for his version of the Psalms,<sup>3</sup> marking the pause after the couplet with a colon. Whether this version was meant for singing or not, I do not know, but at this time it does not seem to be thought specially suitable for singing. Campion, for example, uses it but once, and then in combination with a quatrain of alternate rhyme.<sup>4</sup>

I have found no other specimens in the sixteenth century, but in the seventeenth there are a number of poems where the stanza-form varies somewhat from the normal type. Such are two songs ascribed either to Shakespeare or to Fletcher : "Roses their sharp spines being gone"—where the scheme is aabccb, and the effect very pretty—and

4 4 2 4 4 2

"Orpheus with his lute made trees" (aabccb).<sup>5</sup> Drayton

4 4 4 4 4 4

frequently uses the six-line stanza with three accents in a line. In his *Ballad of Agincourt*,<sup>6</sup> he substitutes triplets for couplets and has two accents in the b-line. The effect is

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, Oxford, 1902, p. 39. This is, of course, the metre familiar in Latin, aabccd.

4 4 7 4 4 7

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Guest, *English Rhythms*, London, 1838, p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Lyric Poems*, ed. Rhys, London, 1895, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, pp. 186, 187.

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 167.



vigorous but jerky. Suckling,<sup>1</sup> in a little poem of four stanzas, "When, dearest, I but think of thee," is very charming, but he gives the b-line four accents, which always adds dignity. In his *Ballad of a Wedding*<sup>2</sup> he is very successful in his use of the normal six-line tail-rhyme strophe. It has precisely the same movement as an old poem, also called a ballad,<sup>3</sup> which describes, rather coarsely, a feast. Suckling's lines have the jingle of early specimens, but this suits his humorous tone.

The most interesting variation of the strophe in the seventeenth century is in Milton's *Hymn to the Nativity*<sup>4</sup> with the following scheme: a a b c c b d d. The lengthening  
3 3 5 3 3 5 4 4  
of the b-line by two accents does away entirely with the jingling effect, and produces a stately rhythm which suits the subject. Collins's *Ode to Simplicity*,<sup>5</sup> a century later, though much less majestic and rather monotonous, illustrates the same point. Collins cannot, however, match Milton's masterly arrangement of pauses, specially important in this measure though seldom attained.

In the eighteenth century, so addicted to the use of the heroic couplet, we should scarcely expect this lyric form, but none the less it appears more than once, chiefly in humorous verse. Parnell's choice of it, in a *Fairy Tale*,<sup>6</sup> is, like his theme, a conscious attempt to imitate the "ancient English style." The metre is apparently a favorite of his, for he uses it several times. Addison begins *Rosamond* with one six-line stanza of short lines, and inserts others here and there in the opera.<sup>7</sup> Collins I have already named. Gray,

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, *English Poets*, London, 1881, vol. II, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Hartshorne, *Anc. Met. Tales*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 311.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 528.

<sup>6</sup> *Poems*, Boston, 1854.

<sup>7</sup> *Works*, ed. Hurd, London, 1871, vol. I, p. 57.



writing *On a Favorite Cat, Drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes*,<sup>1</sup> secures excellent humorous results with the normal tail-rhyme strophe. This is true also of Cowley's *Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup> which he calls a ballad. Gay gives the same name to his *Lady's Lamentation*, as does Smart to four of his poems in this measure,<sup>3</sup> *Lovely Harriot*, *Jenny Gray*, &c. The stanza is certainly not a ballad measure, but the eighteenth century did not make fine distinctions in early English forms. Smart uses the stanza again in an *Ode to the Earl of Northumberland*, but his most interesting specimen is the *Song to David*. There, in spite of the lofty language, the use of the end-stopped b-line gives a monotonous whole. For variants, we have Burns's *Kirk's Alarm*<sup>4</sup> with the same rhyme-scheme, but with shortened anapæstic lines which give an entirely different effect. Landor's graceful little poem, *Late Leaves*,<sup>5</sup> Keats's *Song of the Indian Maiden*<sup>6</sup> and even Tennyson's *Lady of Shalott*<sup>7</sup> are all variations of the tail-rhyme strophe, yet quite different in rhythm from the normal type. This is true of the forms used by less famous singers, Sara Coleridge, Mahony, Ebenezer Jones and others.

By far the most interesting example of its use among our later lyric poets is in Wordsworth. It is almost startling to discover that his exquisite Lucy-poem, "Three years she grew in sun and shower,"<sup>8</sup> is in precisely the same metre as *Sir Thopas*, except for the short tag-lines; in other words it is the normal tail-rhyme strophe (a a b c c b). It is the one

4 4 3 4 4 3

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Poets of Great Britain*, vol. v, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers, *English Poets*, London, 1810, vol. xvi, pp. 59, 71, 72, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Douglas, London, 1890, II, 209.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 575.

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 721.

<sup>7</sup> *Oxford Book of Verse*, p. 821.

<sup>8</sup> *Poems*, ed. Arnold, London, 1888, p. 143.



instance of the measure in the hands of a master, which proves its possibilities. Aside from the perfect music of the poet's words, the secret of his success with the stanza lies in his so phrasing it as to avoid the usual fall of voice and meaning at the end of the b-line. Nothing could be lovelier than his measure, nothing more unlike the mechanical verse which Chaucer so admirably and justly parodies. We need only compare the following two stanzas :

Sir Thopas eek so wery was  
 For prikinge on the softe gras,  
     So fiers was his corage,  
 That doun he leyde him in that plas  
 To make his stede som solas,  
     And yaf him good forage.<sup>1</sup>

The stars of midnight shall be dear  
 To her ; and she shall lean her ear  
     In many a secret place  
 Where rivulets dance their wayward round,  
 And beauty born of murmuring sound  
     Shall pass into her face.<sup>2</sup>

With such an example no one will doubt that the stanza has great possibilities of delight to the cultivated ear, as well as to the uncultivated. But Wordsworth's success in the use of it has never been approached, to my knowledge, by any other writer.

The tail-rhyme strophe is undoubtedly a lyric stanza, and herein lies its chief distinction from the couplet. The effect of the two measures is in some ways not unlike. Both tend to monotony and drawl, both tempt the writer to go on forever, both break apart into bits—marked by the same rhyme—which correspond more or less to sentence-structure. It is an almost invariable practice in the use of this strophe to make a pause in sense with each b-rhyme. What a

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Thopas*, ll. 67-72 ; Skeat's *Chaucer*, Oxford, 1900, iv, 190.

<sup>2</sup> "Three years she grew," &c., ll. 25-30.



change it produces to avoid this, we have just seen. The difference between the couplet form and the tail-rhyme strophe lies chiefly in the length of the group forming the unit, two lines in the couplet, three in the stanza. Compare the following translations of the same French into the two forms :

He toke his swerd with gret envye,  
And smote Ameraunte tho in hye,  
Of the helme the stroke glode,  
And by the horse the stroke rode.<sup>1</sup>

and

Gij heut his swerd, þat was ful kene,  
& smot Amoraunt wiþ hert tene  
A dint þat sat ful sore,  
þat a quarter of his scheld  
He made to fleye in þe feld  
Al wiþ his grimli gore.<sup>2</sup>

So far as I have observed, a translation into stanzas is freer, as a rule, than one in couplets, more diluted, and even better supplied with unmeaning phrases and rhyme-tags. There is also more of lilt and swing in it than in the couplet form.

Its use in poems sung to music is far less prominent in English verse than in Latin. One point is clear, however, amid much obscurity, the measure was considered peculiarly fit for recitation, more so, I believe, than the couplet. This is proved by the opening lines of the narratives in this verse, which very frequently include an address to the audience :

Now herkeneth how hyt was, &c.<sup>3</sup>  
Now hende in haule, and ȝe wolde here,<sup>4</sup> &c.  
Will ye listyn, and ye schyll here,<sup>5</sup> &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Guy of Warwick* (Caius ms.), ed. Zupitza, E. E. T. S., London, 1883, l. 8203.

<sup>2</sup> *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck ms.), ed. Zupitza, E. E. T. S., London, 1883, 103 : 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Launfal*, Ritson's *Anc. Eng. Met. Rom.*, London, 1802, vol. II. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Isumbrace*, *Thornton Romances*, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Cleges*, Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, I.



God graunt hem heuen blis to mede  
 pat herken to mi romance rede  
 Al of a gentil kniȝt,<sup>1</sup> &c.

Lytyll and mykyll, olde and younge,  
 Lystenyth now to my talkynge  
 Of whome y wylle yow lythe,<sup>2</sup> &c.

Twenty-six of the tail-rhyme strophe romances begin in this fashion, while in three of the remaining six, we have lost the opening stanzas. Chaucer evidently had plenty of models for his opening lines in *Sir Thopas* :

Listeth, lordes, in good entent  
 And I wol telle verrayment  
 Of mirthe and of solas.

Even the short tales and other poems in this measure usually begin in the same way. On the contrary, narratives in couplet form are usually without this opening address to the hearers, though it is not unknown there. Chaucer, except in *Sir Thopas*, never but once uses anything approaching it.<sup>3</sup> I find it in three English and two French romances in couplets,<sup>4</sup> and there are probably other instances. Even a sharper contrast in the use and omission of this address is found in the legends. Of the forty-nine in couplets or quatrains, printed by Horstmann,<sup>5</sup> only four have such an opening, while not one of the seven in tail-rhyme strophe is without it.

The stanza lends itself peculiarly to a sing-song delivery, perhaps even more than the couplet, which brings one up

<sup>1</sup> *Guy of Warwick*, ll. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Octavian*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc., London, 1885, ll. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> The somnour begins his tale with the word "Lordinges."—Skeat's *Chaucer*, IV, 372.

<sup>4</sup> *Kyng Horn*, *The Lyfe of Ipomydon*, *Ywain and Gawain*, *Florice and Blaunchefleur*, and *Idoine and Amadace*.

<sup>5</sup> *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881.



with a sharper turn. It is this effect which Chaucer feels so keenly, and emphasizes not only by mimicry in *Sir Thopas*, but by the host's scathing comment :

Myn eres aken of thy drasty speche.<sup>1</sup>

But probably the measure was also felt to have the real charm of a balanced lilting movement, such as is often given by a long line with internal rhyme.<sup>2</sup>

The stanza was certainly not considered undignified, for in the play of the Creation, first in the *Towneley Mysteries*,<sup>3</sup> the speeches of Deus are in the six-line tail-rhyme strophe. No. VII, *The Prophets*, is entirely in six-line stanzas, and so is the *Salutation of Elizabeth*, and most of the *Annunciation* and the *Crucifixion*.

The lyric quality of the strophe comes out in combination with other measures, as we often find it in the short poems. It has sometimes a little of the effect we feel in *Aucassin and Nicolette* when we pass from the prose to the verse.<sup>4</sup> In concluding a poem, it was evidently felt as effective as the couplet at the end of a dramatic scene; at the end of *Marina*,<sup>5</sup> a legend in couplets, there is a single six-line stanza. In variations, to lengthen the b-line adds dignity and lessens the monotony, as we saw in Milton's *Hymn to the Nativity*. A shortening of the couplets gives an abrupt effect as in the latter part of *Rouland and Vernagu*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skeat's *Chaucer*, IV, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Lament for Flodden*, by Jane Elliott, which is practically in the tail-rhyme strophe. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, London, 1902, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Pollard, E. E. T. S., Ex. Series, LXXI, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> An example is *Sayne Johan, the Evaungelist*, where it follows eight long lines, a b a b a b a b, E. E. T. S., London, 1867.

<sup>5</sup> Bøddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen*, Berlin, 1878, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., Ex. Series, 39, London, 1882.



## VII.

## THE STANZA IN OTHER LANGUAGES.

The use of the tail-rhyme strophe in other languages may be briefly mentioned.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear to any great extent in German or Scandinavian poetry.<sup>2</sup> The one specimen I have found noted in Swedish—a poem of four hundred and ninety-two six-line stanzas—seems to belong to the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> According to Jeanroy, there are abundant examples in Spanish and Italian lyrics,<sup>4</sup> according to Wolf,<sup>5</sup> a few.

Its use in Provençal is more important, because Provençal literature is more closely connected with the English. The *rime couée* among the poets of Provence is, however, more akin to the French usage than to the English. It usually forms a part of elaborate verse forms, the length of lines, even in the unit itself, varies greatly, and the b-line is usually of the same length as the couplet, or longer.<sup>6</sup> The only poet who uses the normal form is Bertrand de Born.<sup>7</sup> It does not seem probable that the English usage was influenced by the Provençal.

<sup>1</sup> In none have I made a personal investigation as in the languages already considered.

<sup>2</sup> Wolf, *Über die Lais*, &c., p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Dahlgren in *Namulös och Valentin*, Klemning, Stockholm, 1846.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Origines*, &c., p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> *Über die Lais*, &c., p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Maus, *Peire Cardenals Strophensbau*, &c. (in *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der rom. Phil.*, v, Marburg, 1844), where a table is given of all the Provençal strophe-forms.

<sup>7</sup> This poet had close relations with the English royal family (12th century), but they were not of a peaceful nature.



## VIII.

## SOURCE OF THE STANZA IN ENGLISH POETRY.

After considering the origin of the tail-rhyme strophe, and its history in Latin, French, and English, we are in a position to examine what are perhaps the most interesting questions of all: whence did the metre come into England? how did it acquire there its popularity and wide extension?

So close are the literary connections of France and England in the Middle Ages that one is prone to ascribe any literary form in English literature to the influence of the French. That this is hardly safe without examination, a comparison of the English stanza, in form and application, with the French *rime couée* will make plain.

The unit must of course be the same, aab, in each. In both there are many variations, but these may be disregarded in English, because by far the largest use is made of the form aabcccb, corresponding to the French combina-  
                                   4 4 3 4 4 3  
 tion of eight-syllable and six-syllable lines. The English, less skilful versifiers than the French, or hampered by a less manageable language, use more rhymes to a stanza, but this is not significant.

So far as we can judge from the chronology of the subject, the special vogue of the form in France preceded that in England by about a century, which, of itself, proves nothing.

In the literary types and the subjects for which this measure was used in England, as compared with France, we find at once a wide divergence, or rather, a great extension. In French, not once is it employed in real romance,<sup>1</sup> while

<sup>1</sup> It appears in one song in the *Roman de la Poire*, but this is an allegorical poem, where personified qualities contend for Love. *Histoire littéraire*, XXII, 870 ff.



in English, as we saw earlier, nearly half of the extant romances are in this measure. In the seventy-five or more minor poems, the range of subject is wider than in the French, including not only religious themes, but love, nature, moral teaching and humor. The stanza is also used extensively in the drama, with no such corresponding use in French.

But the fact that the English enlarged the use of the strophe is no argument against their indebtedness to the French for the stanza itself. To determine how far this is probable, we must compare the forms prevailing in the two countries. Since we need account only for the English form  $aabccb$ , we must exclude from the comparison most of the forms used by French writers. Turning back, then, to our French specimens with this limitation in mind, we find that we have almost nothing left to compare. There are at most but nine French poems which approach the English form, seven of the type  $aabaab$  and two of the type  $aabccb$ , which is precisely like the English.

Of the first seven, moreover, only one is preserved exclusively in a French manuscript, two are in English and French manuscripts, and four are exclusively in English copies. Of the second two, both are in English manuscripts and one is English in subject and probably in execution. Surely this is significant.<sup>1</sup>

With such testimony, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the tail-rhyme strophe of normal type owes nothing to French literature, either in variety of application or in form. If the English had imitated it from the French,

<sup>1</sup>Almost none of the other forms occur in English mss. According to Jeanroy, however, it was among Anglo-Norman poets that the stanza specially flourished. *Les Origines*, &c., p. 369.



it does not seem probable that at once, and almost universally they would have used a form of it which is very rare in French poems. It is easier to believe that the French specimens of corresponding types, existing as they do in English manuscripts, were affected by the English taste, for the literary influence must have worked both ways.

It is, of course, true that much of the material in poems of this measure, as in many others, is translated from the French. In some cases we have proof of this, both versions standing side by side in the same manuscript. Thus in English we have the *Legend of Saint Eustas*,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to a *Life of Saint Placidus* in French. In a French manuscript of Trinity College (B. 14, 37, 40) in the poem *Prière à Jésus Christ*,<sup>2</sup> a verse of French (a a b c b) is followed by the English translation in the same measure. An interesting correspondence of measures also occurs in the collections of proverbs. In French, we have *Li Proverbes au Vilain* (twelfth century) in the stanza-form a a b c c b, with a proverb added to each strophe. This form is imitated in *Proverbes au conte de Bretagne* in the thirteenth century, and in *Respit del curteis e del vilain*.<sup>3</sup> Of *Li Proverbes au Vilain*, two of the eight manuscripts are in Oxford. Our English *Proverbs of Hendyng*,<sup>4</sup> modelled on the French, are in the form a a b c c b. Sometimes, when we have no French text, we have a French title.<sup>5</sup>

But it is quite evident that in translating from either French or Latin, the translator did not feel obliged to follow

<sup>1</sup> Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, n. F., Heilbronn, 1881, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *Rom.*, xxxii, 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gröber, *Grundriss*, 2:1, p. 701.

<sup>4</sup> Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., old series, 117, Pt. II, pp. 757, 763, 777. The poems are in tail-rhyme strophe.



the metre of his original. One of the most interesting examples of this is in an edition of *Little Cato* and *Greater Cato*.<sup>1</sup> In *Little Cato*, of twenty stanzas, there comes first a bit of wisdom in Latin prose, next the French version of it in *rime couée*,<sup>2</sup> and finally the English in quatrains (a b a b). The French often expands the Latin, but the English keeps closely to the French. In *Greater Cato*, of one hundred and fifty-three stanzas, the Latin is in two unrhymed hexameter lines, the French in *rime couée*, and the English in quatrains. Where the English is wanting, a space is left for it.

The English, then, were not slavish in their imitation of every adjunct of the poems they translated, but often followed their own taste, which, as we have seen, inclined strongly toward the tail-rhyme strophe. Yet no one will believe that they invented the stanza—even in the one form—when it is remembered that the prevailing type in the Latin *versus tripartiti caudati* (a a b c c b) is almost precisely the same as that in the English. When, moreover, we recall that its use in Latin is almost exclusively in hymns of worship, many of which would be used commonly in England as in other countries of Europe, we can easily see how the stanza may have made its way to the mind and heart of the people.<sup>3</sup> For it is the people of England, rather than the cultivated, literary class, to whom this measure was dear. It is seldom, if ever, that the hand of a skilled author is perceived, while the appeal throughout is

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Furnivall, from Vernon ms., E. E. T. S., 117, pp. 553 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thought to be by Évérard, probably a monk of Yorkshire, about 1250.

<sup>3</sup> Another possible method of its introduction into English verse is through the Welsh. Wolf (n., p. 213) remarks that the form was early popular among Celtic nations. In the Welsh it came clearly from Lat. church poetry. (See Walker, *Hist. Memoir of Irish Bards*, Dublin, 1786.)



to a popular, uncritical audience, who loved a strongly marked movement and familiar phrases, as well as slashing blows, marvelous feats, and prostrated giants.

Whether the metre began in England in direct translation, or in imitation, more or less by ear through familiarity with Latin hymns, it is impossible to say. Probably both methods worked together.<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that the lyric preceded the romance, to which the stanza, being much liked and easily remembered for recitation was gradually extended. It is hard to say why the same process did not give us legends in this form, but we have few in comparison with the whole number. Perhaps the couplet or quatrain was considered the decorous garb for such pious tales, and innovators were more chary of altering it. Most of the minor poems seem English in conception as well as form, but we cannot assert their originality.

## IX.

### CAUSE OF THE ENGLISH PREFERENCE.

It is reasonable to suppose that the French developed their *rime couée* from the Latin *versus tripertiti caudati* quite as much as the English their tail-rhyme strophe. Why did they modify it with an obvious preference for lines all of one length, while the English kept it as it was? For instance, in Latin we have the *Stabat Mater* in normal form

<sup>1</sup> Since, as we have seen, Jeanroy and Meyer trace the stanza back to a trochaic fifteen syllable line, and the movement in Latin poems is almost invariably trochaic, we should notice, perhaps, that in English it is usually iambic. The iambic tetrameter was not rare in Latin (Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, &c., note, p. 357), but even if this were not so, the iambic movement is so much more frequent in English rhythm that it would naturally dominate any popular form.



aabccb. A Dutch, a German, and an Italian translation  
s s 7 s s 7

keep precisely the same metre.<sup>1</sup> We have unfortunately no early English translation, but it is safe to think that if one existed, it must have followed the same type.<sup>2</sup> But the French, in their translation,<sup>3</sup> have made the b-line as long as the couplet, which may be taken as an indication of taste. This is just the reverse of what the English translator of *Li Proverbes au Vilain* did, for he shortened the b-line—which in French equalled the couplet—an indication of his taste.

Questions of such a sort can have no positive answer, but we may speculate. If the French had in early times the fine ear for cadence and rhythm which has distinguished them later, it is not hard to understand why the regular recurrence of the shorter, end-stopped line did not appeal to them any more than it did to Chaucer. By lengthening the b-line and often avoiding a marked pause of sense at its close, they gave the metre a more dignified and flowing effect.<sup>4</sup> In their hands, it seems much more a thing of skill and art than with the English.

But there was something about the normal type, with its downright nature and hammer-like effect, which appealed to the Anglo-Saxon ear, still fond of noise. Having established the form they preferred, the English—again not much to the credit of their taste—extended it to narrative-poetry. The metre is essentially lyric, and only suitable for short poems.

<sup>1</sup> Mone, II, 446, and notes; Daniel, II, 131 f.

<sup>2</sup> As this article is in press, I find the following remark in the latest and most thorough treatment of the period under consideration: "A *stabat mater* [English] of uncommon tenderness is extant in six-line stanzas, rhyming a a b c c b." Schofield, W. H., *English Literature from the Roman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, Leipzig, 1866, 369 f.

<sup>4</sup> This applies to the douzaine (a a b a a b b b a b b a), the favorite French form of the *rime couée*, skilfully constructed, and also to many forms of the six-line stanza.



When it is used for story-telling, and extended to thousands of lines, it grows wearisome beyond words. After Chaucer had made it absurd in his parody—where the monotony and sing-song effect of the strophe is hardly exaggerated—it seems gradually to have declined. Yet I think its persistence shows a lurking fondness for the rhythm, though its makers, with a few notable exceptions,<sup>1</sup> used the normal form only in humorous poems.

## X.

### CONCLUSION.

Such then seems to be the history and development of the tail-rhyme strophe, so far as we can examine it in extant poems. The multiplicity of small details is confusing, the conclusions necessarily somewhat vague and uncertain. Yet perhaps it is worth while to bring together the material, scattered in stray poems and incidental remarks, and thus to test theories already advanced, and to answer, even tentatively, questions never before considered. Rhythms may have a closer connection with the thought and life of the people than is generally acknowledged. The effort to put ourselves back into ages past, and try to enter into the taste of our ancestors is certainly worth the doing. Any attempt, too, such as has been made here, to trace the literary relations of form and thought of the different countries of Europe, ought to be of some little help in the important study of comparative literature. It is for reasons such as these that this study has been made.

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<sup>1</sup>As Smart and Wordsworth.



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#### XIV.—THE NEW CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

##### I.

There is a restlessness in the world of criticism to-day. Its leading exponents, the impressionistic, appreciative, and scientific critics, do not enjoy any longer the unalloyed confidence of former years. Each has a large body of adherents; but there is a disquieting undercurrent set into motion by not a few, asking for something the criticism of to-day cannot give them. They may value the best of the fruitage each has to offer, but they miss something, forcing itself upon them with ever-increasing conviction,—a standard, a criterion, a code of laws or principles, which should form a basis for critical *judgments*. There is an urgent demand for *judicial criticism*.

It is not easy to furnish such a criterion or code of principles; and he who attempts it can at best only point out the way whereby, in the course of time, we may succeed in placing criticism on a judicial basis. The effort is hazardous and difficult also, because of the intense opposition on the part of many minds to such innovation. We do not care for judgments, it is said; we do not want a tyranny of rules; we care for sympathy and appreciation; for a criticism of excellencies and beauties, but not of faults; we care for the precious moment, the golden moment, of the poet's inspiration and the critic's reaction to it, but not for the critic's judgments:—judgments are deadening and enslave beauty. And there is good reason for this outcry, for a short glimpse back into history shows us the severe sufferings of free creative genius under the tyranny of rules. But—be it suggested—times have changed. The eighteenth



century lies in the past. Many of its dogmas have passed away, and many have received an entirely new meaning. The critic's judgments of to-day stand on a new basis. We have made great progress in many sciences directly or indirectly relating to the sphere of beauty; we have gathered valuable objective material, swollen to a considerable bulk and increasing rapidly. What shall we do with this material? Shall we have one sphere of human activity, in which it is utilized for still higher development; and another, in which it lies as a dead weight, or is wholly shut out? Should not rather all human activities work in unison towards one grand end? We have gathered in the spheres of music, fine arts, literature, psychology, æsthetics, material which enables us to judge the excellencies of formal beauty with greater accuracy than ever before. Why should we not apply this material, and judge? These very judgments could not but be instrumental in promoting the growth of art. Or is it to be supposed that another century of unrestricted emotional criticism will do it? We should judge whenever we can judge, not in order to find faults, but, if for no other reason, that we may perform the duties which this present age puts upon us. It is a scientific age, and demands scientific results. Criticism means to put things where they belong, and the critic has not discharged his functions until he has done so. Yet, we know, that this is an arduous task. It does not mean that this judicial character of his office relieves him of his other duties—it is put upon him in addition to his other duties. It does not mean that anybody who claims to have found a code of critical laws would, by this fact alone, be a critic. The code of laws could at best apply only to a portion of all that makes up a work of art. It does not mean that the impressionistic or appreciative critic by assuming judicial functions would thereby become all at once a judicial critic.



Judicial criticism presupposes certain other qualifications on which we must first agree before we can see our critic launch safely on his duties. I am confident these qualifications will reconcile to him many who, at the outset, will be opposed to him.

## II.

The critic is to be a judge of beauty. Yet, what is beauty? This seems a just question, which every critic must needs ask himself; for his critical attitude will depend upon it. It may be answered quickly, as some impressionists do, by saying that beauty is wholly a personal matter. Interesting as the record of a few happy moments of a highly refined sensibility may be, many have felt in recent years that beauty is more than a mere personal matter; that it has objective qualities, which sensibility alone, unsupported by the intellect, cannot discover; that feeling without intellectual and moral aids is an insufficient equipment for the true critic. On American soil Lewis E. Gates in his essay *Impressionism and Appreciation* seeks to restrain personal criticism within bounds. He declares that beauty resides in *spiritual energies* incarnated in a work of art, and believes it the critic's duty to find these energies through historical studies and to interpret them to his own generation. Instead of giving *personal impressions* he seeks to *appreciate* the poet. The best fruits have come from this method of criticism. What is missed in it, however, is a standard of judgment. Mr. Gates seeks to appreciate—but never forms a judgment. This incompleteness in the nature of appreciative criticism as interpreted by Mr. Gates, in answer to the spirit of the present moment asking for a criterion of judgment, has recently been brought into public notice by Ethel B. Puffer in her essay *Criticism and Aesthetics*: "It (appreciative criticism) possesses no criterion; it likes



whatever it looks on ; and it can never tell us what we are not to like. That is unsatisfactory ; and *it is worse*—it is self-destructive.” This missing criterion the author seeks to supply. She believes that it can be found by means of the science of psychological æsthetics, having its basis in the physiological organs of man. These organs, it is claimed, and the energies embedded therein, “are changeless just as the ‘eternal man’ is changeless ; and as the basis of æsthetic feeling they can be gathered into a system of laws which shall be subject to no essential metamorphosis. So long as we laugh when we are joyful, and weep when we are sick and sorry ; so long as we flush with anger, or grow pale with fear, so long shall we thrill to a golden sunset, the cadence of an air, or the gloomy spaces of a cathedral.” The psychologists of æsthetics (Wundt, Lipps, and others) have indeed of recent years given to the world through experiments most valuable results, so that the claims here set forth cannot be ignored. Yet the presentation of these new facts is faulty ; for the author’s enthusiasm over an æsthetic criterion has led her, following her personal æsthetic beliefs and theories, to the other extreme. The critic’s sensibility has come to an end, being supplanted by psychological experiments ; the critic has become the æsthetician’s servant ; and, worst of all, beauty’s spirit has been reduced to so many physiological excitations—life has shriveled to the measurements of man’s body. This æsthetic criticism cannot be our guide. The faults of æsthetic criticism, as well as those of impressionistic or appreciative criticism, can all be traced to a superficial, faulty, or too partial conception of beauty. “What is beauty?” is therefore the first question to be answered.

We all know Plato’s conception of the ideal world ; that invisible world which lies beyond the realm of our senses, about which we have certain feelings and dare certain infer-



ences; but which is veiled by a curtain that none has ever drawn entirely. Plato conceived man to be seated in front of an open cave with his face turned toward its inner wall in a position that prevented him from perceiving what took place behind him. Yet the things of most vital importance were not in front, but at his back. There was the ideal world as it was conceived by and known to the divine mind, the ideal world revealed to the human mind in forms of nature or forms of thought—trees and flowers, man and beast, all things great, good, beautiful, and true. They passed in a steady procession behind him, but none could he perceive: only their bare shadows thrown upon the wall of the cave, as they passed, fell upon his straining eyes. These shadows were man's knowledge of goodness, beauty, and truth. We have discarded this view of Plato; we have enlarged man's power of penetrating through the sensuous world into the world of the non-sensuous; we have pushed aside the artificial obstructions earlier philosophy had built about the world of spirit; we believe we see to-day more than mere shadows. And yet, with all the advances made in philosophy and science, the central thought in Plato's conception still remains. There is a visible world and there is an invisible world; there is a world perceptible to our senses, and there is an ideal world, which man can see only in part. All the great thoughts of the world revolved about these two great factors, and are still revolving. However assiduously the scientist may study the cold facts of the sensuous world about us, sooner or later he will come to the recognition that outside of these facts there live still other facts, not wholly measurable by the scientist's instruments; and however assiduously the metaphysician may lose himself in philosophic meditation, this visible world of ours will always remind him of the limitations of his ideal visions.

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When we now step into the domain of beauty, we shall also find a sensuous and a spiritual world. Yet from the beginning the greatest diversity of opinion prevailed concerning the *value* of the sensuous world over against the spiritual world. Some, known as formalists, say that beauty resides essentially in form ; some, known as idealists, say it is the spirit that makes beauty ; others try to reconcile these two ; others yet (the majority) do not know where they stand. This dark cloud has also settled upon the critics, who either make no distinction, or rank themselves on one side or the other. The impressionistic critic may be ranked among the idealists, the appreciative critic either among the idealists or those that make no distinction, and the æsthetic critic is a formalist. Amid these uncertainties criticism can surely not prosper. Yet they need not be. For critical purposes a position that does justice to both sides should be sought. Lessing says somewhere : " The critic should look neither to the right nor to the left." True to this spirit we may say : " The critic should be neither a formalist nor an idealist." He should be *impartial*. He should establish as his first basic principle that true beauty is both sensuous and spiritual ; that there is a beauty shown in outline, color, tone, light, harmonious relation of formal parts to the whole, technical excellencies of pen, brush, or chisel, in short in all those elements that go to make up the world of our senses ; and that there is another beauty, revealed in the experiences of the inner world, the harmonies of feeling and moods, the shadows and lights of the spirit. He should be impartial ! He should not be swayed by the clamors of living artists who believe their ideals of beauty realized in naturalistic representations, nor of those who dream of symbolistic beauty. He should give due weight to the claims of all, and be influenced by none. If he lends his ear to the teachings of the formalistic school, he will favor formal



beauty ; if to the idealistic school, idealistic beauty ; if to the naturalistic writers, naturalistic ; if to the symbolistic writers, symbolistic beauty. In each of these cases he would depart from his code of impartiality, and invalidate his judgments.

In accepting this principle that beauty has a body as well as a soul, the critic finds himself supported by history. For if we draw the historical line which traces man's conceptions of beauty, we find that it is made up of constant fluctuations from sensuous beauty to spiritual beauty, and back again. Man was never satisfied for any length of time with mere form or mere spirit. Often he has over-emphasized one element at the expense of the other ; but he has always returned to reestablish, with deepened conviction, that one element previously slighted by him. Greek sensuousness, mediæval mysticism, eighteenth century rationalism, nineteenth century romanticism, our own naturalism are the general great waves of the lines of beauty, within which smaller waves bearing the characteristics of race or period help to strengthen the general truth. And is this fluctuation from sensuous beauty to spiritual beauty not really what we should naturally expect ? Man is made of body and spirit, both together constituting the whole human being. His nature will instinctively demand of beauty that it give pleasure to his spiritual as well as to his sensuous side. Formalistic explanations of man's experiences concerning beauty founded wholly upon his sense organs cannot but appear one-sided to the impartial critic, and only a passing phase or another record wave along the general historical line which traces man's conceptions of the beautiful. This plain truth the impartial critic must accept ; and in so doing he will place himself in a position of rightmindedness which will enable him to render decisions as to the merits and



demerits of the beauty of sense and of the beauty of spirit that promise to be nearer the truth than those of the strictly formalistic or strictly idealistic critic.

### III.

I insist, therefore, upon impartiality as the critic's first requisite in his attitude towards beauty's twofold nature. We may with Descartes doubt everything, but we must start from the axiom that there is a beauty of soul and a beauty of body, just as that great critic started with his declaration, *cogito ergo sum*. Let me advance from this point, and ask what is the critic's other qualification next in importance. We know that he needs intellect, the power of keen analysis; that he needs learning, a wide knowledge of the history of the particular field of literature or art that he undertakes to judge; that he needs an intimate familiarity and broad sympathy with human life;—all important and precious qualities no critic can do without;—yet these I do not mean, I presuppose them. I mean another quality, a special rare gift, which links him to the artist and poet, and distinguishes him from the scientist. And yet it is not easy to give a name to it, familiar phenomenon though it be. It is the power of feeling intensely the æsthetic state. It is the power of appreciation, that power which we all have and must have in order to enjoy it genuinely; only the critic must possess the same in a greater measure. It is that refined sensitiveness of sense perception and spiritual perception, whereby the critic seizes upon and makes himself master of art's body and art's soul; he lives them over again in his own mind with all the thrills of emotion that the artist himself experienced. It is the power for pleasure, felt in absorbing into one's own person—physical and psychical—each individual portion of a given work of art, until they



all melt and blend into harmonious union of the whole. It is the power of seizing upon the unity of the work of art, and of infusing into every separate part of it the essential meaning which the unity purports. It is the power of losing oneself, and finding oneself again in the works of artistic creation; the power of forgetting oneself, one's own time, one's own experiences, one's own ways of thinking and feeling; and living the thoughts, the feelings, the moods, the spiritual significance incarnated in forms beautiful. It is the tool *par excellence* in the hands of the critic by which his functions are exercised, by the possession of which he proves that criticism is to him not a chosen business to yield him bread and butter, but his natural calling. It is to him what the power of concentration is to the scientist, moral conviction to the reformer, deep religious feeling to the prophet or priest. It is that which distinguishes the judge from the jurist, the preacher from the theologian, the *littérateur* from the philologist, the philanthropist from the sociologist,—him, the critic, from the æsthetician. Its essential quality is *feeling*, a feeling for the beauty of form and the beauty of spirit, of an intensity and vividness which make the critic lose himself in the presence of the work of art and live in it. Knowledge cannot do this, intellect cannot do it,—feeling alone is the master key, the magic wand by which the mystery is wrought. It is feeling, it is sympathy—sympathy, when we give to the word its original Greek meaning freed from its modern ethical color: sympathy, in this sense, means to feel in and with forms beautiful. In short, the ideal critic—our critic—should be endowed with such sensitiveness of sense organs that he can feel the varied elements of formal beauty; and with such sensitiveness of spiritual perception that he can feel the varied element of spiritual beauty more intensely, more rightly, with greater definiteness and fineness than the layman. It



need not perhaps be said that during the whole process other faculties of the mind, as will and intellect, play a part,—here as everywhere man's whole mental make-up finds expression: feeling, however, is the predominant factor. Art is the special province of feeling, and the critic is its discerner and interpreter.

#### IV.

Am I not now involving myself in a paradox? Am I not preaching Lemaître's gospel of impressionism by an apotheosis of feeling? No: only seemingly so. Feeling the critic must have,—I dare say, if the critics of the eighteenth century, the age of rationalism, had had it, their criticism would have been more profitable,—but it is only a means toward an end, not an end in itself. The final end of the critic's function is to place art's creations where they belong—he is to pass *judgments* upon them. These judgments must needs be fraught with sympathy and appreciation, but they shall be judgments. Feeling along with impartiality are only, as it were, the robe and hood that lend dignity and confidence to the critic's judicial station—no more. His place in the world of letters and art is to be a judge.

It may be well to take this literally; for I shall not be wrong if I compare the critic's function to that of the legal judge on the bench. There are indeed great differences, but there is also a striking resemblance. The judge at law is bound by a code of written laws, statutory and other; but he is invested also with great independence. It happens, and indeed frequently, that no written law can be found to apply to the particular case before him. In such cases he will judge according to the *principle* of the law, a principle which is purely ideal, having its justification only in the supposed inherent justice of the judge, steadied and regu-



lated by his knowledge of the whole body of laws. Every lawyer knows that these so-called judge-made laws constitute the greater part of the whole system of jurisprudence. The judge, it will be seen, is thus bound and yet free, a receiver and a giver of laws. Likewise the critic. He receives the material of scientific inquiry previously mentioned, and yet enjoys the liberty to judge according to the general principles of beauty. The judge uses his liberty on the strength of the ideal principle of justice, the critic on the ideal principle of feeling, both justice and feeling being regulated by knowledge and experience. The critic is a free man, and, indeed, in the nature of the case, much freer than the judge at law ; we need not fear, therefore, that beauty, whether it be that of form or of spirit, will suffer at his hands. Let me turn first to the consideration of judicial criticism concerning the beauty of form.

What form is, we have already seen ; it is all that falls upon our senses—the word, the color, the light, the line, the tone, with their infinite combinations and relations ; and since it is sensuous in its nature, something to be seen or heard, it lends itself more easily to analysis and yields more readily to the formulation of laws than the beauty of spirit. It will be seen that I do not confine myself to literature, although I have literature particularly in mind ; for the need of judicial criticism is as great in one art as in another. Each art, however, stands on its own basis. Now it seems to me clear that if we had a code of laws whereby we could tell in what degree the formal part of any given picture, piece of sculpture, musical or poetic composition was fulfilling the demands of beauty, it would be positive folly on our part to reject it. Such a code does not exist : we possess nevertheless to-day a source, which, in the course of time, will give us such a code, whether we want it or not. This source is the modern science of æsthetics. I



hear the grumblings of opposition against such a source! I may assure, however, all well-wishers of beauty that modern æsthetics means no harm, and appears to be, to all intents and purposes, a good friend of the critic. It is true, modern æsthetics no longer indulges, with the freedom of old, in metaphysical speculation about the great World-Meaning and its relation to art; in its stead, however, she has made a brother of psychology, and promises the world tangible results. She seeks to bring to light the veritable laws of formal beauty, founded, for the most part, on our organs of sense. She seeks by experiments to determine with scientific accuracy what forms produce upon our senses a favorable stimulation, that is, are felt to be beautiful, and what forms produce an unfavorable stimulation, that is, are felt to be unbeautiful. If repeated experiments reveal to us that a red object upon which our eyes rest with fixed attention will, when we suddenly change to a white background, appear green, we have a right to infer that green is a color more intimately related to red, according to our physiological organism, than other colors; that green, as we call it, is a complementary color of red; and when we have made the same experiment with all other complementary colors, we have a right to formulate the law that the structure of our eye calls for such color combinations, and that a disregard of this demand would be a non-observance of a law of beauty founded on our physiological organism. This simple law we find substantiated by the masterpieces of pictorial art everywhere. If by psychological experiments it is found that red in combination with violet produces an unpleasing effect upon us, we have again some objective material that will be of use in criticism. The impressionistic critic may feel the unbeautiful character of such a color combination; but guided wholly by impression, may not be able to find the true cause and may, perhaps,



ascribe the fault to the content of the picture rather than to its form. Is it not a gain to the artist and to us who behold, to learn the true cause of the picture's defect? If a poem, because of the exceeding great sadness of its content, affects us unpleasingly, and yet delights us beyond measure by its rhythmic flow, would it not be a gain to be able to learn just why this peculiar combination of sadness and pleasure is awakened in us; the results of psychological experiments can give us this information. *Æsthetic* studies as to the nature of rhythm in prose and poetry will, in the course of time, throw a flood of new light upon style. Formerly we sought to determine by general metrical rules the qualitative or quantitative value of syllables, when a syllable was to be accented and when not, in how many different ways such syllables might combine to form metrical feet, how many feet might be used to form a line, and how many lines a stanza, etc. The *æsthetic* studies of to-day, however, are directed to the end of establishing general principles whereby the rhythm of words and their position in a sentence are fitted organically to the feeling-tone of words and thoughts. We may feel, as we read a poem and become cognizant of its thought and sentiment and proceed to move along its rhythm, that there is some maladjustment of thought and rhythm; and yet we cannot tell just wherein the defect lies. All we are conscious of is that we are not wholly pleased. Just this adjustment between the sensuous quality of the rhythm and the emotional quality of thought or sentiment, the science of *æsthetics* will solve for us. It will lead to the most important results not only in poetry but also in prose. William Butler Yeats, the young Irish poet, has recently expressed his conviction that much of the poverty of our modern style is due to the fact that the modern man has fallen into the habit of reading with his eye only instead of with his ear. "Before men read," he says,



“the ear and the tongue were subtle and delighted one another with the little tunes that were in words . . .” Words have now ceased to sing to man, and the rhythmic life of the language is withering. Yeats feels it,—many feel it,—many felt it in the past; the science of æsthetics will be able to precipitate those feelings in the form of rhythmic laws. This æsthetic source, then, which I have applied to a few cases by way of illustration, will in the course of time constitute the main basis on which judicial criticism of formal beauty will rest.

But also all non-æsthetic sources should be open to the critic. The whole body of objective material gathered by the historian, whether it throws light upon the style or versification or historic development of any given type of art or literature, should be at the critic’s disposal. It is the critic’s duty to weigh the merits of this material; which should be to him what evidence is in a court of law. If he, instead, writes a lyric rhapsody and passes it off as criticism, he thereby puts the fool’s cap on the scientist as well as on himself.

This æsthetic criticism rests upon that one simple great psychological law—so well established that no scientist will question it—which tells us that every incoming stimulus will produce an effect upon our organism. If we now experiment on the basis of this law, and determine what effect as to pleasure or pain every mode of rhythm or metre or rhyme, every word or vowel or consonant has upon us; and tabulate these data so gained, we may gather scientific material of such irresistible authoritative force that it becomes the bounden duty of the critic to accept it. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that beauty’s forms are of such infinite complexity that no set of data can possibly explain every phenomenon. The critic will, therefore, often be obliged to fall back upon his own feeling. And yet, let us beware of



thinking that this means a return to the lawlessness of impressionism. The feeling of the judicial critic is not of that sort. It is a feeling that bears the stamp of authority. The critic finds himself between two lines of action. He is to judge according to the law, and, on the other hand, guard beauty against the intrusion of an element not founded on feeling, just as the judicial judge must execute the law and yet uphold justice. The critic is bound and yet free. If there are no laws, he will sit, as it were, in equity and will decide each case on a general judicial principle applying to it all that he has at his disposal, his knowledge of history, his knowledge of æsthetics,—all tempered by his own sensitiveness for all things beautiful. Law tempered by feeling and feeling made firm and regulated by law direct his course.


## V.

Thus far I have spoken only of formal beauty. It may seem as if too much emphasis had been placed upon it, for to many only the emotional side of beauty—the ideas, moods, sentiments,—is worthy of our attention. We should be wary of such a view. It will be one of the noteworthy gains of judicial criticism if the beauty of form receive the same impartial consideration as that of the spirit. So much, however, I will grant: should we stop with the *naked* form, we should pass by a natural tendency into a cut-and-dried formalism. We should talk about the form of beauty the live-long day. We should seek, as the noble Scaliger did of old, standards and norms for every species of poetry. We should endorse that most ludicrous opinion of a recent pseudo-critic that “the most beautiful book is that which contains the most beautiful words.

Yet it is really a mistake to speak at all of a naked form. There is no such thing. With every curve of the vase,



with every hue of the evening sky, with every single word and golden imaginative phrase there associates itself an emotional element. This must needs be so; for man is made both of flesh and of spirit, and cannot therefore, much as he may at times try in the moments of sensuous intoxication, wholly divest himself of this spirit. It will cling to him, pass into his works and into his pleasures, and will be ever present; sometimes more, sometimes less; sometimes so faintly that psychological analysis can hardly detect it. The truth is that both exist together, though none of us can tell where the one ends and the other begins. Neither metaphysician, psychologist, æsthetician, artist, nor plain layman, can give us the exact dividing line between sense *impression* with its physiological basis and spiritual *expression* with its psychic basis. The two meet—just where, no one can tell. I see a red streak of color in one of Raphael's pictures, and feel its beauty. Through some chemical change in my visual sense, the red color produces a pleasurable stimulation. True—but my eye is not all that I am: my whole body, in unknown ways, is pleasurably stimulated by the color. And not only my body, but also my inner self, my heart, my soul. I have experienced not only a purely physiological, but also a spiritual resonance. Indeed I cannot tell just wherein the spiritual stimulation resides. It may be merely a vague indescribable feeling, a mood of something joyous, of something bright, vivacious, perhaps commanding, strong and powerful. I do not know what it is, I do not care what it is—enough that it is there, and that I feel it as a part of myself in the moment of æsthetic experience. The red color wakes me and calls me to action, and stirs my blood and pricks me on all sides; the green color, however, calms me, and sings me a lullaby, and sets me to dreaming of summers of rest. Now it is evident, inasmuch as these moods are related to the forms of beauty





as expression is related to impression, that the laws of the one must needs apply to the other. There can be no particular laws of beauty for the under side of the same thing. If the outer side is wrong, the under side will be wrong also. If the red color, in any given combination, is displeasing, the mood belonging to the red color will be displeasing also. If the rhythm of my poem is wrong, I have thereby also mutilated the mood that belongs to it. This emphasizes anew the value of judicial criticism upon pure form. Whether we want it or not, whether we have been accustomed to dream of the heavens when the notes of the melody sound forth, it is the individual note, the formal arrangement of part to part that makes a large share of its beauty.

## VI.

Beauty has, thus far, revealed herself only in parts and certain attitudes ; we have seen the outlines of a hand, an arm, or perhaps her profile. But, at times, she turns her full face upon us, and lets us look into her eyes, and, through her eyes, into her soul. At such times, the work of art appeals to us not merely by its form ; but reveals to us—sometimes more, sometimes less—a central, moving, spiritual force, a controlling idea, which gives unity and reason to the whole ; to which all parts are subordinated and from which all parts receive their life. Form is only half of beauty, the other half is *expression*. Each separate hue in the color scheme of a sunrise thrills us by its exquisite beauty, and the alluring sensuousness of each is worthy of a separate judgment by the judicial critic. But the sunrise in its totality is more than the added sum of each color,—it is a living organic unity, a grand spiritual concept, one of nature's great works of art. Its inimitable display of beauty produces in us a mood, unique of its kind, into



which the emotional undercurrents of each part are inseparably blended. This mood is the soul of the sunrise. Its exact nature we know not ; it stands, however, for something very definite in the life of every human being. Like the sunrise, every work of art has an ideal content. In some it may be only faintly suggested, and may then be overshadowed by the beauty of form ; in others its presence will be so all-pervasive that we may truly say that every part of the whole will be filled, surcharged with its spirit.

Surcharged with spirit ! Here, let us impress it upon our minds, lies the difference between the beauty line of formal beauty and the beauty line of spiritual beauty. In both there is a physical and a psychic element. In the former beauty, the *physical* part is the decisive element, and forms the basis of judicial criticism ; in the latter, the *psychic* is the decisive element, for which the judicial basis must yet be found. The critic is now called upon to pass judgment on the incarnated essence of art,—its inherent life,—not any more on its sensuous outer appearance.

We should naturally turn first again to the science of æsthetics for objective material, on which the critic's judgment may rest. Now it is of great interest for our purpose that, with the exception of a few studies, nothing of appreciable value has been consummated. When we go to the most recent works of æstheticians in the hope of finding some material, we are told that the experiments in regard to spiritual beauty fall within the province of the psychologist ; and when we then, much encouraged, go to the psychologist, we are told that an analysis of this side of the æsthetic life is the duty of the æsthetician. They both are fully aware of the importance of psychological experiments in this direction, but they have not yet had the courage to undertake them. And they are certainly in the right ; for it would be assuredly unwise to begin building before the foundation has been



completed. The æsthetician will have to work yet many a year on the æsthetic elements of formal beauty previously spoken of. Moreover, it may be seriously questioned whether the science of æsthetics will ever give to the world laws binding upon man's spiritual nature. The psychological experiments thus far made respecting the formal part of beauty are so cumulative that they appeal to us with irresistible force; but respecting the spirit of beauty, at best helps, no laws, have come to light. It would seem, therefore, as if the critic were left without guidance and as if judicial criticism determining the excellence of spiritual beauty were an impossibility. Yet such an inference would be wrong in more than one way. There is one psychological law or rather principle, won by deduction rather than by experiment, which will prove to be the fundamental principle of all higher æsthetic experience, and which all future experiments will only serve to corroborate. The main question which the psychologist of beauty has to propose to himself is this: what ideal content stimulates man's spiritual nature favorably? The psychological answer is: "that content which causes his ego to expand from the confines of its limited self into a larger realm where he feels himself the representative of the human race." True art must always be,—whether it be a lyric or a drama, a hymn or oratorio, a Grecian vase or a statue,—true art must always be of universal human interest. It must apprise us, in the words of Emerson, not of its own wealth, "but of the commonwealth." In art man must live a life which in the real world he could never live;—a life on a universal human plane on which all the possibilities slumbering in the common human soul are awakened;—a life on a higher plane, which all humanity recognizes as its own, free from all imperfections of individual existence;—a life in which man is neither a peasant nor a king, not rich nor poor, not



simple in wit nor highly gifted, not a laborer nor a poet, not a Christian nor a Jew, not of the western nor of the eastern world, not of this age nor of that age:—a life in which man is man. In the collected works of art, he looks into the great mirror of humanity, and beholds and lives through, in his own person, the infinite number of experiences the psychic life of an individual as a member of the human race is capable of. Each work of art, therefore, answering this demand will have universal human value; it will belong to each and all, and in it each will behold an aspect common to all; it will be one of the threads in the psychic tapestry which the human race weaves during its stay on this earth. These values the judicial critic has to pass judgment upon. He has to determine the nature of each thread; whether it is a true thread, which the human race is ready to claim as its own; or a false thread, which would mar the beauty of the whole texture.

Quite true, it may be said. You have told us what spiritual beauty ought to be, and perhaps I agree with you; but you have not given us as yet a criterion by which the critic can judge as to whether any given work of art meets this general demand of beauty. In formal beauty we have definite material, definite lines that guide the critic, and what is lacking to-day experiments may give us to-morrow; but this one general psychological law of beauty does not give to this side of criticism a judicial basis. Here is the answer. Expressive beauty can be judged, in the same manner as formal beauty, in the absence of definite written laws, by the principle of the law. Written laws, excepting the one general law just spoken of, we have not—as yet,—but we have nevertheless a large body of unwritten laws. The judge on the bench, with whom I compared the critic, judges in the majority of cases by the principle of the law,—a principle founded on the supposed inherent justice of the judge,



steadied and regulated by his knowledge of the whole body of judicial decisions. The critic judges by the principle of beauty founded on the critic's *feeling*, regulated by his knowledge of the whole body of art and literature. That the critic must have feeling and what the nature of this feeling is, we have already seen. If we add to this a knowledge of the works of sculpture, painting, or poetry,—whatever his special province may be,—and the objective material the historian may be able to furnish, we have thereby given him a sufficient judicial basis. He does not belong to those of whom Emerson says: "Their knowledge of the fine arts is some study of rules and particulars or some limited judgment of color or form, which is exercised for amusement or for show." He has gained his knowledge through feeling, and feeling has transformed knowledge into a principle of beauty. If the critic should be asked to pass judgment on a picture, perfect in formal beauty but with a lewd atmosphere hovering about it,—it may be one of those decorating certain Parisian galleries,—can we truly say that he is not capable of forming an estimate of the spiritual value of the picture because there are no definite laws, when he has studied the works of Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Murillo, and those other masters of pictorial art? And, granting that he can judge, is it not better that he should do so rather than to bestow upon us a meaningless lyrical encomium? If the critic is called upon to give us his opinion on one of our modern novels with their inflated characters and staring triviality, has he no criteria at his disposal that will point these defects out to him and will enable him to formulate a definite judicial opinion, when he is supposed to have studied the works of Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and all the others? And conceding this, will it not be a gain to all concerned that such an opinion be recorded, in order that we may be able to say with Emerson:



"Now I shall see men and women and know the signs by which they may be discerned from fools and satans."

Judgments can indeed be formulated and definitely formulated on the basis of the critic's feeling and the critic's knowledge of past beauty. *Taste*, we used to call this equipment in olden days. But it is not the old taste. It is less arbitrary. It has become modified and amplified by the objective material of the historian, by æsthetic helps, by the more extensive knowledge we have to-day of the world, its life, its literatures, its arts. "The half-mystical control that has of late years been won over physical forces," says Mr. Gates, "the increased speed with which news flies from country to country, the cheap and swift modes of travel from land to land which break down the barriers between the most widely divergent civilizations—all these influences are reacting continually on the life of the spirit, are stirring men's minds to new thoughts and new moods, and developing in them new aptitudes and new powers." The old rules of taste resemble more the endless aqueducts which the Romans built over hill and dale, and which are superseded by the discovery of the law that water rises to the level of its source. The new rules resemble more the discovery made in the eighteenth century that nature was not merely the mechanical handiwork of God, but a living, breathing, developing organism. Above I directed attention to some cases illustrating the non-observance of the general principle of beauty. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the critic's functions are discharged by pointing out only flaws. He is as much concerned in the discovery of beauty as the botanist in that of a rare plant; and when he has found it, he will declare it to the world. He will take pains to point out those excellencies which his spiritual perception has discerned and which his deep artistic feeling has lived through. In



such cases judicial criticism will become eloquent in praise of beauty,—eloquent not only in words but in thoughts. It will then resemble the criticism of the appreciative critic at his best, with a little different interpretation. Appreciation, as I now use the word, is not a lovable disposition seeking to find something good in an author, but it is an actual judgment on the excellencies of a given work of art. Appreciation in this sense is still a living principle.

## VII.

William Rossetti, a great admirer of Swinburne, once said : “Mr. Swinburne’s mind appears to be very like a *tabula rasa* on moral and religious subjects, so occupied is it with instincts, feelings, perceptions, and a sense of natural or artistic fitness and harmony.” There has been a *tabula rasa* in much of the literary criticism of the last decades, not merely in moral and religious, but also in intellectual respects ; for it lacked judicial quality. Can this judicial quality, which was always present in the great critics of the past, be again restored to it, illumined by the light of our present day ? Of the actual need of judicial criticism nothing need be said. It must be evident to all who have the power to see—the inborn susceptibility to lasting excellencies in the realm of art and literature. We need it to save poetry. In the words of Matthew Arnold : “We must set our standard for poetry high, since poetry, to be capable of fulfilling its high destinies must be poetry of a high order of excellence. We must accustom ourselves to a high standard and a strict judgment.” This criticism of judgments will in the course of time be more than purely judicial ; for though judging is the critic’s primary function, it is not his whole nor his final function. The critics will become constructive agents in the whole field of beauty. They will be not only judges, but guides, sup-



porters, friends of beauty. They will be constructive in finding laws and establishing principles, and build with them the foundation of a new criticism; they will be constructive in providing for beauty higher aims, loftier purposes, by uprooting "egoism" and planting in its stead "humanity"—*universal* humanity—beauty's true sphere, where alone she can be her own free self. We believe to-day in beauty's freedom; but its very freedom unrestricted is destructive to its very life. Undisciplined impressionistic criticism is a yoke to the neck of beauty, for there can be no building up without laws and principles. The critic is to determine how much of a given work is sensuous and how much spiritual. This fact alone is of so vital and incalculable importance that it is equivalent to taking a broom and sweeping the house from cellar to garret. Much of the critical chaos of to-day is due to a disregard of this distinction. Critics have often expressed opposite opinions, and have entered into serious disputes; while all along, unbeknown to themselves, they have meant entirely different things—the one form, the other spirit. He is to determine how far each part corresponds to the universal demands of our organs of sense or spirit. He is to censure when censure is needed, and to praise when praise is due.

And yet while we may rejoice at the possibilities, the greatest caution is needed, for the laws that are to accomplish the final constructive upbuilding are still in the making. Relatively few are at hand and the work will require much patient labor and open-hearted coöperation of many to bring about the promised results. Many judges are needed to build up a body of judicial laws. There will be divergence of opinion on this or that question among the many questions that will arise; but this should not discourage: there is no science but has built its foundation in the face of severest opposition; and there is no science



whose votaries have not disagreed among themselves about each individual new principle before it was finally incorporated as a stone into the building. This coöperation is bound to come from various quarters ; for the best criticism, or the best work done by the best critic, by whatever name he may have been known, has had always in it the characteristics of constructiveness.

Capacity for sensibility is the corner-stone of criticism. Beauty is founded on it. It alone can enjoy beauty and understand its meaning. If impressionism stands for saving sensibility against the onslaught made upon it by philistine mediocrity, surely all lovers of beauty will be impressionists. But if we wish to criticise beauty ; if we wish not to obliterate the distinction between excellent and inferior, true and untrue, impressionism must yield to other methods. In view of the advances made in the science of æsthetics, the *formal* part of beauty should be submitted to æsthetic criticism. And its *spiritual* part to an analysis and interpretation indicated by the methods of appreciative criticism, supported by a judicial criticism on the basis of a general principle of beauty drawn from the critic's knowledge of history, knowledge of æsthetics, knowledge of human life, and his innate sensibility—the transmuting elixir—for all things beautiful. The true critic will thus be impressionistic, æsthetic, appreciative, and judicial. He will unite the best each method can give, in order that he may be “constructive.”

Judicial criticism went to sleep at some time in the past using for a pillow its own burdens—those dreadful rules. It may yet awaken to take an authoritative position, rendering larger, more useful services than ever before.

ROBERT M. WERNAER.



XV.—THE ENGLISH COMEDIANS IN GERMANY  
BEFORE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR :  
THE FINANCIAL SIDE.

Perhaps no portion of the chapters of Moryson's Itinerary, published in 1903 under the somewhat unexpected title of "Shakespeare's Europe," has aroused more interest than his brief passage<sup>1</sup> about the so-called English comedians, whom he saw at the Frankfort fair in September, 1592. Of the few contemporary accounts known to us his is the only one from an English source and probably the only one written by a man whose previous acquaintance with the theater fitted him in any way to judge of the merits of such performances.

The passage was interesting also for the tantalizing hopes which it held out of further revelations in other parts of his writings. The question still remains unsettled how far, if at all, professional acting had progressed in Germany before the arrival of these Englishmen. Therefore, when Moryson says, "Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more

<sup>1</sup> Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more deseruing pitty then prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth they make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse then witty (as I formerly haue shewed). So as I remember that when some of our cast dispised Stage players came out of England into Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage, yet the Germans, not vnderstanding a worde they sayde, both men and women, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and Action, rather then heare them, speaking English which they vnderstoode not, and pronowncing peeces and Patches of English playes, which my selfe and some English men there present could not heare without great wearysomenes. Yea myselfe Comming from Franckford in the Company of some cheefe marchants Dutch and Flemish, heard them often bragg of the good markett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players. *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 304.



deseruing pittie then prayse . . . (as I formerly haue shewed),” his words gave rise to the hope that elsewhere he might have said something which would help settle the question. A search of the “Itinerary”<sup>1</sup> publisht in his lifetime and a letter to the editor of the newly issued chapters were the natural results of such a hope, but the book yielded nothing, and the kind reply of Mr. Hughes stated that he knew of nothing in the manuscript about players in Germany which he had not had printed. It is, therefore, only too certain that we can gain no more information on the subject from Moryson.

The investigation has, however, had one unexpected outcome. Moryson had almost a mania for recording prices, as the pages of his old “Itinerary” bear abundant witness. Wherever he went, he entered solemnly the cost of his daily food and travel. Therefore it seemed worth while to combine the testimony on this point of such a painstaking contemporary witness with what we already know about the prices of admission and the size of the companies of these English comedians, and thus to reach some conclusion as to the financial returns of these tours to the individual actor. The conclusion is valid only for the period before the ‘Thirty Years’ War, without excluding too carefully the first few years after the outbreak of hostilities, for the conditions were radically altered after the return of peace.

The managers found such enterprises profitable in the main, of course, or companies would not have continued to go over from England till the increasing devastation of the war made such undertakings impossible. That is the natural explanation of the fact that for more than thirty years from 1592 on, the restless activity of different managers levied tribute on all Germany, so that there is good reason to

<sup>1</sup>*An Itinerary Written By Fynes Moryson Gent., London, 1617.*

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believe that practically every court and every town of any importance was visited once, if not repeatedly.

Without any evidence on the subject of earnings we can, of course, say in advance that some of the actors, at least, must have found touring in Germany profitable, or they would not have returned. I am disposed to think that the English language was retained longer in the representations of these comedians than has often been estimated, for we find a company playing in English at Loitz<sup>1</sup> in 1606, but the dropping of English and the substitution of German, in part or in whole, presupposes that at least some of the actors in every company, in addition to those of German birth, were not fresh importations from England. Some of them must have made many tours; the existence of the companies was impossible on any other supposition. To be sure, their notions of what was profitable ~~must~~ have been very modest. The actor of to-day makes his reputation at home and then goes abroad. Theirs was the contrary case. As Moryson tersely puts it, they were "cast disjised Stage players." They faced starvation at home and therefore had nothing to lose in a foreign venture. The often quoted undated letter<sup>2</sup> which Richard Jones, who went to the

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Allen, I commend my love and humble duty to you, geving you thankes for yo<sup>r</sup> great bounty bestoed upon me in my sicknes, when I was in great want: god blesse you for it. Sir, this it is, I am to go over beyond the seeas w<sup>t</sup> Mr Browne and the company, but not by his meanes, for he is put to half a shaer, and to stay hear, for they ar all against his going: now, good Sir, as you have ever byne my worthie frend, so helpe me now. I have a sute of clothes and a cloke at pane fo<sup>r</sup> three pound, and if it shall pleas you to lend me so much to release them, I shall be bound to pray fo<sup>r</sup> you so longe as I leve; for if I go over, and have no clothes, I shall not be esteemed of; and, by gods help, the first mony that I gett I will send it over unto you, for hear I get nothinge: some tymes I have a shillinge a day, and some tymes nothinge, so that I leve in great poverty



continent in the troupe of 1592 and was therefore presumably at Frankfort at the time of Moryson's visit, wrote to Edward Alleyn, shows what must have been the common condition of the actors going abroad. The shilling a day which he sometimes earned and sometimes not, so that he lived in great poverty, would make even small returns welcome in Germany. Fortunately Moryson has told us what he found necessary to spend annually on the continent, and we therefore have a satisfactory basis for our calculations.

Before turning to them, however, we must notice how he measured <sup>1</sup> German money in terms of English. The silver gulden and the reichsthaler are chiefly to be considered. The former, whether called gulden or florin, was, as he explained, a common basis of reckoning, though not actually coined. The thaler was worth, in his opinion, four shillings four pence in English money at the time of his travels on the continent. It passed for 24 groshens, or 32 Lübeck shillings, while the gulden was estimated at 21 groshens, or 28 Lübeck shillings. This gives the gulden  $\frac{7}{8}$  of the value of the thaler. Or, to use the coins more common in South Germany, he valued the thaler at 18 batzens, of four kreuzers each, or 72 kreuzers, and the gulden at 15 batzens, or 60 kreuzers. This calculation makes the gulden  $\frac{5}{6}$  of the thaler. The batzen he valued at three pence English. Other German coins, which he mentions in much detail, are unnecessary for our purpose. Of course, these estimates are inconsistent, but he was as consistent as the facts, for the thaler and gulden, as measured in groshens and kreuzers,

hear, and so humbly take my leave, prainge to god, I and my wiffe, for yo<sup>r</sup> health and mistiss Allene's, which god continew.

Yo<sup>r</sup> poor frend to command,

Richard Jones.

Collier's *The Alleyn Papers* (London, 1843), p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary*, I, pp. 285 f.



actually varied considerably in different parts of the country. If the actors could earn as much as an English gentleman of that period found necessary for comfortable travel, we may be sure that they were better off than at home. Moreover, by this method of comparison we are spared the necessity of considering the vagaries of German coins in the many years from that time to the establishment of the present standard and the debasement of English money after 1600.

Moryson's statement about the cost of travel is as follows :  
" Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was beyond sea, to beare the charge of a Trauellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two iournies yeerely, in the Spring and Autumne, and also to serue him for moderate expences of pleasure, so that hee imitated not the Germans, who drinke and banquet as much abroad, as at home, nor the Italians, who liue they among Christians or Pagans, yet cannot restraine their incontineney ; nor the Polonians, who being perhaps the sonnes of Castellani, (I mean such as haue the keeping of Castles, or like entertainments from the King onely for their life), commonly spend more prodigally in Italy, and like places, then at home, so as many times they spend their whole patrimony abroad. In which kind I cannot but commend our Countrimen, who howsoeuer at home they may haue spent prodigally, yet going beyond seas, rather dispose their expences to repaire this former prodigalitie then otherwise and practise the rule of the Poet,

Intra fortunam quamque manere suam :  
Each man his cote to fit,  
As his cloth will permit.

But I returne to the purpose, & since it is cōvenient, for him that trauels, to make two iournies yeerely in the Spring and Automne, and since in these iournies his expences will be



greater then when he abides in Cities, as wel for the hiring of Coches and horses, as for his diet in common Innes, hee must bee carefull to take the opportunity to moderate his expences, when he settles himself to abide some moneths in any place.”<sup>1</sup>

A few of the prices mentioned by Moryson may do duty for all.<sup>2</sup> At Hamburg he paid four Lübeck shillings for each meal and one shilling for his bed. In Lübeck the meals were four shillings each, while his bed was free, and a quart of Rhenish wine cost him five shillings. This indicates that his board and lodging in Hamburg and Lübeck amounted to a trifle more than a thaler a week. In Wittenberg things were somewhat cheaper, for, as he puts it: “I paid a Gulden weekly for my diet and beere, which they account apart, and for my chamber after the rate of tenne Guldens by the yeare. I heare that since all things are dearer; the Schollars vsing to pay each weeke a Doller for their diet, and a Doller for chamber and washing.” In Leipzig he “lodged with a rich Citizen, and for diet, bed, and chamber, paid weekly a Doller and a halfe.” At Nuremberg he paid six batzens for a meal and three kreuzers for his chamber. The price for a meal was six batzens at Strassburg and Heidelberg. At Frankfort, made dearer by the fair, the inns asked seven or eight batzens a meal, “but Merchants and many strangers vse to hire a chamber and buy their meat at the Cookes.” He gives as a general average for the cost of a meal in Northern Germany about four Lübeck shillings, in Middle Germany about four batzens, in Southern Germany about six or seven batzens, while horse hire in both Switzerland and Germany was six or seven batzens a day. His travel from Hamburg to

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary*, III, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> These prices are taken from the many mentioned here and there throughout the whole of Part I of the *Itinerary*.



Leipzig in a merchant's coach cost him, all charges included, ten gold guldens (the gold gulden being valued at 36 Lübeck shillings, or four shillings more than the reichsthaler), and he thought he paid too much. From Dresden to Prague a coach cost him and four others together 14 thalers. The same number expended 50 thalers for a coach from Frankfort to Hamburg, "and besides were to pay for the coach-mans diet, for here first the coach-man conditioned to be free from paying his diet, vulgarly Maulfrey; that is free for the mouth, whereas in other parts our coach-men paid for themselves." We find also that, being about to sail from Denmark to Prussia, he expended 12 Danish shillings for half a lamb and six shillings for 30 eggs, 66 Danish shillings making one thaler. Two hens cost him five groshens and a stoop of wine (a measure somewhat larger than an English quart) ten groshens at Danzig. Of purchases at Cracow, in preparation for a journey into Italy, he says: "I bought a horse for eightene Guldens. . . . I paid fifteene grosh for a paire of shooes, fifty for a paire of boots, nine for spurs, two guldens and a halfe for a saddle, a gulden and a halfe for other furniture for my iourney, nine grosh for stirrups, eight grosh for four horse shoes, and eight grosh for each bushel of oats." With such prices as these it is no wonder that his expenses on the continent could be met by £60 a year.

As we have already seen, Moryson's statements about the relative value of English pound and German thaler and gulden are inconsistent. Using them, we find the value of £60 varying between 266 and 276 thalers, or 315 and 332 guldens. As the amounts to be considered are small, we need not try to be more accurate than he was and may take in each case approximately the higher number, valuing £60 therefore at 275 Reichsthalers, or 330 guldens.

It happens that we have some evidence to show what



was considered good pay for this class of professionals. I mention only two cases. The English musicians and acrobats (who were also possibly actors) engaged by the elector of Saxony in 1586, asked and received compensation at the rate of 100 thalers yearly and their board.<sup>1</sup> The correspondence between the king of Denmark and the elector of Saxony on the subject proves that these terms were unusually high. In February, 1614, the elector of Brandenburg agreed to pay Archer and three others 100 florins each annually with free board and two suits of clothes. Making a liberal allowance for board and clothing on the basis of Moryson's prices, we get a total considerably below what he estimated as the expenses of a year abroad.

If we now return to these wandering actors and assume an average of 180 performances annually with a company of fifteen, an attendance of 500, and an entrance fee of three kreuzers, we have for each player, if all shared alike, total annual earnings of 300 guldens, a sum which many a

<sup>1</sup>The date is added here, as well as hereafter, to do away with the necessity of numerous notes. The reader is referred once for all to the convenient summary in chronological order given in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, II, pp. 524 f. (Zweite Auflage, Dresden, 1886). Practically all the literature mentioned by him has been accessible to me. Much literature on the subject has, of course, appeared since the writing of Goedeke's volume. Not all of it treats of facts that could be used in the preparation of this paper, but the following should be noticed: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXI, pp. 245-276, for Cologne; *the same*, XXXVI, pp. 273-276, for additional material about Münster and Ulm; *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIV, pp. 113-136, for Nuremberg; *the same*, XV, pp. 113-125, for Strassburg, and pp. 211-217 for Stuttgart and Tübingen, and for additional material about Ulm; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, VII, pp. 60-67, for Rothenburg; Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg, 1895, for Danzig. To these may be added Creizenach's introductory essay in his edition of *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (Kürschner, vol. 23) and Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland*, Hamburg, 1903.



worthy and fairly prosperous German of that time would have considered large, and which approximates with reasonable closeness Moryson's yearly expenditures.<sup>1</sup> An examination of each of the elements of this assumption may serve to show its general trustworthiness.

The supposition of 180 performances annually is possibly too large. Representations at night were certainly practically unknown during most or all of the period in question. The afternoon was the regular time, altho on special occasions the forenoon was not impossible. Being thus restricted under ordinary conditions to one representation a day, the probability that a company could play on the average every other day, as would be required to make a total of 180 performances annually, is therefore questionable. It was necessary to have in each case the permission of the town council to play before the general public. That was not always granted, and tho we may well believe that supplication to the council was often made in advance, while the troupe was playing elsewhere, such was not always the case. Permission, if granted, was regularly for a definite time, and troupes often lingered on vainly after its expiration in the hope of its prolongation. In the larger places two weeks seems to have been regarded as the regular limit. Permission to play longer was often given and often refused. Nor did the company necessarily play every day of the period allowed. Thus, we find one at Münster in November,

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the time of Moryson's travels was equivalent to \$1.11 in 1600 money. This result is reached by valuing the old thaler at M. 4.1979 and the dollar at M. 4.1979 (both mark and dollar of the present gold standard). Three kreuzers, counting 72 to the thaler, were equivalent to 4.6+ cents. The question to be considered, expressed in terms of the money of the United States, is whether these would amount annually towards \$300 with an admission price of 10 cents. The far greater purchasing power of money in 1600 is already shown by the prices paid by Moryson.



1601, playing five successive days, another almost daily at Graz for about two weeks in February, 1608, while eight plays in two weeks were all that were allowed at Nuremberg in July, 1628, and fourteen in four weeks at Danzig in August, 1615. Something analogous to what happened at the latter two places was probably nearer the rule than the exception in the larger towns. With all the delays incident to travel at that time, with the frequent coyness or arbitrariness of town councils, with the difficulty or impossibility of finding between the larger places on the route smaller towns which might lessen the expense of travel by permitting a succession of one day stands, we may well believe that 180 representations a year were probably as often hoped for as attained.

Regarding the number of players to a company our information is more definite. Arranging the reports according to towns and without here attempting to show how far the organizations mentioned in the same year were actually under the same leadership in spite of slightly varying numbers, we find the statistics of the number of persons as follows: 14 in January, 1604, and 16 in May, 1605, at Nördlingen; 14 at Ulm in August, 1606; 15 at Nuremberg in April, 1602; 11 at Münster in November, 1601; 12 in August, 1596, 13 in December, 1599, 17 in May and 16 in June, 1605, 14 in June, 1606, 17 in June, 1618, at Strassburg; some 10 in May, 1597, at Tübingen; 12 at Easter, 1602, 18 (of whom 7 were apparently exclusively musicians) at Easter, 1605, at Frankfort; 18 in August, 1615 and 1616, at Danzig; 12 in April, 1600, at Cologne. Spencer is reported as having 19 players and 16 musicians at Königsberg in 1611, and is credited with 24, all Englishmen except one German and one Dutchman, at the time of his conversion to Catholicism at Cologne in 1615. He seems to have had 19 players and 15 musicians at Frankfort



at Easter, 1614, and in his vain petition to the council for permission to charge higher prices he claims that other companies "nur halb so viel leutt und viel weniger unkosten gehabt." We see at a glance that 15 is quite an average company on the basis of these figures, except in the case of Spencer, and we know that he did not ordinarily travel with so large a troupe. We can indeed safely assume that the actual number of players, including musicians, to the company was less than 15. That is, all the persons traveling with the managers were not necessarily fullfledged actors or musicians. Women were not even members of the troupes, but we know to a certainty that wives did sometimes go along. For example, Sackville and two of his troupe, at least, were thus accompanied at Frankfort in 1597. Spencer's wife collected the entrance money at Rothenburg in 1613, and she and his children shared in his business-like conversion to Catholicism at Cologne in 1615. Doubtless they were counted in the large number credited to him at that time. We may imagine that the young sons of the manager could act as the Roman mob, or serve some other useful purpose. Moreover, a portion of the company was certainly made up of youths who played the female rôles and went through their apprenticeship at the same time. In his application to the council in June, 1618, Browne says that none of his company had ever played in Strassburg except "2 Jungen." He may, of course, have had more than these two with him. And while this incidental mention of youths in Browne's company is the only scrap of positive evidence we find in the records, the use of young people in all the companies is not to be doubted. They must have served for less than the regular wages of experienced actors, often probably receiving nothing above their bare expenses. We know that of the six actors hired for Elector Johann Sigismund in 1614 two were to have only half pay, which may have been due to their youth or other causes.



After the troupes began to use German another device lessened their cost to the managers. This was the practice of employing stage-struck Germans to fill up the vacancies in a company. Thus Spencer depleted the ranks of the mastersingers at Augsburg in 1614.<sup>1</sup> While the records are again scanty on this point, we may be sure that the device, in one form or another, was not employed merely on this occasion. Such recruits were doubtless ill paid, and while they helped keep up the membership of a company, they decreased the manager's outgo.

There is, of course, no way of proving now what the attendance at most of the representations was, but 500 seems a not unreasonable average. The few statistics on the subject may find place here. The lowest attendance mentioned was at Brunswick, where we are told that on one occasion in the year 1614 "ein englischer Komödiant" had "kein Volk" and was given an indemnity of one thaler by the council. At Nuremberg in July, 1628, the attendance for eight performances varied between 515 and 2,665, the average being 1,595. At Regensburg in October, 1613, a company, presumably under Spencer, took in more than 500 florins in one day. At the price which we have assumed for admittance that meant an attendance of 10,000. The price must have been raised or more than one representation given. We must, in fact, assume that both these things were done to make it conceivable that such a sum could be earned. The highest receipts on one day at Nuremberg at the representations just mentioned were a little over 266 florins, the price of admission being six kreuzers. The company had one-half the net receipts and earned a trifle over 661 florins in the eight representations, which, by the way, lasted two weeks.

<sup>1</sup> Herz, p. 48.



Becker's report of his investigation of inns at Frankfort where these English Comedians used to play has been accessible to me only at second hand,<sup>1</sup> and his basis for estimating that the inn yards most employed there for the purpose had space for only two or three hundred spectators is therefore unknown to me. He estimates that a fair, lasting three weeks, meant only an average of eight or ten guldens per actor. This seems incredible in view of the fact that Frankfort was always a favorite stopping-place of the English comedians. Moreover, Moryson says explicitly of the autumn fair of 1592 that "the Germans . . . both men and women flocked wonderfully" to see the representations, and it is equally incredible that he, who boasts of the London theaters "capable of many thousands,"<sup>2</sup> would have considered an attendance of 300 a wonderful flocking. His statement, by the way, refutes Herz's assumption that the first venture at Frankfort was a failure.

In the early years of their tours in Germany, and probably to the end in most places, the English companies undoubtedly had to use whatever place they could find for their representations, the town hall, the precincts of a cloister, the "shoe house" (as at Ulm), the fencing school, the inn yard. But wherever they played in the first years, and possibly later also, a considerable number of the spectators must have been compelled to stand. This we should have a right to assume without evidence, but direct proof is not wanting. At Cologne in February, 1607, a company was forbidden to charge more than two albus for the persons "so kein Gesteiger gebrauchen" and three albus for the others. So at Nuremberg in June, 1613, the council ordered that the actors should not take over three kreuzers from a

<sup>1</sup> *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3, III, 4, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 476.



person "und dann 3 kr. für einen sitz oder auff den gang." We find a double charge several times at Frankfort, which may indicate that part of the spectators stood, a view which is supported by a doggerel poem of 1615 wherein it is said that people would rather stand four hours to hear the English comedians than sit one hour in church.<sup>1</sup> With part of the spectators standing, a crowd of several hundred could easily get into a comparatively small space. Under these conditions, even the small towns visited briefly on the route between larger cities could furnish some place, either under roof or open to the heavens, where more than 500 spectators might congregate.

The ability of these companies to draw crowds on occasions is evidenced further by the reports from Münster in November, 1601, Nuremberg in October, 1612, and June, 1613, and Cologne in March, 1626. Moryson states that in the Netherlands and Germany these English actors were "followed by the people from one town to another."<sup>2</sup> A chief attraction was their music and fine attire. Their representations were, in fact, akin to the modern variety show in many respects, the clown, the dancer, and the juggler having full swing between the acts and probably often in them. It is, therefore, easy to see why crowds should follow them, especially as Germany had been used only to the old type of religious and Shrove-tide play. To the smaller towns the coming of the English comedians must have been much like the advent of a circus in one of

<sup>1</sup> Die Englische Comedianten  
Haben mehr Leucht den Predicanten,  
Da lieber 4 stund stehn hören zu,  
Dan ein in die Kirch, da sie mit Ruhe  
Flux einschlaffen auff ein hart banck,  
Dieweil ein stund in felt zu lang.

Mentzel, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 476.



our rural regions to-day. It is true that the managers often complain of bad business in their petitions, but that must have been usually merely a device for working on the sympathies of the council and securing permission to play longer. Doubtless there was small attendance at many a representation, but as the troupes never played long at a place and came only at long intervals, we must believe that good attendance was the rule, and that the estimate of 500 is a moderate average.

The price of admission is mentioned occasionally in the records. The following summary, complete so far as my observation goes, is given here for the more important places, the name of the town preceding in each case: Ulm, one pfennig in August, 1594, and March, 1597, one kreuzer in October, 1600, and June, 1602, two kreuzers in November, 1602, November, 1603, August, 1606, August, 1609, August, 1614; Nuremberg, one batzen in April, 1596, half a batzen in October, 1612, three kreuzers and three kreuzers additional "für einen sitz oder auff den gang" in June, 1616, three kreuzers in May, 1618, six kreuzers in July, 1628; Strassburg, three kreuzers in August, 1596, July, 1597, December, 1599, June, 1601, June, 1605, one shilling in May, 1614, three kreuzers, but soon increased to one batzen, in June, 1618; Frankfort, one albus (= two kreuzers) in September, 1597, "sonsten 8 d und vff den gengen nur 4 d" at both fairs in 1601, eight and four pfennigs at Easter, 1603, eight pfennigs at Easter, 1605, and in August, 1606, and September, 1610, one albus at Easter, 1614; Memmingen, four kreuzers in February, 1600; Cologne, four albus (the albus was of less value here than at Frankfort) in April, 1600, two, and then three, albus in June, 1603, two albus for those "so kein Gesteiger gebrauchen" and three albus for others in February, 1607, two albus in December, 1613, and again in 1615; Münster, one shilling



in November, 1601, and August, 1612; Danzig, three groshens in August, 1615 and 1616, two groshens in August, 1619. In South Germany, to which the statistics mainly refer, the troupes evidently tried to establish a charge of one batzen and were commonly compelled by the council to take three kreuzers, or less. Still, they must have often succeeded in getting the higher entrance fee in cases where the records are silent. Indeed, when Browne was allowed to raise his price from three kreuzers to one batzen at Strassburg in June, 1618, he stated explicitly that he had been charging the larger sum elsewhere. The average of three kreuzers, which we have assumed, seems therefore abundantly justified.

Moreover, scanty hints in the records seem to indicate that this charge was really only for general admission, that is, for standing room or for the less desirable seats, and that consequently many of the spectators paid a larger fee. This is proved in a few cases by the double prices mentioned in the summary just given. We may perhaps regard this practice as the rule rather than the exception. The probability that many stood increases the probability that many also paid an additional charge. From the allusions, already quoted, to the "gang" and the "Gesteiger" and further, at Frankfort in September, 1610, to the "genge und Kellerey" we are perhaps justified in believing that the space nearest the stage was occupied by those standing, while rising seats at an increased price were erected at the sides and rear, or when the inn yards were used, their surrounding galleries (*i. e.*, genge, as Trautmann suggests<sup>1</sup>) were more expensive. A partial offset to these higher prices was furnished by the free admissions, doubtless limited in number, which we find required at Ulm in November, 1602 and 1603, and August, 1614, and at Danzig in August, 1615. This may have been

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIV, p. 127.



a common arrangement. Besides, the managers were sometimes ordered to give a sample representation free, as at Nuremberg in April, 1596.

A rough estimate of the supposed value of a representation is furnished by the payments for performances at certain of the courts under conditions that lead us to believe that no entrance fee was charged. A few such payments, where the number of representations is positively known, will suffice. Thus, 300 florins were paid for about seven representations at Tübingen in May, 1597, 30 florins for one "comedy" and then 40 florins for its repetition at Munich in 1597, and 30 florins for another in 1607, 75 florins for one representation at Dresden in October, 1600, 400 thalers for eleven representations at Graz in February, 1608. With a single admission price of three kreuzers it would take an audience of 600 to bring in 30 florins, so that these payments at court agree roughly with our estimates. The occasions especially set apart for the presence of the members of the town council and their families were of a different nature, for the public was also admitted on payment of a fee. The council usually added a gratuity, as, for example, 16 florins at Nördlingen in May, 1605, and 24 guldens at Ulm in November, 1602. For performances at coronations and other great festivities, where an entrance fee was charged, the giving of gratuities was not uncommon. Probably none of these were larger than the sum of 200 guldens given to Spencer by Kaiser Matthias at Regensburg in October, 1613.

Certain other expenses of the managers, of which we have here and there a record, point to receipts which must have been large for the times. Machin and Reeves paid at the Frankfort fair at Easter, 1605, the considerable rent of 46 florins for the place where they played and 10 florins for erecting and as much for taking down what is called



their "Gerüst." This probably meant their stage and possibly the seats also. Spencer paid 22 florins weekly for rent and 135 florins for his stage at Regensburg in October, 1613. Green complained at Danzig in August, 1615, that his rent was two ducats daily and that the preparation of "Gallerey, bancken vnnd andere Zubehörung" cost 100 marks. The city of Nuremberg took half the net receipts in lieu of rent in July, 1628. What amounted to a charge for rent, or possibly an addition to it, was the stipulation of payment to some organization, charitable or otherwise. Thus, we hear of 50 thalers for the orphans at Cologne in March, 1626, two thalers daily to a guild at Strassburg in June, 1618, 1,000 guildens to St. Jakob's church at Danzig in August, 1636. As time progressed, such charges tended to increase, doubtless keeping pace with a general rise of prices.

The scant testimony on the point shows a general contemporary belief in the prosperity of these companies. This is borne out by the evidence of Röchell's chronicle for Münster in November, 1601, of Stark's chronicle for Nuremberg in October, 1612, and June, 1613, as well as by the passages already cited from Moryson.

Taken all in all, the comparatively few facts that we can cull from the contemporary records seem to prove conclusively that this English invasion of Germany, which must have had for its chief motive the hope of financial gain, was measurably successful in accomplishing the ends sought. Of course, the averages which we have assumed are in a way misleading. The actors naturally did not share alike. Some received more, some less. And the manager, who commonly took for himself the most popular and profitable rôle, that of the low comedian, undoubtedly looked out for the lion's share of the profits and suffered the chief loss, when loss came. He could, however, find sources of gain



for himself in sums saved on the salaries of the less influential members of his troupe and in the substantial reduction in the per capita cost of board and transportation possible when ten or twenty people traveled together. The cost of living based on Moryson's expenses as a lone traveler represents therefore a possible margin of considerable profit. Barn-storming was then, as now, a precarious occupation, but these English wanderers surely fared as well as their German successors of a century or more later who rallied about Mrs. Neuber, or Schönemann, or Koch.

CHARLES HARRIS.



## XVI.—L'ART DANS LES *CONTES DÉVOTS* DE GAUTIER DE COINCY.

Gautier de Coincy, ou Quency, ou Comsy, ou Coinsy, ou Coigny, est, on le sait, ce moine bénédictin, Prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne, puis de Saint Médard près de Soissons, qui au début de la relativement brillante période littéraire du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, écrivit en français la collection la plus importante qui nous soit parvenue des Miracles de Notre Dame. Son œuvre entière, dont la plus grande partie de beaucoup consiste en ces contes rimés, comprend 30 à 40,000 vers. Il a été parfois étudié par les savants, mais les hommes de lettres, considérant un poète du point de vue de sa valeur intrinsèque et artistique, n'ont pas encore été tentés fortement. Pourtant son œuvre est importante. Les hommes qui connaissent le mieux leur Moyen-Age s'en rendent compte et appellent de leurs vœux depuis longtemps le Romaniste dévoué qui mettra la main à une édition scientifique de notre auteur. Plusieurs travailleurs, comme Mussafia et Paul Meyer, ont posé les premiers jalons.

En attendant, l'édition Poquet (1857), si défectueuse soit-elle du point de vue philologique, est d'un précieux secours à ceux qui seraient curieux de cette étude des idées religieuses au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,—et comment prétendre comprendre le Moyen-Age sans cette étude? La religion, ou au moins l'Église, est au fond de tout.<sup>1</sup> C'est le domaine où Gautier est surtout important.

Pour ceux aussi qui voudraient considérer son œuvre du point de vue esthétique et qui n'auraient pas la patience

<sup>1</sup> On le reconnaît de plus en plus. Voir p. ex. F. Picavet, *Esquisses d'une Histoire générale et comparée des Philosophies médiévales*, Paris, Alcan. 1905.



d'attendre l'édition définitive, le travail de Poquet rendra de grands services.<sup>1</sup>

C'est précisément ce dernier but que nous nous proposons ici, et si nous voulons volontiers commencer notre étude en déclarant que Gautier n'est pas un grand artiste—et ne prétend pas l'être,<sup>2</sup>—cette concession ne nuira pas trop, nous l'espérons, à l'intérêt de notre travail. Notre titre ne doit égarer personne. Gautier ne peut prétendre à aucune originalité d'invention. Mussafia dans de patientes recherches a pu indiquer les sources exactes de presque tous ses miracles. Mais Gautier a traité ses sujets à sa façon, et bon ou mauvais, c'est là de l'art. Aussi bien, au Moyen-Âge il s'agit presque

<sup>1</sup> Pour les autres poèmes qui sont peut-être de Gautier, "La nativité N. D. sainte Marie," "Dou beneoit dent que nostre sire mua en s'enfance," "La nativité nostre seigneur Jesu Christ et ses enfances," "La genealogie Nostre Dame," "L'Assumption Nostre Dame," "La vie et les faiz Jesu Crist," Voir R. Reinsch, *Dichtungen Gautier's von Coigny*, Herrig's Archiv, Band 67, Ss. 73-98, 233-268.

<sup>2</sup> Gautier ne se fait pas d'illusions sur ses talents de poète, et il n'est que juste de mettre à son crédit dès l'abord cette louable franchise. Il a d'ailleurs d'autres visées, l'édification religieuse.

Moult rudement espoir dirai	Qu'en Juvenal ne qu'en Virgile,
Com cil qui n'a pas grand savoir,	Plus be a plaie a Notre Dame
Mais saint Jeroime fait savoir	Et se be plus a aucune ame
Et bien le dict l'autoritez,	A s'amour sachier et atraire
Que simplement la veritez	Par simplement le voir retraire
Vaut miex a dire rudement	Que je ne be a plaie aus genz
Que biau mentir et soutilment.	Par dire moz polis et genz.
En ces miracles a retraire	Li simple mot charchie de fruit
A profiter be plus que plaie	Valent moult miex si com je cuit
Plus weil ensuivre le prophete	Et plus a l'ame sunt vaillant
Que je ne face le poete.	Que mot agu ne mot taillant
Plus penre weil sur saint Jehan.	Que pluseur dient por renom
Et sus saint Luc que sur Lucan.	Ou il n'a rien se fueilles non. . . .
Plus be a penre en l'evangile	

(Prol. au 2d livre, v. 56-82, ed. Poquet, Col. 376-377.<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>3</sup> Nous citerons toujours, sauf mention spéciale, l'édition Poquet.



toujours de comprendre plutôt que d'admirer. Et si Gautier a été négligent ou gauche, nous pensons qu'en raison même de cette gaucherie et de cette simplicité, qui le rend moins habile à dissimuler, il nous fera mieux toucher du doigt les tâtonnements de l'art français à ses origines.

Il est ainsi bien entendu que nous ne faisons pas ici de recherches de sources au sens où l'on entend généralement ce terme. Gautier a trouvé des récits latins, le plus souvent sans couleur ; comment les a-t-il mis en valeur ?

Le seul but de Gautier est de confondre les mécréants, et confirmer les fidèles dans leur foi.

Sovent m'avient que je sorri  
De mautalent d'ardeur et d'ire  
Quant j'oi aucun buisnart dire  
Que les miracles ne croie mie  
De madame Sainte Marie

J'en desenis touz quant je l'oi  
. . . . .  
Cil qui ce dist n'est pas creanz  
Mes herites et mecreanz.  
La mere Dieu peut assez plus  
Que tuit li saint du ciel lasus. . . .  
(Col. 4-5, v. 68-90).<sup>1</sup>

Il est fort possible que Gautier n'eût pas songé même à écrire en vers, n'eût été la convention très stricte de l'époque de composer en langage rythmé des pièces d'agrément. Il ne voit pas qu'il puisse autrement contrebalancer l'influence, à ses yeux pernicieuse, des poètes profanes, qu'en les attaquant sur leur propre terrain. Il se mit donc à rimer, à peu près comme un commerçant qui veut enfoncer un concurrent et qui se met à fabriquer des produits donnant si possible le change sur ceux du voisin. Lui il prêche des vérités chrétiennes et des miracles de la Vierge et des Saints, dont

Clerc ne lai douter n'en doit,  
Et s'il en doute, de son doit

Li doit chascun les yex pochier.  
(Col. 271-273, *passim*.)

<sup>1</sup> Voir aussi Col. 662, v. 574-585, Col. 571-574 *passim*, et Col. 649 ss., *Le miracle de Notre Dame de Sardenay*.



Même des gens pieux, hélas ! même le clergé parfois se  
laisse aller à aimer la littérature profane,

Quant puet un clerc ou un provoire	Plus granz deduis est ce me semble
Qui dire doit les Dieu paroles	De raconter vraies hystoires,
Faire chanter chant de Karoles,	Bonnes essamples, paroles voires
Dire gabois et lécheries,	Et de traire les sainz faiz
Il m'est avis que sainte bouche	Des sainz hommes et des parfaiz,
Qui le cors Dieu baise et atouche	De parler sainz et saintes
Ne devroit pas mençonges dire	Que de trufer trufes et saintes.
Ne vanitez chanter ne lire.	(Col. 382, v. 343-359.)
Quant genz lettres sont ensemble	

Plus bas ce sont ceux qui “por Marot Marie laissent”  
(v. 379) qu'il attaque, Ailleurs ce sont ceux qui prétendent  
n'avoir “nul talent” pour prières et “miserere,” mais

Plus volentiers chant pastoreles	Et d'Olivier et de Rolant.
	(Col. 365, v. 90-91. <sup>1</sup> )

Que ses chants à lui sont différents, plus attrayants aux  
“bonnes genz” !

Plus delitant sont tuit li conte	Si bien traier et si bien dire
A bonnes genz, par saint Omer,	Que pluseur genz puisse enflamer
Que de Renart ne de Romer,	A son servise bien amer
Ne de Tardiu le limeçon.	Par mi le voir outre en irai,
La douce Dame tel leçon	(Col. 376, v. 46-55.)
Me doint de lui conter et lire	

Ne soit clerçons ne clerçonnez	Lessiez ester les chançonnettes
Qui ne la (Marie) serve et aint et lot.	Quar ne sont pas leurs chançons netes.
De Tiberçon et d'Amelot	(Col. 382, v. 321-325.)

Il ressort de ceci que, de ses contemporains profanes,  
Gautier n'a voulu emprunter que l'idée des récits en vers.  
Mais où Gautier, dépourvu de toute espèce d'originalité  
poétique, pouvait-il chercher un modèle pour sa poésie qu'il  
désirait différente de la profane ? Nous verrons—et ce sera

<sup>1</sup> Voir aussi Col. 390, IV, III.



la partie originale de ce travail—qu'il se tourna naturellement vers les poètes latins de son temps, auteurs des livres qui constituaient ses lectures quotidiennes. Et il s'agit ici des poètes lyriques ; Gautier paraît n'avoir guère connu les quelques miracles en vers latins de ses contemporains. On trouvera en effet chez lui une imitation le plus souvent sans discernement, mieux, une simple transposition des procédés poétiques de ses modèles. Si la prosodie latine adoptée au Moyen-âge est susceptible d'être mise en usage en français, voilà une question qui est au-dessus de sa compétence et de son tact littéraire. Des moines pieux s'en sont servis, cela semble tout justifier d'avance.

Pourtant nous devons commencer par dire quelques mots du fond de ses récits.

Et d'abord, pour le contenu de ses histoires, non seulement Gautier est esclave de ses sources par incapacité, mais il prétend bien ne pas faire œuvre d'imagination. Ce sont des histoires *vraies* qu'il raconte. Et certes la matière ne manquera jamais. Il se livre à ce sujet à des jongleries de mots d'un parfait mauvais goût.

Quar assorber assez tot puis  
Se j'en parfont puiser ne puis  
Qu'espuiser ne puet nus puiseres,  
Tant soiz epuisanz espuiseres.  
C'est mers conques nus n'espuisa.

Veez son nom, M et puis A,  
R e puis I, puis A et puis.  
Mes trouveres ne mie puis.  
Marie est mers que nus n'espuise  
Plus y treuve qui plus i puise.

(Col. 4, v. 41-50.)

Il a cru prendre les plus beaux, miracles mais s'avise après coup en écrivant le prologue à son premier livre qu'il a laissé les meilleurs,—aussi va-t-il en écrire aussitôt un second.

Se Diex m'ait huiz et demain  
Tant miracles me vient a la main  
En grant livre ou je le puis  
Que je ne sai ne je ne puis  
Les plus plaisans choisir ne lire.

Quant a la fois le preing a lire  
Ceus qu'arriere ai entrelessiez  
Lors m'est avis que j'ai laissiez  
Et les meilleurs et les plus biaux.

(Col. 145, v. 1-9.)



L'abondance des miracles est pour lui une des preuves les plus convaincantes de la puissance de Marie. En outre il aura une préférence pour les récits où les prodiges s'accumulent de la façon la plus invraisemblable. Dans le miracle de Notre Dame de Sardenay par exemple, c'est à un point que le merveilleux est devenu l'ordinaire et le naturel l'extraordinaire. Gautier y consacre plus de 1000 vers.

Un pèlerin se rendant à Jérusalem, visite en passant en Égypte, une recluse très pieuse qui lui demande de lui rapporter une image de la Vierge achetée près du saint-sépulcre. Le pèlerin oublie, et une voix d'en haut le fait rebrousser chemin. Peu après avoir quitté la ville sainte pour la seconde fois, il est assailli par un lion furieux, lequel cependant, par l'influence de l'image, devient soudain doux comme un agneau. A peine échappé à ce danger, le pèlerin tombe dans un guet-apens, mais les voleurs de grand chemin entre les mains de qui il est tombé, reçoivent un avertissement du ciel de ne pas toucher à ce voyageur. Surpris de la puissance de cette image, notre pèlerin est tenté de l'emmener dans son pays sans retourner chez la dame. Il s'embarque dans cette intention, et un orage éclate terrible. Effrayé, il veut jeter à la mer l'image fatale, aussitôt apparaît un ange qui lui défend bien de commettre une action si sacrilège et lui ordonne au contraire d'élever le talisman vers le ciel. Immédiatement la mer se calme, puis un fort vent d'occident repousse le vaisseau au port d'où il était sorti. Le pèlerin comprend, retourne chez la recluse qui ne le reconnaît pas. Nouvelle tentation de s'en aller sans donner l'image. Nouvelle intervention divine : le religieux ne trouve plus de porte dans la chapelle où il priait avant de se mettre en route. Il est enfin vaincu par tant de prodiges et raconte ses aventures à la recluse. Ensemble ils honorent alors nuit et jour l'image merveilleuse. En signe de reconnaissance la Vierge fit découler du tableau une sorte de sueur qui, recueillie dans des vases, guérissait diverses maladies. Les pèlerins accourent en foule et la recluse a l'idée d'honorer sa patronne en choisissant un autre lieu, plus digne de Marie, pense-t-elle. On élèvera là un temple magnifique. Pour transporter l'image, elle avait fait venir un prêtre de grande réputation. Dès que celui-ci la touche, il tombe, frappé de maladie, et meurt tôt après. L'huile miraculeuse continue à couler cependant, et les pèlerins en emportent. Le soudan d'Égypte vint aussi au pèlerinage et fut guéri d'aveuglement. Les aumônes des fidèles permettent de construire un magnifique monastère sur l'emplacement de la modeste cellule.

Après cette accumulation de miracles, Gautier se croit bien en droit d'attaquer les mécréants. Mais pour ceux qui ne seraient pas convaincus, il cite ensuite encore toute une série de nouveaux miracles, non moins



étonnants que les précédents, se ramenant indirectement à l'influence de la même image, et dont plusieurs lui ont été racontés par des témoins oculaires. Certains, ajoute-t-il, ont eu jusqu'à dix mille témoins. Enfin tous ces miracles réunis ne doivent être regardés que comme autant de témoignages au plus grand de tous, la naissance de Jésus d'une vierge.

Ja ne verra Dieu en la face	De miracle ne de merveille,
Qui est en dubitation	Ne de vertu que veille faire
De sa sainte incarnation. . . .	Tant parest Diex de haute affaire
Bien a les yex du cuer clincorgnes	Que de nient fist et crea
Bien est aveugles et bien borgnes	Le monde et quanqu'il y a
Qui s'esbahit, qui se merveille	Et d'une virge fist sa Mere. . . .

(Col. 670-671, v. 989-1003.)

Un second moyen d'honorer la Vierge, non pas devisé par Gautier, car cela est implicitement contenu dans les textes latins,—mais soigneusement dégagé du contexte et expliqué par lui, c'est de la montrer plus puissante que les autres habitants du Paradis. Il s'efforce de développer ces deux vers déjà cités du Prologue au Livre I.

La mere Dieu puet assez plus	Que tuit li saint du ciel lasus.
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Citons deux miracles de notre collection où ce procédé est particulièrement apparent. Le premier est "D'un abbe et ses compaignons et autres genz que Notre Dame secourut en la mer" (Col. 517-522) :

Des voyageurs voulant passer la mer sont assaillis par une formidable tempête. Chacun se recommande à quelque saint, sans que cependant l'ouragan s'apaise. Il y a danger de mort pour tous. On invoque tour à tour St. Nicolas, St. Cler et St. André. On fait des vœux, on promet force pèlerinages. Enfin un abbé recommande de se réclamer de la Vierge. Tous tombent à genoux, et l'abbé entonne le "Felix namque Virgo." A peine avait-il commencé ce chant qu'on vit descendre du ciel un grand cierge sur le mat du navire. L'orage tomba incontinent et la mer redevint tranquille.

L'abbe en pleurant avait crie	S'a haute vois reclamissies
Beles gens, qu'est ce que je voi?	N'aura ja force ne duree
Vous faites mau veus par mes yex.	En lieu ou el soit nommee.
Vous feissiez la moitie miex	Et vostre affaire meissies



Sus madame Sainte Marie.  
 Quar nul saint n'est de tel aie  
 Ne de si grant ne de si preste,

Orages ne vens ne tempeste  
 Ains la doit on nommer ades  
 Et puis les autres sainz apres.  
 (Col. 517, v. 30—41.)

Et le mot de la fin :

Par droit te doit on miex nommer  
 Ainz servir ainz reclamer?

Car de ton doit sordre convient  
 Tout le bien qui par eus nous vient.  
 (Col. 520, v. 177—180.)

L'autre miracle est encore plus caractéristique, car nous y voyons Marie plus puissante en fait, sinon en droit, que le Seigneur lui-même : “ D'un moine resuscite de l'une et l'autre mort par la deserte Nostre Dame.”

Un moine de St. Pierre de Cologne avait mené une vie scandaleuse. La mort le surprit avant qu'il pût se réconcilier avec l'Eglise et Dieu par l'absolution. Les diables arrivent et emportent son âme. Seulement le religieux avait toujours été très fidèle dans ses dévotions à saint Pierre, et celui-ci veut tâcher de sauver l'âme d'un serviteur si dévoué. Il va trouver le Seigneur qui lui explique l'impossibilité d'agréer à sa demande au nom de la justice, le ciel doit être réservé pour les bons. Saint Pierre s'en va alors auprès des autres saints, ses collègues, les priant d'intercéder auprès de Dieu pour son protégé. Leurs prières cependant demeurent sans effet. Mais Saint Pierre se rend auprès de la Vierge.

Notre priere rien ne vaut  
 Mes tu es l'ars qui ne faut  
 N'ainz ne failli ne ne fera

Ta proiere, moult miex vaura  
 Que toutes les nos a cent doubles.

Ces flatteries adroites réussissent. La Vierge accepte de prendre en main la cause du moine, et dès ce moment Saint Pierre sait bien qu'il a gagné son procès.

Quar sans doutance bien savoit  
 Que sa besoigne faite avoit

Puisque cele l'avoit en prise  
 Ou forme humaine (Dieu) avoit prise.

Et il ne se trompe pas. La scène où, subtilement Marie fait revenir son “ fils ” et son “ père ” sur sa parole, est vraiment jolie,—quoique pas empreinte de beaucoup d'esprit de dévotion.

Pour une certaine catégorie de lecteurs la puissance de Marie, comparée à celle, des autres saints pouvait être un argument convainquant; pour la majorité cependant, la



puissance de la Sainte Vierge mise en contraste avec celle du diable était un fait plus éloquent encore. Gautier exploite cette mine d'inspiration jusqu'à en devenir monotone. Il faut dire du reste, que cette opposition-là avait l'avantage de ne pas porter préjudice au prestige des autres saints et concourait tout entière à la victoire de la bonne cause. Enfin Gautier était lui-même fortement convaincu de l'existence d'un diable matériel. Il raconte en détail dans son Prologue au "Miracle de Sainte Léochade" la visite qu'il reçut du monstre redoutable sorti de l'enfer exprès pour chercher à l'empêcher de chanter les miracles de la Vierge.

A mie nuit, plus grant d'un sesne  
Devant moi vint a Vi sus Esne,  
Mau talentis, chaus et boulans  
Erailliez et reboulans  
Noirs et cornus, lais et covez,  
Se Diex ne fust mes avouez,  
Et sa tres douce sade mere  
De cui traitoie une matere,  
La nuit meesmes que ce fu  
Estoient meuz et ars du feu

Qui de la gueule li sailloit. . . .  
. . . . .  
Le cuer du ventre vous trerai  
Quant tant la loez et prisiez  
Et moi gabez et despisiez.  
A tant me vout sanz delaier  
Fichier ou cors et entaier  
Ses agus croz et ses granz pates, . . .  
(Col. 113-114, v. 131-168.)

C'est un de ses moyens d'art préférés de dépeindre Satan aussi effrayant que possible pour rendre l'antithèse d'autant plus grande avec la beauté suave de la Vierge, et avec son exquise douceur et bonté. De même l'enfer dont, en des visions, se voient menacés les pécheurs, est décrit soigneusement en sorte de laisser une vive impression de la valeur du secours de Marie lorsqu'elle vous retire d'un tel abîme. Voici par exemple la façon dont le Diable décrit les souffrances d'un usurier en enfer.

Ou feu d'enfer serez plungiee  
Pointe demorse et derungiee  
De boteraus et de coulenvres.  
Tant avez faiz de puantes euvres  
Qu'assez aurez male aventure.  
Les granz bourses plaines d'usure

Au col vous seront ja pendues.  
Crapous, lezardes et sansues  
Cervele et yex vous suceront,  
Langue palais vous mengeront  
Et rungeront le cuer du ventre.  
Huy en cest jor douleur vous entre



Qui james jor ne vous faudra  
 Quant la chaleur vous assaudra  
 Du feu d'enfer bien porrez dire  
 C'usuriers suefrent grant martire.  
 Ne vous puet mes nus delivrer,  
 Je vous vorrai par tous livrer

Au mestre et au seigneur d'enfer.  
 Lors hance son croc de fer  
 Qui plus est chaux que fer en forge  
 S'el refiert si parmi la gorge  
 Que l'ame en fait par force issir.  
 (Col. 438-439, v. 443-465.)

Voir pour une autre définition analogue, Col. 477, v. 43-87.<sup>1</sup>

La Vierge d'autre part n'a qu'à se montrer, elle n'a qu'à être nommée pour mettre en fuite le Prince des ténèbres.

Le Deable si desconfit,  
 Se grant estoit plus d'un clochier  
 Ne l'oseroit il aprochier,  
 N'ose aprochier home ne fame  
 Qui bien s'avent a Nostre Dame,  
 Sachier por voir, sachiez sans doute

Si forment crient, si forment doute  
 Ceste Dame ceste Royme  
 De peeur la queue trayne  
 Tout maintenant qu'il l'ot nommer.  
 (Col. 113, v. 98-107.)

Cette faculté de mettre en fuite "l'ennemi" frappe tant Gautier qu'il en fait, en quelque sorte, une épithète de la Vierge, dans ses énumérations interminables des qualités de la Reine du Ciel.

Quelquefois la Vierge entre en scène elle-même pour se mesurer avec Satan. Et Gautier aime ces scènes. Il ne craint pas d'insister sur le comique des situations. C'est le cas, par exemple, dans "Le sénateur de Rome," ou "De la borjoise qui fu grose de son fil," qui n'a pas été publié par Poquet, mais que J. Ulrich a mis à la disposition des savants en l'éditant dans la *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (Band VI, p. 325 et ss.).

Or n'aies garde bone fame  
 Le faus devin, le jangleor

De qui tu as tele paor  
 D'un seul regard l'ebaubirai. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Voir une étude de C. Fritsche dans les *Rom. Forschungen*, II, 247-279, and III, 337-369, *Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts*. On y trouve les représentations de l'enfer et du paradis avant l'époque de Gautier. Depuis les Prophètes et les apocryphes, en passant par les Pères de l'Eglise, l'auteur fait aboutir à Dante cette longue évolution.



Ainsi parle Notre Dame, et ainsi fait-elle. La déconvenue du Diable est décrite de façon à égayer le lecteur.<sup>1</sup>

Il a aussi traité avec amour une autre légende, fréquemment rencontrée dans les collections latines de l'époque et qui est une importation d'un conte oriental—voir par exemple *Mille et une nuits*, l'histoire du second Saalouk—dans la littérature religieuse chrétienne. “Du moine que Notre Dame deffendi du Deable qui le voulait tuer en guise de lion.” Un moine ivrogne a un profond respect pour la Vierge et il le prouve par des saluts nombreux aux images de sa patronne. Celle-ci lui est reconnaissante, et une nuit, qu'en rentrant au couvent dans un état complet d'ébriété, il est attaqué successivement par trois monstres, un taureau, un gros chien, et un lion, qui ne sont autres que le Diable déguisé, Marie le sauve. La troisième fois, pour empêcher Satan de revenir :

D'une verge tant le bati  
Que contre terre l'abati.  
Tant l'a batu, tant l'a roissie  
Por peu ne l'a tout defroissie.  
Lors commande a l'anemi  
Que mais ne viegne a son ami,  
Et s'il y vient, por voir le sache  
Ou fons d'enfer, a une estache

Sera liez en tel maniere  
N'ira jamais n'avant n'arriere  
Queue bessant s'en est fouis  
Couroucies, maz et esmuïs  
Ains com fumiere devint  
Ains puis au moine ne revint.  
(Col. 329, v. 87-100.)

Ailleurs la Vierge n'est que le général qui commande l'armée des anges contre celle des démons, ou vient au secours de ses soldats en cas de besoin. Dans “Du moine que Notre Dame resuscita qui estoit peris par son pechie,” où un religieux de mauvaise vie, mais fidèle par ses dévotions, meurt par accident et sans avoir eu le temps de se confesser, la lutte entre anges et démons a déjà duré un

<sup>1</sup> Comparez une scène assez semblable dans le *Dit du poivre chevalier*, publié par Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes*, pp. 138-144.



certain temps quand Marie apparaît pour confondre l'ennemi par un long discours, plus qu'énergique, qui débute ainsi,

Leus enragiez, sauvages bestes,  
Comment vous monta il es testes  
L'unques fere tel outrage  
Tel desverie et tel rage  
Que vers celui tendistes mains  
Qui tant me servoit soir et main  
Et mesmes fois par son courage

S'agenoillet devant m'ymage.  
Pullentes bestes, leu vuarol,  
Serez vous ja nul jor saol  
De genz noier et soubiser,  
D'ames mengier et trangler? . . .  
(Col. 467, v. 249 ss.)

Même traitement dans "De Girart qui s'ocist par decevement au Diable com il aloit a Saint-Jacques." Deux saints, Pierre et Jacques, ont maille à partir avec le Diable, et Marie assure la victoire aux représentants du paradis (Col. 467 ss.).

Enfin dans "Du vilain qui a grant poine savoit la moitié de son Ave Maria," dont le héros est un fort peu moral personnage, la puissance de la Vierge s'exerce à l'encontre de tous les droits de la vertu. Certes le vilain méritait d'être enfoncé au plus profond de l'enfer, mais la patronne de Rome surmonte tous les obstacles sans exception, et en dépit des plus justifiées protestations de ses ennemis :

Je volez celer larrons  
Mais ce n'est li diables

Donc est la Dieu parole fable.  
(Col. 619, v. 72-74.)

Il ne restait plus qu'un pas à franchir, et Gautier n'a pas hésité à le franchir. Dans "Du chevalier a cui la volente de venter n'est fait apres sa mort," le Seigneur avait déjà vaincu les démons quand Marie survient et réussit à faire passer le jugement de celui qui est appelé dans le monde "le droys Roys qui nus ne desdit." Les démons s'amusent grandement de ces tournois entre les représentants de Satan et la pucelle du paradis, dans le monde et de la fame au chevalier." Ce sont de ces tournois qui attirèrent un jour l'Eglise à condamner



le théâtre qu'elle avait elle-même fondé. Si elle n'a pas eu à intervenir dans le domaine des contes dévots, c'est que le genre tomba de soi-même en désuétude.

Gautier trouve ensuite des ressources, pour mettre en relief le pouvoir de Marie et ranimer le zèle des fidèles pour son culte, dans la faiblesse humaine, faiblesse morale d'une part, et fragilité physique d'autre part. Il exploite les deux veines avec un enthousiasme égal, et avec un égal manque de tact et de goût.

On a si souvent cité ses contes appartenant à la première catégorie, à titre de "curiosa" psychologiques et moraux que nous n'y insisterons pas. Nous rappelons seulement pour mémoire les principaux de la collection :

"Du larron que Notre Dame soustint par III jours as fourches pendant et le delivra de la mort" (Col. 501-504). Vol. et brigandage.

"Comment Notre Dame guari un clerc de son let qui trop griement estoit malade" (Col. 341-346). Mauvaise vie en général. (Ne pas confondre avec "Du moine que Notre Dame gueri de son let" (Col. 347-354)).

"Du vilain qui a grant poine savoit la moitié de son Ave Maria" (Col. 617-28, id.).

"Du clerc qui mist l'anel ou doi Nostre Dame" (Col. 355-360) et "De Theophile" (Col. 29-74). Parjure et reniement ; pacte avec le diable.

De même "C'est d'une nonnain qui issi de l'abbaie par son amis" (Publié par J. Ulrich, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Bd. VI).

"C'est d'une abbessse qui molt amoit sainte Marie" (Publié *ibid.*). C'est le récit connu généralement sous le nom de "L'abbessse délivrée." La luxure, même chez ceux qui devraient le plus s'en abstenir.

"Du senateur de Rome" (Publié *ibid.*). Un inceste d'une femme avec son fils.



Et peut-être devrions-nous compter ici, si nous prenons le point de vue de Gautier, toutes les histoires où le pêcheur meurt sans confession, comme “De Girart qui s’ocist . . . .” (déjà cité), “D’un moine resucite de l’une et de l’autre mort . . . .” (déjà cité), “Coment un hons noie en la mer fu delivre par l’ayde Nostre Dame” (Col. 605–16), et l’exemple classique que l’on trouvera dans “Du miracle de l’escommunie qui ne pavoit trouver qui l’asousist” (Col. 575–592). On pourra voir aussi dans le “Sénateur de Rome” une dissertation sur l’importance de la confession.<sup>1</sup>

Dans tous ces récits, le but de l’auteur est de montrer qu’il n’est aucun abîme moral dont Notre Dame ne puisse nous retirer. Désespérez du secours des saints, craignez la majesté de la justice de Dieu, sentez-vous déjà dans les griffes de Satan et la proie des flammes de l’enfer, la “sade” et “soutile” mère de Dieu viendra à votre secours, et toujours efficacement.

Ja de tout ce riens ne t’esmaie,  
Fet Nostre Dame, biaux douz amis,  
Quant ton affaire a sus moi mis

Ja n’i auras tant de meschief  
Que je n’en viengne tout a chief.  
(*De Theophile*, Col. 59, v. 1336–40.)

On a moins insisté jusqu’ici sur la nature du miracle physique opéré par la Vierge dans les miracles de Gautier de Coincy, et cependant ce côté de la question suggère d’importantes remarques.

Gautier semble prendre plaisir à décrire avec tous les détails dégoutants qu’il peut imaginer, les maladies des personnes guéries par la Vierge, et vraiment son imagination ne semble jamais à court ; il est aussi prolix et abondant en ce sujet que quand il se met à accumuler les adjectifs et épithètes louangeuses sur la reine du ciel.

Nous n’en citerons qu’un exemple de quelque étendue,

<sup>1</sup> Le chevalier de la tour Landry est allé plus loin que Gautier dans ce sujet, cf. chap. IX et chap. LI.



tiré "Du moine que Notre Dame gueri de son let." Un moine fidèle à la Vierge, tombe gravement malade, on le croit déjà mort, quand sa patronne intervient miraculeusement et, en lui offrant le lait de sa mamelle, le guérit.

Cheuz est en un grief malage  
Qui moult le grieve durement,  
N'a pas geu moult longuement  
Quant a la gorge li relieve

Une raances qui moult li grieve  
Et qui raancle si griement  
Que bien vous puis dire briement  
Parler ne puet, nul seul mot dire. . .  
Hideus et lais est comme un moustres  
Tout le vis a couvert de bloustres,  
De granz boces et de granz cleus,  
Et si a tant plaies et treus  
Qu'il put aussi come une sete.<sup>1</sup>  
Por ce qu'il est pales et tains.  
Cuide chascun qu'il soit estains.

Moult se detuert, moult se dejeté,  
Et moult sueffre grant passion. . . .

. . . . .  
A granz doutance (les moines) l'en-  
nuillent

Quar ne sevent s'est mor, ou vis.  
Tant a enfle et gros le vis  
Qu'il n'i pert oil, nes, ne bouche,  
Moult a enuis chascun i touche  
Car ou visage a tant de plaies  
Plaines d'estoupes et de naies,  
Et tant en saut vermine et boe  
Que tout son lit soille et enboe.  
Leur nes estoupent li pluseur  
De leur manches, por la pueur  
Et que l'ame s'en soit partie. . . .

(Col. 347-348, v. 42-85.)

Ces descriptions inspirées par une ou deux lignes de latin abondent. Voir "Les miracles de Nostre Dame de Soissons" (Col. 146 ss.) où sont groupés quatre guérisons de ce terrible mal des ardents décrit ainsi par un auteur du temps.

"Un fléau terrible désola successivement les cités de Chartres, Paris, Soissons, Cambrai, Arras. C'était le trop fameux *mal des ardents*. Le corps une fois enflammé par ce mal, brûlait avec des tourments insupportables jusqu'à ce que l'âme s'en séparât. La maladie insinuant son venin sous la peau livide et gonflée, sépare la chair des os et la consume ; la douleur croissant de moment en moment, force le malheureux malade à souhaiter la mort, et il ne peut cependant obtenir ce remède suprême, jusqu'à ce que le feu rapide, après avoir fait sa pâture des extrémités, envahisse les parties vitales ; alors, chose merveilleuse, ce feu qui dévore sans douleur, transit les malades d'un froid glacial que rien ne peut

<sup>1</sup> Sorte de loutre fort puante (Poquet).



réchauffer ; puis soudainement, lorsque la grâce divine fait disparaître ce froid précurseur de la mort, ces mêmes parties vitales sont envahies par une telle chaleur que le mal du chancre (la gangrène) s'y joindrait si on ne le prévenait par des médicaments. Rien n'est horrible comme de voir les malades et les gens récemment guéris et parcourir des yeux, sur leurs corps et leurs visages mutilés et décomposés, les traces de la mort à laquelle ils viennent d'échapper" (Nicolas, moine de St. Crépin, *De vita Godefridi*, Lib. I, ch. 25,—cité d'après Poquet, pp. 137-138).

D'après le passage de Gautier cité ci-dessus, on voit que c'était bien là une maladie faite pour l'inspirer. Il reprend le sujet dans le miracle de Notre Dame d'Arras "De la pucele d'Arras a qui Nostre Dame s'aparut" (Col. 261-274). Voir encore "Comment Nostre Dame gueri un clerc de son let qui trop griement estoit malade" (Col. 341-346), et "Le miracle du riche homme et de la povre vieillette" (Col. 430-442).<sup>1</sup>

Il nous paraît évident que l'insistance de Gautier sur ces choses ultra-repoussantes, en pleins sujets religieux—car, nous l'avons dit, Gautier développe considérablement ses textes latins—s'expliquent en grande partie par le but que toujours il poursuivait, la glorification de Marie. Plus les malades sont dégoûtants, plus est manifeste l'insondable charité de Notre Dame. Cela est particulièrement évident

<sup>1</sup> Jehan le Marchant, l'imitateur de Gautier, lui a emprunté aussi ce procédé mais aveuglément. En outre il n'a pas l'abondance de son modèle. Voici un exemple de réalisme excessif. Il est tiré du miracle 7 "D'une meschine de Saint Prest que N. D. resoucita de mort à vie." La mère prie la Vierge pour l'enfant qui s'est noyée.

La douce dame glorieuse  
La mere qui ert angoisseuse  
Regarda piteiablement  
Et oi debonneirement  
Son pleint, son plor et ses prieres  
Qu'il avint, ne demora guieres  
Que li enfans qui estoit mors

Mist hors la bouche a grant gort  
L'eive qui ert ou corps entree,  
Dont ele avoit pris tele ventree  
Que pou le ventre ne creva.  
Mes par miracles s'esseua,  
Que leive sen eissi trestoute  
Si que ou ventre n'en remest goutte.



dans les miracles où la Vierge elle-même vient prendre le rôle de médecin au sens physique du terme ; il est significatif que le miracle de la guérison par le lait soit repris deux fois par Gautier,<sup>1</sup> et la maladie est aussi terrible dans un cas que dans l'autre. Gautier est un Victor Hugo sans génie ; il pousse partout l'antithèse ; c'est pour glorifier la pureté et la douceur de la Vierge qu'il a recours aux procédés les plus impurs et les plus brutaux.

De toutes les images réalistes de Gautier, aucune ne se présente aussi souvent à lui et n'est plus fréquemment incorporée dans ses vers, que celle du nauséabond. Il serait intéressant de faire une statistique comparative des adjectifs les plus usités dans les *Miracles*. On obtiendrait certainement des résultats curieux. Que les maladies soient puantes chez Gautier, soit ; — que le Diable et l'enfer soient puants, — soit encore.

Cil puis, cele fosse, cil goufre	Si grant pueur hors en iessoit
Iert plus puans mil tans que soufre,	Tout l'air en empullentissoit. . . .
(Col. 477, v. 53 ss. Cf. Col. 700 et passim.)	

Mais le terme ne s'imposait pas dans des vers comme les suivants ; quelques exemples seulement entre mille.

Bien doit crier, braire et usler	Cil qui de cuers, de cors et d'ame
Bien doit ses poins batre et detordre	N'onneure et sert la douce Dame. . . .
Bien est puans et de pute ordre	(Col. 252, v. 566-570.)

Les mécréants,

Qui sont si felun si rebous	A Dieu puant et a sa mere
Qu'ils puent plus que ne font bous,	A touz sainz et a toutes saintes. . . .
Puant leur vie est amère	(Col. 271, v. 437-441.)

Ô Pucele glorieuse :

Tant a este puans et desloiaus ma vie	Se te ne fusses, terre ne me soustenist mie.
(Col. 760, v. 83-84.)	

<sup>1</sup> Il est vrai que certaines collections latines sont dans le même cas.



Citons encore ce discours peu élégant, mis malheureusement dans la bouche de la Vierge elle-même, et tiré de “ Du clerc qui mist l’anel ou doi Nostre Dame.” Le jeune homme, après avoir voulu vouer sa vie à la Vierge, oublie son serment et se marie. La nuit, la reine du ciel lui apparaît, et après un premier avertissement inutile, elle revient encore pour l’empêcher de consommer l’acte du mariage. Elle s’adresse à lui entre autres par ces mots.

Bien t’ont Deable fourvoie  
Et avugle, fet Nostre Dame,  
Quant tu por ta chietive fame  
M’as renoiee et deguerpie.  
S’en la pullente pullentie

De la pullante t’empullentes,  
Es santines d’enfer pullentes,  
Seras pullenz empullentez  
Por tes pullentes pullentez. . . .<sup>1</sup>

On comprend que Gautier se garde d’oublier le miracle. “Comment saint Jérôme raconte de l’ymage Nostre Dame que le Juif jeta en la chambre coie” (Col. 423–426). Il se trouve souvent dans les collections latines, (trois fois dans le seul *Speculum historiale*, 7, 81; 21, 92; 23, 160); mais rarement sous cette forme grossière, qui est préférée par Gautier.

N’est-ce pas une réminiscence de Gautier que nous avons dans les deux premiers vers de *La bible Guiot Provins*?

Dou siecle puant et horrible

M’estuet commencer une bible. . . .

Il est à remarquer que Gautier n’a jamais fait usage que dans de longues énumérations de qualités de Marie, de la comparaison à des fleurs qui répandent des parfums. Et cependant, combien de poètes latins bien connus de lui, combien de ses contemporains, ont vu là un grand motif poétique,—motif qui finit par se cristalliser, aux XIII et XIV siècles en ces poèmes allégoriques tels que le *Hortulus* de Conrad de Hannibourg.

<sup>1</sup> Poquet a supprimé ces quatre derniers vers; nous les empruntons à Barbazon et Méon, vol. II.



Des exemples comme ceux que nous venons de relater forcent à admettre que, tout en faisant la part très large au but particulier que poursuivait Gautier pour expliquer ses descriptions naturalistes—montrer la Vierge ne reculant devant aucun acte de charité,—il doit y avoir chez lui une tendance naturelle à ne pas éviter ces sortes de choses, et même à s’y complaire. Dans “De Girart qui s’ocist par decevement au deable com il aloit a Saint Jaques,” un pèlerin “s’origénise” avec son épée et se tue. La Vierge le ressucite et le guérit ; il est fort étonné de trouver sa plaie si bien fermée. Gautier traduit sans broncher la prose latine en vers français :

Merveille fu de ceste chose  
La plaie fu si bien reclose,

N’i ot c’un petitet partuis  
Dont il pissa tout ades puis.

(Méon, Nouv. Rec., p. 152.)

Et c’est la Vierge Marie qui souffre de ces malheureuses dispositions du poète,—une héroïne moins faite que toute autre pour sa brutale imagination. Il semble vraiment, à le lire, que la maternité de la Vierge, est la plus haute ou la seule qualité de la Mère de Dieu. Il n’est pas une page où ne soit célébrée celle qui “en ses saints flancs le roi des rois porta.”

En tes sains flans cil s’enclost, clere gemme,  
Qu’en son poing toute riens a enclose.

En tes sains flans li roy des roys portas,  
En tes douz flans touz depors aportas,

La deportant portee  
Qui au monde a toute joie aportee.

(Col. 24, VII, IV.)

Combien est édifiante cette prière du clerc très dévot à la Vierge, ce qui lui vaut ensuite d’être guéri par le plus étonnant des miracles !



Et si disoit moult humblement :  
 Li sains ventre soit beneis  
 Qui t'alaitierent, si sunt eles,  
 Nos sires es et nos sauverres

Qui te porta, roi Jhesucris,  
 Et benoites soient les mamèles  
 Et de tuit le mont racheterres.<sup>1</sup>  
 (Col. 341, v. 24-30.)

Et la Vierge répond sur le même ton.

Mon saint ventre as tant honore  
 Et beneoit par maintes foiz,  
 Qu'il est bien mes raison et droit

S'il en moi point d'amitie,  
 Que je de toi aie pitie.  
 (Col. 344, v. 134-138.)

Citons encore une variante.

Rien doit li nons de cele croistre  
 Qui tel cloistrier out en son cloistre.  
 N'ex en son cloistre s'encloistra,  
 N'ur ce tous tans ses nons croistra.  
 Rien doit croistre quant en ses costes  
 Neuf mois tous plains fu cil ses hostes,

Qui l'anemi du monde osta.  
 Riche ostesce est qui tel hoste a,  
 En ses costes fu nes et mundes  
 I cil cloistriers qui touz li mundes  
 Contenir ne puet ne comprendre. . . .  
 (Col. 702, v. 605-615.)

Une des pièces lyriques de Gautier est composée sur cet inépuisable thème, dans les *Salus Nostre Dame*. Le titre en est *A benedictus fructus ventri tui* (Luc., ch. I, v. 42). En voici trois strophes seulement :

AVE virge florie, en toi prist char humaine  
 Cil qui a son plaisir toute chose demaine,  
 Celui puet tes sains ventres porter et soutenir  
 Que ne puet ciels ne terre comprendre ne tenir.

AVE benoia ait li douz fruit de ton ventre,  
 Nes doit estre li cors et la bouche ou il entre,  
 Tes fruis est li vis pains qui du ciel descendi,  
 Li la substance as angre c'en croi-je et cendi.

AVE virge florie qui aportas la manne,  
 Rien devons beneistre les mameles sainte Anne  
 Tous ceus et toutes celes qui ta bouche norrissent,  
 Car Dieu et tuit si angre quant fu nee nous ristrent  
 (Pages 750-751.)

<sup>1</sup> Nous devons à l'équité de dire que l'idée de cette prière peut être venue à Gautier d'un texte latin. Elle est employée dans un autre contexte. (Y. *Speculum historiale*, L. VII, ch. 84.)



Si Gautier chante les mamelles de Sainte Anne, on pense bien qu'il n'oubliera pas celles de Marie.

Car de ta mamele

Peue et abreuee.

Qui tant est emmielee

(Col. 16, III, 1.)

Fu sa bouche bele

Il ne manquera pas de populariser le miracle "Du Sarrazin qui aoura l'ymage Nostre Dame." Un Sarrazin honore une image de la Vierge, mais sa raison ne lui permet pas de devenir chrétien néanmoins. S'il est vrai que Dieu s'est fait homme,

Ne voi-je pas nil ne peut estre

Concevoir sanz coutume d'homme

Que d'une virge peust nestre,

Ne plus c'une piece de fust.

Fame ne puet, ce est la somme

(Col. 507, v. 43-47.)

Pendant qu'il devisait ainsi devant Notre Dame, "une heure avant et l'autre arrire," la réponse lui vient d'en-haut de la façon suivante.

Tout maintenant de cele ymage

Fors de son sain une pucele,

Voit naistre et sourdre II mameles

Ains com d'une fontenele

Si glorieuses et si beles,

Clere oeil en voit sourdre et venir.

Si petites et si bien faites

(Col. 507, v. 58-65.)

Con si lors droit les eut traies

Comment donc s'explique cette attitude courante dans la littérature latine du Moyen-âge, et que Gautier a si malheureusement accentuée? Brièvement voici ce qui s'était passé. L'idée première de la Vierge-Mère, le symbole gnostique qui ne manque pas de grandeur et par lequel on avait cherché à rendre compte du commencement du monde et de l'univers sans acte créateur—une volonté première active (le Démoniurge) supposant toujours encore une cause antérieure à elle—avait été peu à peu oubliée. Le symbole n'avait néanmoins par été abandonné tout-à-fait par les théologiens chrétiens, dont plusieurs—entre autres Saint



Augustin — avaient passé par les écoles gnostiques ; ils l'avaient repris à leur compte comme chrétiens, pour faire naître ainsi, sans concours de mortel, ou en termes concrets, sans acte charnel, leur Dieu-Homme.

Veni redemptor gentium  
Ostende partum Virginis.  
Miretur omne seculum,  
Talis decet partus Deum.

Alvus tumescit Virginis,  
Clastrum pudoris permanet,  
Vexilla virtutum micant,  
Versatur in templo Deus.

Non ex virile semine  
Sed mystico spiramine  
Verbum Dei factum est caro,  
Fructusque ventris floruit

Procedit e thalamo suo,  
Pudoris aula regia,  
Geminae gigas substantiae,  
Alacris ut currat viam. . . .

(Ambroise, IV siècle.<sup>1</sup>)

Voici Thomas d'Aquin, au XIII siècle.

Nobis datus, nobis natus, ex intacta Virgine,  
Et in mundo conversatus, sparso verbo semine  
Sui moras incolatus miro clausit ordine. . . .

De temps à autre, on retrouve des échos plus précis de l'ancien symbole gnostique, ainsi dans le cycle anonyme de Marie.

. . . Castitatis in tenorem  
*Plasma gignit plasmatores,*

Virgo parit amatorem,  
Lactat patrem filia. . . .

Dès le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, surtout avec Jérôme, la mère du demiurge cède le pas à Marie mère de Jésus, le symbole de la matrice universelle à la réalité merveilleuse de la femme qui conçoit sans le péché de la chair. Il y aura la période intermédiaire des échoeurantes discussions sur la façon dont le Verbe a fécondé Marie ? — par l'oreille naturellement répond Augustin ;

<sup>1</sup> Une grande partie des textes latins que nous insérons, ici et plus bas, sont empruntés à l'admirable anthologie de Rémy de Gourmont *Le latin mystique* (Paris, Merc. de France, 2 éd., 1892). Voir aussi l'hymne abécédaire de Sedulius (V<sup>e</sup> siècle) comme parallèle à celui d'Ambroise, Baumgartner, *Lat. und Griech. Lit. d. Chr. Welt* (1905), S. 196, et Adam de St. Victor (*ibid.*, p. 450).



mais le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle écarte même cela pour ne plus voir que le miracle réaliste, développant seulement l'élément didactique du dogme. Le renoncement aux jouissances du monde était une des grandes vérités du Christianisme naissant, et la plus grande tentation à vaincre était l'amour ; cette idée de la Virginité, de métaphysique qu'elle était devint alors symbole moral, symbole de perfection humaine dans le sens chrétien. Ceci du reste par transition insensible. Dès le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, chez Grégoire de Naziance, la virginité (avec la pauvreté et la patience) est une des vertus fondamentales du chrétien. Dans la *Psychomachie* de Prudence (début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle), tableau allégorique du combat des vertus et des vices, la Virginité joue un rôle plus prédominant encore. La foi d'abord, vêtue de simplicité, extermine les dieux, puis la Pudicité s'avance à l'encontre de la Sodomie et lui lance des traits de feu ; elle lui annonce en même temps qu'après qu'une femme "ignorante du mâle" a mis au monde le Christ, son règne à elle, "limoneuse luxure," est clos à jamais. Cette idée se retrouve dans la comparaison biblique souvent reprise dès ce temps, de l'opposition entre Eve et Marie.

O gloriosa Domina  
Excelsa super sidera  
Qui te creavit provide

Lactasti sacro ubere  
Quod Eva tristis abstulit  
Tu reddis almo germine. . . .

Dont on retrouve occasionnellement la trace chez Gautier.

Eve a morz toz nous livra  
Par son forfait

Marie nos delivra,  
Par sons tot refait.

(Cf. Prologue, v. 132-154.)

Quand il s'agissait de femmes ordinaires, la consécration au Seigneur de la fleur de virginité était le seul élément pris en considération.

Sic quoque Virginitas quae sanctos inclyta comit  
Omnia sanctorum transcendit praemia supplex,

écrit dès le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'abbé de Malmesbury, Adhelme.



Et même avant lui, Lactance avait clairement exprimé cette doctrine éthico-théologique dans ces vers de son fameux *De ave Phoenix* :

Femina sit, vel mas, seu neutrum, seu sit utrumque,  
 Felix quae Veneris foedera nulla colit.  
 Mors illi Venus est ; sola est in morte voluptas :  
 Ut possit nasci, haec appetit ante mori.  
 Ipsa sibi proles, suus est pater et suus heres,  
 Nutrix ipsa sui, semper alumna sibi.  
 Ipsa quidem, sed non eadem, quae est ipsa, nec ipsa est,  
 Aeternam vitam mortis adepto bono.

(Cité d'après Baumgartner, *Lat. u. griech.*

*Lit. der Chr. Völker*, S. 123.)

Ce qui distinguait Marie, c'était que tout en ayant renoncé à l'amour, elle passe pourtant par les souffrances de la maternité. Ces souffrances matérielles c'est tout ce que peut comprendre Gautier, à côté de l'honneur pour elle d'avoir porté dans son sein Jésus-Christ. Πάντων ἄνθρωπος μέτρον : Gautier incapable de saisir la profondeur du dogme, n'en conserva que la forme. Chez d'autres il a pu trouver certains termes, mais quel esprit différent, qui sanctifie jusqu'aux termes parfaitement répugnants en d'autres contextes.

Gautier sans doute n'a pas été le premier à concevoir les choses grossièrement ;<sup>1</sup> mais parmi les auteurs chrétiens et latins du Moyen-âge à nous connus, aucun cependant n'est descendu si terre à terre. Quelques uns peut-être nous choquent d'avantage par l'association d'idées sublimes et brutales, mais encore y a-t-il toujours quelque chose de réfléchi, un essai répugnant, mais vigoureux, qui sauve ces élucubrations d'une désespérante vulgarité. Nous pouvons, si nous voulons, nous indigner ; chez Gautier c'est trop plat.

<sup>1</sup> Voir par exemple certains passages cités par F. W. Roth, pp. 429-461 du vol. VI des *Romanische Forschungen*, e. g., II, v. 281-292.



Au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, par exemple, Notker manque certainement de délicatesse, quand il écrit ces vers qui cependant ne déplaisent pas tout-à-fait par leur vigueur :

Congauderent angelorum chori gloriosae virgini  
Quae sine virili commixtione genuit  
Filiū qui suo mundum cruore medicat. . . .

Ou bien dans cette phrase de son *De Redemptione*, Jésus “saltum de coelo dedit in Virginalē ventrem, inde in pelagus saeculi.” Ou encore quand au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Juvencus, dans sa poésie *De Sodoma* nous affirme que de son temps, la statue de la femme de Lot se dressait encore sur le chemin de Sodome, et comme preuve de la miraculeuse transformation, il affirme qu'elle avait conservé la vérifiable habitude des exonérations mensuelles. Cela a un sens, c'est une preuve sale, mais une preuve de la puissance divine.

Elle ne manque pas de grandeur cette trope citée par Léon Gautier, “Splendor Patris quo claustra matris sunt irradiata” (*Poésie religieuse dans les cloîtres des IX<sup>e</sup>, X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1867). Ou dans le cycle anonyme de la Vierge dont nous avons déjà parlé plus haut.

Verbum Patri coequale  
Corpus intrans virginalē

Fit pro nobis corporale  
Sub ventris umbraculo. . . .

Ou bien,

Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia  
Quo fecundata Deum peperit virgo Maria  
Per quem sacrata floret virginitas in Maria.  
Spiritus alme quo repletur Maria,  
Tu rorem sacrum stillasti in Maria,  
Amator sancte quo intacta impregnatur Maria. . . .  
Tu cellam sacrasti sic benedicti ventris in Maria  
Ut tumeret mater fieret virgo Maria.  
Sic pareret, ne foetu perderet florem Maria. . . .  
Qui sine semine el rigante nemine te fecundavit Maria.  
Hunc Deum nobis placa Maria.



Ou bien encore ce passage du Psaume XXI, v. 10 et 11.  
 “Quoniam tu es qui extraxisti me de ventre, spes mea ab  
 uberibus matris meae. In te projectus sum ex utero. De  
 ventre matris meae, Deus meus es tu.”

Gautier reprend parfois les images subtiles du gnosticisme  
 et de la métaphysique de certains théologiens, mais la preuve  
 qu’il n’en comprend absolument pas le sens, c’est la façon  
 dont il les applique. Ainsi l’idée de la Mère de Dieu lui  
 sert seulement à faire de l’esprit mal à propos sur des  
 relations de famille peu ordinaires. Ce qu’il applique,  
 d’après ses maîtres, à la Vierge,

Mere Dieu qui Virge infantas

Et qui ton pere a enfant as . . .

il l’emploie, sans aucune idée de sacrilège au cas d’un inceste  
 d’une mère avec son fils, dans le “Sénateur de Rome.”

Tant fit cil a sa mere

Qu’engendra son fil et son frere.

La même puérile et grossière interprétation de Gautier  
 se laisse facilement prouver en ce qui concerne les mamelles  
 de la Vierge. Autrefois tout était symbolique. Les mamelles  
 dans le style sensuel de l’Orient passé en Occident avec le  
 christianisme, avaient commencé par être un symbole des  
 deux sources de la vie spirituelle, l’Ancien et le Nouveau  
 Testament. Quand les idées se matérialisèrent on oublia,  
 et on vit de plus en plus prédominer l’idée de l’honneur  
 qu’il y avait eu pour la Vierge d’allaiter Jésus. Ainsi  
 Fortunat au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle :

O gloriosa domina  
 Excelsa super sidera

Qui te creavit providere  
 Lactasti sacro ubere.

De même jusqu’au temps de Gautier. Le recueil des  
*Prières à la vierge* des Bollandistes (publié par C. Douais,  
*Rev. des Langues Rom.*, Tome 38, pp. 113–126) contient  
 des vers comme ceux-ci :



Qui tua suxit ubera, celo locavit sidera,  
Lucis solaris artifex sub sole homo factus est. . . .

Audi, virgo virginum, que lactasti Dominum. . . .

Gautier ne va pas plus profond. Il est au moins un cas où l'on peut positivement prouver que l'élément mystico-poétique existait dans le récit où Gautier s'était inspiré, mais a été supprimé par lui. Mussafia a rendu attentif au fait que dans l'original du "Moine que Nostre Dame gueri de son let" le lait rendant la santé, c'est le symbole de la charité divine. Cette interprétation allégorique a disparu chez notre poète. Mais chose curieuse, et que Mussafia n'a pas relevée, Gautier un jour eut une réminiscence de cette image et l'introduisit dans une de ses innombrables digressions du *Théophile*. Là nulle circonstance ne paraît appeler ces quelques vers. Il y a eu évidemment quelque obscure association d'idées qui nous échappe; mais que prouve cela, sinon que dans le moment même où il traite le sujet qui devrait le rendre attentif à une interprétation poétique, le rapport lui échappe? Le passage en question est tout à la fin du *Théophile* (v. 2054-2065). Nous le reproduisons d'après la version de Jubinal dans les oeuvres de Rutebeuf:

C'est li cornez, c'est la menmele  
Dont Diex ses orfelins alete,  
La mamele a jour et nuit traite  
La douce mere au Saveor  
Por alaitier au pecheor  
Si tost come ici crie merci.

Bien doit avoir le cuer merci  
Qui jour et nuit ne la reclaime,  
Qui ne la sert et qui ne l'aime,  
Quar s'est la norissant norice  
Qui alaite et qui est norice  
Qui tout le mont pest et norrist. . . .

Il serait facile de continuer à citer des auteurs latins ayant inspiré Gautier. C'est évidemment l'adoration des membres du Christ ("Ad manus," "Ad faciem," etc.), de Saint Bernard, qui a suggéré des passages analogues, mais relatifs à la Vierge chez Gautier; ainsi à propos du fameux soulier de Soissons.



Quant Dieu fait tant por son souler	De sos biaux membres remembrer
Qui oserait guernons crouler	He doit a Dieu de ceus membrer
Contrester chose ne desdire	A cui de sa mere ne membre.
Qu'osast nes de son biau pie dire.	Tout piece a piece et membre a mem-
Beneoiz soit hui et touz tens	bre
Ses sades piez poliz et blans,	Enfers touz ceus desmembrera
Sesblanches mains et tuit li membre	Qui doucement n'en membrera.
Et trestout cil qui souvent membre.	(Col. 701, v. 567-580).

C'est sinon de Gautier, du moins de la littérature religieuse célébrant la Vierge, que viennent ces louanges des différentes parties de la dame aimée dans la poésie profane.<sup>1</sup>

Au point de vue pratique, Gautier rendit un mauvais service à la religion qu'il croyait servir, en répandant ces images réalistes. Le fait d'être en latin les préservait encore de se répandre. En les rendant accessibles à tous, Gautier a arraché le dernier voile qui les protégeait contre le contact brutal des masses. Le résultat fut bientôt apparent. On lit dans le fabliau de "la court de Paradis," ces vers si déplacés dans un tel contexte.

Tant ama home et tant pris,	Lie fu quant se senti plaine
Que de lui la forme prise a,	De la grant deite humaine
Dont hom se doit moult esjoïr,	Qui en son cors fu avalee,
Quant ses freres vont devenir	Ausi souef com la rousee
Es flans a la Virge Marie	Vient et descent sor la verdure,
Qui pour li fu dolante et lie,	Si vint Diex en la Virge pure.
	(Barbazan et Méon, III, p. 128-9).

<sup>1</sup> Voir p. ex. dans le *Speculum Historiale*, VII, 104 b., l'histoire du jongleur qui maudit l'une après l'autre toutes les parties du corps de Marie, et quand il arrive au ventre, "maledicturas ventrem," il tombe mort. Ou cette courte prière du recueil mentionné plus haut publié par Donai : "Beata mater et innupta virgo gloriosa, . . . impregnata a Spiritu Sancto, benedicti oculi tui sancti, benedicta anima tua sancta, benedictum corpus tuum sanctum, benedicta tua verba sancta, benedictus uterus tuus sanctus, qui meruit portare Dominum ante secula Deum. Domina sancta Maria, mater regis eterni, virgo perpetua, ego peccator et infelix deprecor te per. Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum, quem meruisti portare in sancto utero tuo. . . . Deprecare, Domina, Dominum nostrum . . . qui ex te suscepit carnem immaculatam sine virile commixtione, Jhesus Christus. . . ."



Et c'est à cette époque de rabaissement de la religion à un commerce trop familier avec le ciel, que peut-être bien il faut rapporter l'origine de certaines chansons populaires encore dans nos provinces. Qu'on nous permette de reproduire une page de Gabriel Vicaire dans ses *Etudes sur la poésie populaire* (Paris, 1902) :

“D'autres plus simples et moins en gonces dans leur lévite, ceux que les grands mots n'affolent pas, que la rhétorique déconcerte, se rejettent sur la gaudriole, sur la facétie, nous dirions aujourd'hui la blague. Et ce sont alors des plaisanteries à n'en pas finir, lourdes et passablement sottes, sur les couches de la Vierge, ses relations avec saint Joseph, etc.

Beaucoup de ces soi-disants cantiques s'intituleraient mieux chansons à boire. Ils jouent la naïveté, mais leur sincérité est au moins douteuse. Le foi n'y est plus, . . . . Joseph en particulier sert de plastron. Son rôle paraît étrange, un peu ridicule.

Saint Joseph, dites-le nous,  
Quels sentiments eûtes-vous  
Quand vous vîtes la grossesse

De la divine princesse ?  
N'en fûtes-vous point jaloux ?  
Saint Joseph, dites-le nous. . . .

Et le chœur narquois qui passe au loin, dans la nuit sans pareille, ne manque pas de souligner ce que la situation a de pénible,

Baissant les oreilles,  
Ces gentils galants,  
Tant que c'est merveille,  
S'en vont murmurant,

Disant c'est dommage  
Que ce père gris  
Ait en mariage  
La vierge de grand prix. . . .

Et on ajoute,

Joseph est bien marié  
A la fille de Gessé.  
C'était chose bien nouvelle

Que d'être mère et pucelle.  
Dieu y avait opéré.  
Joseph est bien marié.

La Vierge elle-même n'est pas épargnée. Les commères, comme il convient, entourent son lit après la délivrance et leur indiscretion est inimaginable. On veut savoir les moindres détails de l'opération.

Eutes-vous des tranchées ? etc.

Nous avons ici un véritable petit tableau flamand, une réédition des caquets de l'accouchée, plaisante à coup sur, mais, on en conviendra, médiocrement édifiante.”



On ne s'étonnera pas après cela que la poésie de Gautier sur la virginité et la chasteté ne nous émeuve pas beaucoup. Il ne sent pas la poésie, il considère la pureté comme une vertu, mais il est fort embarrassé de dire pourquoi. En tous cas nous l'avons cherché en vain non seulement dans ses miracles, mais dans son long poème de 1116 vers "De la chastee aux nonnains"—qui commence, soit dit en passant par une plaisanterie.<sup>1</sup> L'Eglise lui a appris que la chasteté était désirable, il l'a cru et s'est efforcé de le faire croire aux autres. Dans les onze cents vers de son poème, il était inévitable qu'il eût quelques mots heureux, mais c'est l'exception et même dans le passage le plus poétique nous voyons l'auteur se trahir à la fin, et montrer que sa conviction intime à lui, ce qu'il voit dans cette chasteté si recommandée par la sainte Eglise, c'est un bon d'admission aux demeures célestes, comme Lactance au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle déjà, et tant d'auteurs catholiques depuis.

Virginitez et chasteez  
Sunt bien de toutes neteez,  
Ce sunt II fleurs si enfleurees  
Que qui les a bien odorees  
Plaisant li sont seur toutes choses,  
Plus souef flairent que ne font roses  
Quant de nouvel sunt espanies.  
Toutes ordures sunt de lez banies  
Et toute netee assise.  
Bien a amour sa devise  
Qui a amie d'une d'eles.  
Eles sunt blanches et beles,

S'en eles bien vous remirez  
Comme flouretes blanchirez  
Et si serez, n'en doutez mie,  
En l'autre siecle, en l'autre vie  
Des saintes fleurs de paradis.  
Mirez vous y com fleurs de lis  
Seriez flairies douces et beles.  
Sachiez de voir se vous en eles  
Des yex du cuer bien vous mirez  
L'anemi tost abaubirez. . . .  
(Col. 717, v. 407-438).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comme du reste l'*Ave Maria* de Rutebeuf.

<sup>2</sup> La même remarque s'impose en ce qui concerne la mort. Gautier ne nous fait pas frémir, comme Villon. Il prend ce sujet comme un peu chacun au Moyen-Age. La crainte de la mort était un des grands moyens d'action de l'Eglise. Mais Gautier répète simplement ce qu'on lui a appris ; ses vers sont parfois supportables, il leur manque cependant l'émotion du senti, la sincérité. Les deux plus importants morceaux sont le poème "De la doutance de la mort et de la brieveté de la vie" (Col.



La plupart des autres images d'un caractère sensuel et qui semblent particulièrement affectionnées par Gautier, d'une importance bien moindre du reste que celles relatives directement à la mère de Dieu, ont fréquemment une origine orientale aussi. L'une des plus fréquentes est celle de la sensation de miel produit dans la bouche de celui qui prononce le nom de Marie,

Si tost com la langue i atouche                      M'en chiet li miels aval les levres.

Le "miel" et le "mielleux" reviennent sous sa plume à peu près aussi souvent quand il parle de Marie, que le mot "puant" quand il s'agit du Diable, de l'enfer, ou du mal physique et moral.

Il est avis certes quand je la nom              Goutes de miel degoute de son nom.  
(Col. 16, v. 5-6).

Ele est tant douce, ele est tant sade              Que plus douce est que miel en ree,  
Et en tous bien emmielee                              (Col. 111, v. 14-16).

Le Seigneur aussi n'aime "rien tant,"

Com la mielee pucele                              S'emmielee bouche aleta.  
Qui de s'emmielee mamele                              (Col. 700, v. 544-545).

L'image est commune dans la bible. Dès les premiers chapitres on se familiarise avec elle; le royaume promis à Israël est toujours découlant de lait et de miel (Ex. III, 8, 17, etc.; Deut. XXXII, 13; Job XX, 17). Dans la fameuse énigme de Samson (Jud. XIV, 14 et XIV, 18, pour la réponse). Puis Psaume XIX, 11 (Vulgate, XVIII, 11), les jugements de Dieu sont "dulciora super mel et favum;" Psaume CXIX, 103, "Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel ori meo;" Cantique I, 11, "Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa, mel et lac sub lingua tua, et oder vesti-

687-706, Des 809 vers de la pièce, le meilleur passage est Col. 694, v. 215 ss.), et une longue digression dans "Du miracle de l'escommenie qui ne poroit trouver qui l'asousit" (Col. 590-591, v. 755-785).



mentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris ;” Ezechiel III, 3, le prophète doit manger un livre “ Et comedi illud, et factum est in ore meo sicut mel dulce.” Dans l’Apocalypse x, 9, 1, la même image, l’ange fait avaler un livre au visionnaire : “ Accipe librum et devora illum, et faciat amaricari ventrem tuum, sed in ore tuo erit dulce tanquam mel.”

Il est facile de voir là les origines des divers emplois du miel comme image dans la littérature religieuse du Moyen-Age. Cette histoire de Cäsarius Heisterbarcensis, à peu près contemporain de Gautier et son émule dans le domaine du conte dévot en Allemagne, montre jusqu’où on avait poussé l’emploi de cette image.

Une femme fait un jour cette révélation à un ermite Marsilius, des environs de Cologne, qu’elle ne pouvait jamais prononcer le nom de Notre Dame sans éprouver une sensation de douceur très extraordinaire dans la bouche. Il lui demanda ce qui lui avait valu cette grâce, elle répondit. “ Chaque jour je dis en l’honneur de la Vierge cinquante Ave Maria et à chaque prière je fais une gémulation, c’est ainsi que j’ai obtenu cette sensation de douceur en sorte que, pendant la prière, il me semble que toute ma salive s’est transformée en miel.” Marsilius essaya de cette méthode et après à peine six semaines, il obtint cette même sensation, mais de telle façon qu’elle dépassait de beaucoup la douceur du plus doux des miels. Animé du désir de mériter une semblable récompense, un des moines de notre couvent tenta l’expérience à son tour et fut jugé digne de la même grâce. . . . Je tiens cela du moine lui-même. (Dialogus VII, 49).

L’épithète “ melliflua ” ajoutée au nom de Marie est fréquente dans les prières latines de l’Eglise. Poquet cite en note d’un des passages de Gautier ces vers de Pierre Riga,

Ave virgo Maria  
Ex cujus memoria

Mira fit suavitas.

Et

Hec vox mel est faucibus  
Hec vox mel est auribus,

Hec vox cordis claritas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De la littérature religieuse, l’image a passé dans la littérature profane, et s’y est longuement maintenue. Elle est remarquablement fréquente chez



Nous concluons donc que Gautier, quant au fond, a mis à contribution assez mal ses sources latines. Il a trop "la forme enfoncée dans la matière" pour réussir dans l'œuvre qu'il se propose.

Nous ajoutons pour terminer notre première partie trois citations montrant ce que Gautier peut faire quand il s'efforce de développer une comparaison originale. Si quelque savant devait en trouver un jour ailleurs la source, ces exemples montreraient encore le genre d'esprit auquel se complait Gautier.

En envoyant ses miracles aux nonnes de Notre Dame de Soissons, il joint un poème dédicatoire "De la chastee aux nonnains" lequel commence par ces mots.

Ici me prent, ici m'aart	Par un garçon sus un aisne
Grant volente par saint Maart	Leur tramet je pas cest present,
(Médard)	Ains leur envoi ains leur presens,
Qu'a mes dames que moult ai chieres	Par ces biaux livres et par ces pages
De Nostre Dame de Soissons,	Qui parleront plus bel c'un pages
Envoi un de mes tiex poissons	Qu'uns trote a pie ne c'uns corbiex.
Com j'ai peschie a Vi-sus-Aisne.	(Col. 707, v. 1-13).

Le second morceau compare assez joliment, si l'on accepte de confondre ainsi les deux domaines de la religion et du jeu, Marie à la reine des Échecs. Elle joue une partie terrible contre Satan, le roi du camp adverse.

Autres ni vont cun tot seul point :	Ceste fierce touz jours le point,
Mais ceste cuert si tost et point	Ceste fierce de point en point
Qu'ains qu'anemis ait dejeune pris	Par fine force le dechace.
L'a si lacie et si soupris	N'est rien el monde que tant hace
Ne set quel part traire se doie.	Quar il a tout par li perdu.
Ceste fierce le mete en roie,	Deable sunt tout esperdu,
Ceste fierce le mate en angle,	Deable sunt touz tormente,
Ceste fierce li tolt la jangle,	Deable sunt touz fourmente,
Ceste fierce li tolt sa proie,	En touz les lius où ele joue.
Ceste fierce touz jors l'asproie ;	(Col. 9-10, v. 281-299).

Ronsard. Puis elle devient plus rare à mesure que l'écart entre auteurs théologiens et profanes s'accroît. On la retrouve à l'occasion chez Musset ou Balzac.



Cette comparaison est d'autant plus ingénieuse que "Fierce" signifiant "Vierge," le nom même semblait la suggérer.<sup>1</sup>

Enfin notre troisième exemple montre une fois de plus combien Gautier manquait de tact artistique et esthétique. Attaquant les sodomites, lui, le poète de la virginité de Marie, il aurait du s'armer d'une généreuse indignation. L'idée ne lui en vient pas; il évoque une image qui du coup fait tout tourner à la plaisanterie.

La gramaire "hic" a "hic" acouple,	Quant "hic" et "hec" joignent
Mais nature maldit le couple,	ensamble.
La mort perpetuel engendre	Mais "hic" et "hic" chose est
Cil qui aime masculin genre	perdue,
Plus que le feminin ne face,	Nature en est tot esperdue,
Et Diex de son livre l'efface.	Ses poins debat et tort ses mains,
Nature rit, si com moi semble,	Et Diex n'en poise mie mains.

(*Sainte Leocade*, v. 1233 ss.).

C'est dans la forme de ses poèmes cependant que se trahit encore le mieux la dépendance de Gautier vis à vis de ses modèles. Comme du reste pour beaucoup de poètes du Moyen-Age, le mot art semble être compris dans un sens exactement opposé à celui que nous y attachons aujourd'hui. Pour nous, si un artiste est inspiré, il s'abandonne à cette inspiration en quelque sorte comme Socrate à son démon. Gautier prend le mot dans le sens à peu près qu'il a dans l'Encyclopédie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ou tel qu'on le prend à l'Ecole des Arts et Métiers.

<sup>1</sup> Le Grand d'Aussy, au volume II de son recueil de fabliaux et histoires du Moyen-Age (page 124), à propos du *Chevalier à l'épée*, écrit cette note; que nous reproduisons sans en endosser la responsabilité: "Cette pièce (la fierce) dans l'orient—d'où vient le jeu d'échecs, cela est connu—s'appelle le ministre; elle ne peut aller que de case en case comme le pion et ne s'éloigner du roi que de deux. De ce ministre la galanterie chevaleresque fit une dame, puis trouvant que cette marche gênée, trop ressemblante à l'esclavage des femmes d'Asie et contraire aux égards dont jouissaient celles d'Europe, ne lui convenait pas, ils lui en donnèrent une aussi libre qu'elle pouvait l'être et en firent la pièce de toutes la plus importante."



Nous ne nous arrêterons donc pas trop à ses négligences, ses enjambements fantastiques, ses constantes reprises des mêmes mots pour forger des rimes lorsqu'un autre moyen ne se présente pas tout de suite (comme "esperiz" pour rimer avec "periz" (Col. 5, v. 93-94)—ce sont là procédés trop communs au Moyen-Age.

Nous passons rapidement aussi sur la répétition d'idées frappantes appelant généralement des rimes qu'on a vues cent fois dans cette connexion. Tel son "Bien doit avoir le cuer merci," rimant avec "merci." Dans *Théophile* :

Bien doit avoir le cuer merci	A renoiële roi celestre. . . .
Quant por un peu d'avoir terrestre	

Et plusieurs autres endroits dans le même poème ; citons encore vers la fin la Vierge qui apporte le lait de la compassion :

Sitost com il crie merci.	Qui jour et nuit ne la reclaime. . . .
Bien doit avoir le cuer merci	

Dans "le Voleur qui aloit embler :"

A li servir nus plus n'atende	Bien doit avoir le cuer merci
Ses mains jointes chascuns li tende	Qui ne la sert et ne l'aime.
Et li crie souvent merci.	

Dans "l'Abbesse délivrée :"

Par ta douceur aies merci	Molt ai le cuer taint et merci.
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Tel aussi le vers déclarant que le monde entier ne peut contenir la divinité du Sauveur :

I cil cloistrier qui touz li mundes	Contenir ne puet ne comprendre.
	(Col. 702, v. 614 et 615).

Celui puet tes sains ventres porter et soutenir  
Que ne puet ciels ne terre comprendre.  
(Col. 750, v. 523 et 524).

Tel encore les vers sur le Diable rôdant autour de sa proie. Dans "De l'enfant que le Deables vouloit emporter :"



Tant li ala entor et vint  
C'une nuit de Pasques avint

Qu'enflamez fu de tele flame  
Son lit lessa por le sa fame.

Dans "l'Abbesse délivrée :"

Li deables qui set maint tor  
Tant li ala et vint entor,

Et tant li cuer li enflama,  
Qu'un suen depansier ama.

Les trois vers suivants apparaissent souvent isolés, ici par hasard réunis, ils forment un sens,

Au roy qui tes ventres porta  
En toi servir grant deport a

Quar du ciel es fenestre et porte.  
(Col. 522, v. 211-213).

Enfin il y a le commode "Madame Sainte Marie," qui précédé d'un monosyllabe comme "et," "de," "par," "pour," etc., forme un vers de huit syllabes dont Gautier n'hésite jamais à se servir.

Signalons une dernière négligence, à cause de l'abus inquiétant qu'il en fait c'est de "truffer" ses vers en y accumulant des synonymes.

Si l'on reportée et remise. (Col. 295, v. 164).

Tant com dura et fu en vie. (Col. 361, v. 140).

(Dieu) Qui me cria et me fist. (Col. 330, v. 140).

Dans *Théophile* les deux vers suivants :

Ses cheveus tret, ses cheveus sache,  
Pucele nete pure et monde,

Pour le suivant on doit se souvenir que "leu" et "vuarol" sont absolument synonymes :

Pulentes vestes, leu vuarol (Col. 467, v. 257).

On en trouve une quantité d'exemples accumulés dans "De Girart qui s'ocist par decevement au Deable" (Col. 291-296).

Passons à l'accumulation d'épithètes, où croyons-nous la question de la dette de Gautier vis à vis de ses prédécesseurs



peut être posée de nouveau. Il semble avoir vu là un moyen d'art très puissant. Et de fait, l'énumération est bien une figure de rhétorique légitime ; encore doit-elle être maniée avec tact. Malgré d'innombrables essais, Gautier offre rarement de bons exemples. Nous en citons deux des meilleurs. Il s'agit d'entasser des mots à la louange de Marie.

Ele est la fleur, ele est la rose  
En qui habite, en cui repose  
Et jour et nuit sainz esperiz.  
Bien est dampnez, bien est periz  
Et deable bien le deçoit  
Qui ses miracles ne reçoit.  
C'est la douceurs, c'est la rousee  
Dont toutes riens est arousee,  
C'est la dame, c'est la pucele  
En cui sainz flans chambre et cele  
Cil qui pour nous mourut en croiz.  
C'est la fontaine, c'est le doiz  
Dont sourt et viens misericorde

Encore weil dire aucune chose  
A la loenge de la rose,  
De l'erchebucle, de la gemme,  
De l'empereris, de la Dame,  
De la virge, de la pucele

Douceurs, pitiez, pes et concorde :  
C'est li tuyaus, c'est li conduiz  
Par où tout bien est aconduiz.  
C'est la royne des archanges,  
C'est la pucele a cui li anges  
Le haut salut dist et porta  
Qui tout deporz nous aporta.  
. . . . .  
Dame est en ciel, Dame est en terre,  
Dame est en air, Dame est en mer,  
Trestouz li monz la doit amer.  
(Col. 5-6, v. 91-118).

Qui tant est bonne et tant est bele,  
Pure, sainte, nete, esmeree  
Tant benoite et tant sacree.  
Et tant bien i out et tant bien flaire  
Que Diex en fist saint sacraire. . . .  
(Col. 375, v. 13-22).

L'énumération est un moyen naturel en rhétorique, nous l'avons dit. Cependant il semble que Gautier n'en eût pas fait un usage si fréquent s'il n'avait pas trouvé tant d'exemples dans la poésie latine religieuse qui constituait ses lectures ordinaires. Dès les temps les plus reculés de la poésie chrétienne latine, on y recourut fort souvent. Au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, saint Paulin :

Negant camoenis nec patent Apollini  
Dicata Christo pectora . . .  
Hic veritatis lumen est, vitae via  
Vis, mens, manus, virtus Patris,

Sol equitatis, fons bonorum, flos Dei  
Natus Deo, mundi sator,  
Mortalitatis vita nostrae et mors  
necis.



Ennodius au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle :

Fons, via, dextra, lapis, vitulus, leo, lucifer, agnus,  
 Janua, spes, virtus, verbum, sapientia, vates,  
 Hostia, virgultum, pastor, mons, rete columba,  
 Flamma, gigas, aquila, sponsus, patientia, vermis,  
 Filius, excelsus, dominus deus, omnia Christus.

Notker au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle :

Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis,  
 Os, verbum, splendor, sol, gloria, lux et imago,  
 Panis, flos, vitis, mons, janua, petra, lapisque.

Lorsque le culte de Marie se répandit, elle en bénéficia tout de suite. Citons seulement un fragment de prière à la Vierge, écrit à peu près au temps de Gautier lui-même. Il est tiré de la troisième des pièces publiées par Douais dans la *Rev. des Langues Romanes* (Tome XXXVIII, pp. 113-126).

. . . O benedicta femina universorum domina,  
 Summi regis archaria et ejus secretaria,  
 Dei reclinatorium, et ejus consistorium,  
 Armarium Paraclyti, sacrarium Altissimi,  
 Domus regis eburnea, ejus in terra camera,  
 Quam dedicavit celitus missus ab eo spiritus,  
 Maria fons justicie et vena indulgentie,  
 Casti pudoris titulus ac pietatis flosculus,  
 Caritatis signaculum, totius boni speculum,  
 Aurora veri luminis, archa divini seminis,  
 Columba placidissima, turtur avis castissima,  
 Cui faber Deus aureas preperavit murenulas,  
 O margarita candida, o stella mundi splendida,  
 Vera ejus pacifera, facta celi clavigera,  
 Tu paradisi porta es, ad celum scala facta es,  
 Per quam Deus. . . .

De ces poètes latins l'énumération a passé chez Gautier. Il a seulement moins de poésie que ses contemporains. D'ailleurs, grâce aux finales latines toujours les mêmes, il y a là pour l'oreille un plaisir qui est perdu en français et dès lors rend ridicule le même procédé tel que repris par notre poète.



Ajoutons pourtant ici que l'énumération a été travaillée et développée d'une manière assez ingénieuse dans d'autres langues que le latin. Ainsi cette pièce italienne qu'a reproduite Duplessis, Appendice II de son édition de *Jehan Le Marchant* (pp. 270-275). Le poète dans chaque strophe de quatre syllabes, avec rime 1 en *o* et rimes 2, 3, 4 en *a* développe un terme de comparaison de la Vierge, et puis répète en une strophe à part tous les termes ainsi décrits, et cela trois fois de suite. Voici un exemple—je donne la traduction :

“*Ciel* miséricordieux qui verses en abondance dans nos âmes altérées les eaux de la grace éternelle // *Lune* miraculeuse, pleine de grâces, qui dissipes les ténèbres épaisses de la nuit, // *Soleil*, libre des nuages du péché, dont la brillante lumière illumine toute l'église // *Etoile* de la mer, qui conduis tous les navigateurs de ce monde au port divin de la gloire éternelle, // *Lis* d'une éclatante blancheur . . . etc.,”

et alors la strophe 11 reprend :

“*Ciel*, lune, soleil, // *Etoile*, lis, // *Platane*, rosier, // *Fontaine*, olivier, terre.” //

La strophe 24 résume ainsi :

“*Palais*, prison, // *Cassette*, mine imprimerie, // *Papier*, trône, jardin, // *Oiseau*, puits, porte.” //

Et strophe 37 :

“*Nacre*, navire, mer, // *Armée*, règle, // *Maison*, miroir, sentier, // *Arc-en-ciel*, échelle, abeille.” //

La main dans la main avec l'énumération, et en quelque sorte un prolongement de celle-ci, va l'autre moyen naïf chez Gautier de la répétition, répétition fatigante et sans aucune espèce de mesure d'un même mot au début de chaque vers. Il a vu dans ses lectures que le procédé était bon, et dût-il maintenant tuer son lecteur par ses incroyables tours de force, il s'en servira son saoul.



Fi fi fi fi que vaut hautesce,	Que vaut bon mengiers et bon boires,
Que vaut honneur, que vaut richesse,	Que joie, que vaut baudoires,
Que vaut au roy sa royaute,	Que vaut gloire n'onneur terrestre,
A royne que vaut biaute,	Quant on ne quet asseur estre?
Que vaut a home ses avoirs,	Que vaut honneur, que vaut cointise.
Que vaut a clerc ses grant savoirs,	. . .
Que vaut aise, que vaut degras,	(Col. 694, v. 226-238).
Que vaut deduis, que vaut soulas,	

Evidemment Gautier est persuadé qu'il fait là de la haute éloquence. Qu'on lise seulement le miracle de *Théophile*, et sûrement à chaque passage lyrique le poète recourt à ce puéril moyen d'émouvoir.

Las, fet-il que devenirai?	Las, las, com doit estre destroiz,
Las, quel conseil de moi penrrai?	Las, las, com doi angoieus estre,
Las, qu'ai-je pense? que je fet.	Quant je le puissant roi celestre
Las, par moi seul ai plus mesfet	Ai renoie por l'anemi.
N'ont meffet ne ne mefferont	Las, bien me doit le cuer par mi
Tout cil qui furent ne seront.	De fine angoisse et de duel fendre.
Las, fausnoiez, las, surfeuz,	Las, las, bien me devroie pendre
Las, engigniez, las, deceuz,	Et e strangler de mes deus mains . . .
Las, maus baislis, las, forstatez,	etc.
Las, sus touz autres ressotez,	(Col. 46, v. 731 ss.).
Las, sur touz autres mescreanz,	
Com sui vaincus et recreanz,	
. . . . .	
Las, las, las, plus de cent foiz,	

Voir aussi Col. 42, v. 539 ss., 45, 715 ss., 47, 801 ss., qui commence ainsi :

Di moi, di moi, di renoiee	Di moi, di moi, di, di, mesele. . . .
Di moi, di moi, di fausnoiee	

Puis Col. 55, 1180 ss., 61, 1462 ss., 66, 166 ss.

A colonne 64, nous voyons deux motifs différents qui s'enchevêtrent (v. 1575 ss.) :

“Loons la tuit a une accorde, // Loons . . . // Loons . . .,” etc., et vers 1581 ss. “Enfers brisie et praez, // Enfer . . . // Enfer . . .,” etc., jusqu'à ce que nous arrivions au chef-



d'œuvre du genre, Col. 70, vers 1873, et jusqu'au bas de colonne 71, vers 1948, donc pas très loin de cent vers construits sur cette ritournelle :

Orguex assez souvent se muce	Orguex toutes vertuz despoille
En papelart a grant aumuce,	. . . . .
Orguex assez souvent se cole	Orguex est aigu. . . .
Et desouz voile et desouz cole.	Orguex est fiers, orguex est cointes
Orguex assez souvent repaire,	Orguex est froiz et envieus. . . .
. . . . .	Orguex les orgueilleux avale,
Orguex se muce en maintes robes,	Orguex fait homme maigre et pale,
Orguex toutes vertuz desrobe,	Orguex fait homme souciant,
	Orguex fait. . . .

Il ne nous reste plus qu'à donner un exemple dans lequel on voit Gautier cumulant les deux procédés dont nous venons de parler, la répétition et l'énumération :

Notre Dame est nostre deffense	No droite rive, no droiz pors,
Et toutes nos beneurtez,	Nostre deduiz, nostre depors,
Nostre Dame est nos seurtez,	Nostre confors, nostre esperance,
Nostre Dame est nostre fiance,	Nos fors escuz, nostre fors lance,
Nostre Dame est nos soustenance	No fors espiez et nos fors dars,
Nostre proesee, nos valeurs,	Nostre refuiz, nostre estendars,
Nostre hautesce, nos honneurs,	Nostre ensaigne, nostre baniere,
Nostre loenge, nostre gloire,	Nos mangonniaus, nostre perriere,
Nostre couronne, no victoire,	Nostre avant piz, nostre avant garde,
Nostre clartez, nostre lumiere,	Nostre vie, nostre saluz.
Nostre avocat, nostre amparliere,	(Col. 704-705, v. 748-770).
Nostre granz soulaz, nostre grant joie,	
No droit chemin, no droite vois,	

Il faut voir dans ces différents procédés, surtout dans le dernier, croyons-nous, des essais grossiers de la part de Gautier d'introduire dans sa poésie le système des litanies.

Voici par exemple une litanie du x<sup>e</sup> siècle (voir Gourmont, IX) :

1.	6.	9.
Veni sancte spiritus,	Sine tuo nomine	Da tuis fidelibus,
Et emitte coelitus	Nihil est in homine,	In te confidentibus,
Lucis tue radium.	Nihil est innoxium.	Sacrum septenarium.



2.

Veni pater pauperum,  
Veni dator munerum,  
Veni lumen cordium.

7.

Lava quod est sordidum,  
Riga quod est sordidum,  
Sana quod est saucium.

10.

Da virtutis meritum,  
Da salutis exitum,  
Da perenne gaudium.

8.

Flecte quod est rigidum,  
Fove quod est frigidum,  
Rege quod est devium.

Le latin, grâce à ses terminaisons musicales, se prête à cela. La litanie n'est que le procédé de la répétition dont il a été question plus haut, mais fortement systématisé et qu'on souligne par le moyen du son. Le français manque de ce dernier élément si important. Cela a été fort tôt reconnu, la preuve étant qu'on l'a abandonné même avant qu'il soit vraiment entré dans la poésie française. Pourtant on en retrouve de temps à autres certaines traces, quoique, à la vérité plutôt à titre de jeu. Voici un exemple du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle :

Connaissiez-vous, madame, et puis connaissez-moi,  
Vous trouverez en vous une prudence extrême  
Vous trouverez en moi la fidélité même,  
Vous trouverez en vous mille attrait tout puissants,  
Vous trouverez en moi cent désirs innocents,  
Vous trouverez en vous une beauté parfaite,  
Vous trouverez en moi l'aise de ma défaite  
Vous trouverez en moi, vous trouverez en vous  
Et le cœur le plus ferme et l'objet le plus doux.

(Alaric de Scudéry, cité par Levrault, *L'Épopée*, p. 60.)

Il faut reconnaître que ce procédé des répétitions n'est pas très rare chez des contemporains de Gautier, et se retrouve même sporadiquement avant lui. M. F. M. Warren, dans ses études de *Modern Philology* (Oct., 1905, et Avril, 1906) l'a étudié très à fond et nous le montre mis faiblement à contribution dès la *Sainte Eulalie*, le *Saint Léger* et le *Saint Alexis*, puis se développant dans Wace, dans *l'Enéas*, et dans Gautier d'Arras, Thomas, etc.



Rappelons quelques-uns de ces passages :

Dans le *Roman d'Enéas* Didon se lamente ainsi (vers 1984–1990) :

Quant n'avrai mais nul bien de lui,	Por quei vint il a cest rivage ?
Por que il vi onc ne conui ?	Porquei le reçui en Cartage ?
Por queil colchai ensemble mei ?	Que ge plevis a mon seignor ?
Por quei trespasai ge la fei.	Por quei me venqui si m'amor ?

Dans le roman de Brut (v. 6733–4) :

Pran mes cites, pran mes manoirs,	Pran mes tresors, pran mes avoirs. . .
-----------------------------------	--

Et plus bas (v. 8885 ss.) :

L'amor Ygerne m'a sorpris	Ne puis lever, ne puis colchier,
Et tot m'a vainqui et conquis.	Ne puis boire, ne puis mangier
Ne puis aler, ne puis venir,	Que d'yvergne ne me soviagne. . . .
Ne puis villier, ne puis dormir,	

Ou bien (v. 10497–10517) :

I valt Artur sa cort tenir,	Manda barons, manda cases,
Tos ses barons i fit venir.	Manda evesques et abes.
Manda ses rois et tos ses contes,	Manda François et Borgheignons,
Manda ses dus et ses viscontes,	Manda . . ., etc., etc.

Voir encore vers 10020–26, 12172–75, 12184–5, etc.

Chez Chretien on retrouve des passages analogues, ainsi *Erec et Enide* (v. 541–6) :

Quant je ai delez moi ma fille,	C'est mes solaz, c'est mes conforz,
Tot le mons ne pris une bille.	C'est mes avoirs, c'est mes tresors
C'est mes deduiz, c'est mes deporz,	Je n'aim rien tant com son cors.

Dans *Cliges* (v. 3359–3363). Il appelle son amie :

Mes de neant est an grant eise.	Neant voit, a neant parole,
Neant anbrace et neant beise,	A neant tance, a neant luite.
Neant tient et neant acole,	

*Tristan* finit par ces vers (3141–4) :



Aveir em poissent grant confort,  
Encuntre change, encontre tort

Encuntre paine, encuntre plur,  
Encuntre tuiz engins d'amur.<sup>1</sup>

Correspondant au passage de Gautier de Coincy écrivant une centaine de vers de suite commençant par le mot "Orgueil" (Dans *Théophile*), on pourrait citer les quarante-cinq vers commençant par "Amors" dans "Le Chastement des Dames" (Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux*, II, pp. 215-216), qui à leur tour rappellent à l'esprit les vers 5025-5058 du *Roman de la Rose*.

On pourrait donc soutenir que Gautier de Coincy a emprunté cette forme de rhétorique à ses contemporains, et non au latin. D'autant plus que, comme nous l'avons relevé nous même, il se proposait de combattre la poésie profane et qu'il aurait ainsi habilement emprunté de ses rivaux leurs propres armes pour les combattre.

D'autre part il semble que Gautier connaît remarquablement peu de poésie profane; il parle plutôt d'ouï-dire, car il estropie lamentablement les noms et ignore les légendes qu'il cite. Le latin nous paraît ainsi plus indiqué comme la source la plus probable. Il convient de se souvenir que la répétition était fort fréquente chez les poètes latins; chez les poètes profanes au contraire une exception assez rare en somme. Enfin nous savons sûrement que Gautier a influencé certains de ses contemporains profanes qui ont à l'occasion empiété sur la poésie religieuse, ainsi Rutebeuf.

<sup>1</sup> Nous voudrions saisir cette occasion pour remercier M. le professeur Warren pour l'obligeance avec laquelle il a mis à notre service son abondante documentation sur ce sujet avant même la publication de ses études alors que nous lui avions parlé du présent travail.

On trouve aussi quelques exemples de vers de ce genre dans le vol. 6 des *Romanische Forschungen*, pp. 421-461.

De France ce procédé passa en Angleterre. Voir O. Heider, *Untersuchungen zur mittelhochl. erotischen Lyrik*, p. 12 ss., et pour plus tard F. G. Hubbard, *Repetition and Parallelism in the earlier Elizabethan Drama* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, June, 1906).



Et la tirade du Roman de la Rose, qui a été ajoutée plus tard (Voir éd. Fr. Michel, p. 146) se termine par un passage qui rappelle singulièrement Gautier :

Donc aime la vierge Marie,  
Por amor a li te marie ;

T'ame ne vuet autre mari  
Por amor a li te marie.

Quoiqu'il en soit des rapports de Gautier avec ses contemporains sur ce point-là, il nous semble impossible d'hésiter à ramener à la poésie religieuse latine l'origine de ces fantastiques jongleries de mots dont il est contumier, et dont nous avons déjà vu en passant maint exemple ; ils constituent la marque la plus caractéristique de son art. Il n'est presque pas de Miracle qui ne se termine pas sur un de ces tours de force qui décèlent la patience, le labeur, la bonne volonté, mais pas l'artiste. Gautier pensait probablement par ce moyen rehausser la morale de son récit. "Comment Nostre Dame guarir un clerc de son let" se termine ainsi :

Bien vout por lui bien acointier  
Ses acointes desacointier.  
Bien vit s'amour desacointoit  
Qui tiex acointes acointoit.  
Si si acointa cointement  
Que touz mauvez acointement

Por l'acointier desacointa.  
Certes qui si cointe acointe a  
Acointe acointe est acointiez,  
La mere Dieu desacointiez  
Cil qui sa cointe mere acointe,  
Nule acointance n'est si cointe.

(Col. 345-6, v. 165-176).

Le miracle "Du riche homme et de la povre viellette" finit par ces vers :

Ne puet preudom durer en trous  
D'autri morsiaus ont cras les cous  
Dont morsiaus viegne ne leur chaut,  
De male mors seront demors  
Que tant menjuent de mal mors.  
La mort mordant touz les puist  
mordre,  
Quar ne s'en veulent desamordre.  
Bien masche et bien englout la mort

Qui a si maus morsiaus s'amort.  
S'il ne laissent tele amorsure  
La mors qui a male morsure  
A aus de mordre s'amordra,  
Et si tres granz mors en mordra  
Que tuit de male mort morrunt  
Chastient s'en cil qui morrunt.

(Col. 441-2, v. 557-572).



Voir encore Col. 286, v. 131 à fin. ; 300, v. 112 à fin. ; 332, v. 182 à fin., etc., etc.

On pourrait aussi peut-être considérer ces essais comme un système de rime très développé. La rime et l'assonance qui à ce moment coexistaient, reposent sur l'agrément pour l'auditeur de retrouver à intervalles réguliers un même son. Qu'on nous surprenne en introduisant ce son même entre les espaces réguliers, et l'agrément sera intensifié, pensent des artistes du genre de Gautier. Les poètes latins déjà introduisaient volontiers le son de la rime à la césure. Par exemple.

Christi mater generosa, sponsa Christi preciosa,  
Que es Virgo gloriosa et de partu gaudiosa  
Ex qua vera salus orta venit ad nos clausa porta,  
Angelorum imperatrix, super celos dominatrix,  
Que es vite reparatrix et a morte liberatrix.  
Tu relucens margarita in corona regis sita,  
Pietate expolita, caritate insignita,  
Sanctita disciplina facta mundi medicina, etc., etc.

(Cf. *Rev. des Langues rom.*, 38, p. 113 ss. ).

On en trouve même quelques exemples dans des miracles latins de la Vierge (cf. Mussafia, *loc. cit.*, vol. 139, p. 64). De Gourmont, dans le livre souvent cité (VII), fait voir par quelques exemples bien caractéristiques que des tours de force du genre que nous venons d'indiquer n'étaient pas inconnus des moines du Moyen-Age. Ainsi ce vers de Ekkehard le vieux, au x<sup>e</sup> siècle :

Hic Columbanus nomine, columbinae vitae fuit.

“Le second moine du même nom,” écrit de Gourmont, “Ekkehard le Palatin, mort en 990, s'amusa, le cénobite naïf, à rédiger à la louange des saints d'énigmatiques séquences dont tous les mots sans exception commençaient par la même lettre. A saint Pierre est dévolu la lettre P. Loisir d'hiver dans les laborieuses solitudes de Saint-



Gall : Déjà un poète carlovingien du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle, Hucbald, avait chanté en 135 vers uniquement formés de mots à l'initiale C l'infirmité qu'il avait, disait-il, la gloire de partager avec l'empereur Charles le Chauve. 'Carmina, clarisonae calvis cantate, camoenae, // Comere condignus conabor carmine, calvos, // Contra, cirrosi crines, confundere colli.' . . . Et Alcuin s'était ingénié à répéter 17 fois en 34 vers le mot 'Cuculus,' et Milon, moine de Saint-Amant, chanta la gloire du même coucou en son bref 'Carmen de conflictu Hiemis et Veris,' reedit près de vingt fois de suite ce mot peut-être magique

Omnes hic cuculo laudes parebant . . . .

His certamen erat cuculi de carmine grande. . . ."

Voici ensuite un passage contemporain de Gautier où l'on voit encore mieux comme, par le fait des sons de la langue, le latin se prête à ces allitérations et assonances :

#### TRINITAS.

Trinitas, deitas, unitas aeterna.

Majestas, potestas, pietas superna.

Sol, lumen et numen, cacumen, semita.

Lapis, mons, petra, fons, flumen, pons et vita.

Tu sator, creator, amator, redemptor, salvator, luxque perpetua.

Tu tutor, et decor, tu candor, tu splendor et odor quo vivunt mortua.

Tu vertex et apex, regum lex, legum lex et vindex, tu lux angelica

Quem clamant, adorant, quem laudant, quem cantant, quem amant agmina  
coelica . . . ., etc., etc.

Des hommes comme Adam de St. Victor se laissaient volontiers aller à des jongleries telles que celles que nous retrouvons chez Gautier.

De la Vierge :

A dilecto praelecta

Ab electo praedilecta.

De la vie éternelle :



Tu post vitam hanc mortalem  
Sive mortem hanc vitalem

Vitam nobis immortalem  
Clemens restitue. . . .

De la Rédemption :

Fons illimis  
Munde nimis  
Ab immundo

Munda mundo  
Cor mundani populi. . . .

Dans un chant sur l'Assomption :

Salve, Verbi sacra parens

Flos spineti gloria

Nos spinetum, nos peccati, Sed tu spine nescia  
Spina sumus cruentati.

Dans le cycle anonyme de la Vierge encore :

Sic flos flori placuisti

Pietatis gratia

Verbum verbo concepisti, Virgo viri nescia. . .<sup>1</sup>

Regem regum peperisti,

Enfin c'est à une génération peu, antérieure à celle de Gautier qu'appartient le brillant poète latin Hildebert de Lavardin († 1134) dont voici un exemple de poésie.

Alpha et O magna Deus  
Cuius virtus totum posse  
Cuius sensus totum nosse  
Cuius esse summum bonum  
Cuius opus quidquid bonum.  
Super cuncta, subter cuncta  
Extra cuncta, intra cuncta.

Intra cuncta nec inclusus,  
Extra cuncta nec exclusus,  
Super cuncta nec elatus  
Subter cuncta nec substratus  
Super totus presidendo  
Subter totus sustinendo  
Extra totus complectendo, etc.  
(Migne, Pat. lat., 171, 1177-1458.)

Nicolas de Brai, à la même époque essayait du style calembourique dans ses vers épiques latins.

. . . . Comitem sed Flandria luget

Nam Ferrandus erat ferratus compede ferri.

(Hist. litt. de la France, 18, p. 80 ss.)

<sup>1</sup> Ici encore je renvoie aux textes publiés par F. W. Roth dans *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. VI, pp. 429-61. Il y a des exemples de presque toutes ces formes de versification religieuse latine.



Gautier, esprit simple, fut frappé de ces traits et érigea le procédé en système. La langue dont il se servait ne s'y prêtait guère cependant, les terminaisons synthétiques ont disparu, c'est sur les racines des mots qu'il faut se rejeter. On conçoit aisément la difficulté. On peut réussir à l'occasion avec beaucoup d'habileté et de patience. Et encore ne faut-il jamais y recourir qu'en de très rares exceptions. Que Rabelais pour caractériser Jean des Entommeures dise "un vrai moyne si onques en fut, depuis que le monde moinant moina de moinerie," c'est très joli. Ou que Molière dise dans *Les Femmes Savantes*,

Qu'un sot savant est sot plus qu'un sot ignorant,

c'est fort bien. Mais il est facile de s'imaginer ce qui advient si on y insiste. Ce n'est plus qu'un jeu qui annonce les grands rhétoriciens. L'écrivain est forcé d'employer des synonymes au lieu du mot propre, ou des mots de forme analogue et de sens différents selon le contexte. Que ces synonymes viennent dans des contextes où on ne les attendait pas, ils demandent à être interprétés. Il y a là un petit problème à résoudre, et si le lecteur réussit aisément, la satisfaction de l'énigme deviné ajoute à son plaisir. Gautier a vu dans cet exercice le "non plus ultra" du genre. Plus il se montrait habile jongleur de mots, plus ses miracles devaient être parfaits de forme. On a appelé cela en français quelquefois des "vers équivoqués," sans doute par analogie avec la *rime équivoquée* (mot qu'on trouve dans Gautier, Col. 377) dont il va être question tout à l'heure.

Souvent ce n'est qu'un seul vers où le jeu se montre préparé pourtant par une série de vers monorimes, ainsi :

Li cuer li faut et tout li membre  
Lors c'uns pechierres li ramembre  
L'autrier meust tout desmembre,

S'il ne meust de lui membre  
Et se li de moi ne membrast  
Membre a membre ne demembrast.  
(Col. 113, v. 121-6).



Quelquefois ce sont deux ou trois vers, mais l'exemple suivant montrera que cela est amplement suffisant pour embarrasser le lecteur et fournir matière à un rebus fort bien conditionné, c'est la dernière strophe des *Cinq joies de Nostre Dame* :

Dame qui de touz sains la joie ies et la gloire,  
 Moi et touz ceus qui t'aimment et qui t'ont en memoire,  
 Ainz la fin fai si fins, si finons finement,  
 Qu'aions la fine fin qui n'aura finement.  
 Amen, amen, amen.

Ses chansons pieuses parfois reposent presque tout entières sur ce système d'assonance et d'allitération ajouté à la rime, telle la *Première chanson* en tête du *Premier livre des Miracles* :

## Strophe VI.

Char precieuse en tes flans prist,  
 Par quoi le soupervant soupert  
 Qui touz nous vient souspenre  
 Mais qui a toi servir se prent  
 Sa soupresure nel sousprent  
 A toi se fait bon penre.

## Strophe VI.

Dame en qui sont tout bon confort  
 De mes pechies me desconfort,  
 Mais ce me reconforte  
 Que nus n'est tant desconfortez  
 Par toi ne soit renconfortez,  
 Tes conforz toz conforte.

La strophe 12 joue sur les mots "fin," "finer," etc., comme l'exemple ci-dessus. Citons encore du domaine lyrique la strophe suivante (Col. 388, str. V) :

Virge monde par cui Diex monde le monde  
 Si monde moi qu'en Paradis m'ame mont.  
 Ti ami ont bien le mont seurmonte  
 Ti ami vont tout monte  
 Devant Dieu lassus amont.

Il en est parmi ces tours de force qui plaisent infiniment à leur auteur et il se plaît à les reprendre de temps en temps en les variant quelque peu. L'un de ses thèmes favoris est de jouer sur les mots "Marie," "mari," "marier." "Du clerc qui mist l'anel on doi Nostre Dame"—qu'on rapproche



souvent de la *Vénus d'Ille* de Mérimée—se termine par cette morale. Le héros mondain, on s'en souvient,

Du siecle tout se varia,  
A Marie se maria.  
Moine et clerc qui se marie  
A Madame sainte Marie  
Moult hautement s'est mariez,  
Mais cil est trop mesmariez  
Et tuit cil trop se memarient  
Qui as Marions se marient,

Par Marions, par mariees,  
Sont moult dome desmariees,  
Pour Dieu ne nous mesmarions,  
Lessons Maros et Marions,  
Si nous marions a Marie  
Qui ses amis es ciex marie.  
(Col. 358-360, v. 168-181.)

Un passage parallèle se retrouve par exemple dans "l'Abbesse délivrée" (v. 164 ss., cf. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Bd. VI, p. 334 ss.). Il s'en retrouve même dans la poésie lyrique de Gautier (voir Col. 16, str. IV, 24, Chanson VII, 1 et 2).

Ailleurs ce sont les mots "déport," "porter," "portée," etc., qui font la joie du poète. Le passage suivant est un type de maint autre. Il chante

Por vous esbatre et deporter  
Et por mon chief reconforter.  
Chanter en weil par grant deport  
Car en ses chanz moult me deport,  
En ses douz a deport tant  
Que je m'y vois moult deportant.  
En li servir qui se deporte

Du ciel a s'ame euvre la porte  
Que celle ou tant deport a  
Que touz depors ix mois porta,  
A la fin touz nous doint porter  
En Paradis por deporter.  
Or entendez par grant deport  
Comment por lui je me deport.  
(Col. 384, v. 398-411.)

Voir passages parallèles : Col. 24, str. IV, Col. 386, str. I, Col. 500, v. 272-288, Col. 504, v. 205-214, etc.

Des passages sur "confort," "deconfort," "reconfort," etc., Col. 14, str. VII, Col. 504, v. 120-130, etc.

Des passages sur "fin," "finir," "finement," Col. 14, str. XII, Col. 762, v. 36-37, Col. 351, v. 213-215, etc.

R. Reinsch en cite plusieurs dans l'article cité (Herrig's *Archiv*, LXVII, p. 78, cf. aussi 233). Il considère la présence de ces jeux de mots dans les poèmes tour à tour attribués et contestés à Gautier, comme le principal argument d'au-



thenticité. Il a raison, croyons nous ; mais le caractère moins complexes des vers équivoqués dans ces poèmes comparés à ceux des “Miracles” semble devoir les faire remonter à une date antérieure. Nous ne nous connaissons pas la compétence nécessaire pour affirmer positivement que Gautier de Coincy lança ce procédé de rhétorique. Il paraît probable que les grands Rhétoriciens y seraient arrivés naturellement. Mais en ce qui concerne des essais sporadiques de cette espèce chez des contemporains, il ne serait pas impossible que des recherches minutieuses aboutissent à ratifier notre suggestion. L’un des poètes en tous cas, chez qui on le retrouve le plus souvent c’est Rutebeuf. Or Rutebeuf doit beaucoup à Gautier, nous l’avons déjà dit, et peut lui avoir pris du mauvais comme du bon. Ajoutons que ces jongleries apparaissent fréquemment dans les morceaux religieux. Ainsi dans “Du soucretain et de la fame au chevalier.” Le récit débute ainsi (Ed. Barb. et Méon, IV, v. 1-7) :

Ce soit en la beneoite eure  
Que beneoiz qui Dieu aeure,  
Me fet beneoite oeuvre  
Por beneoit un poi m’aoeuvre.

Benoiz soit qui escouterà  
Ce que por beneoit fera  
Rustebuef que Diex beneisse.

Plus bas (v. 165-7) :

Anemis si les entama,  
Que li amis l’amie ama,

Et l’amie l’ami amot.

Sa signature (v. 751-6) :

Rudest est et rudement oeuvre,  
Li rudes hom fet la rude oeuvre,  
Se rudes est, rudes est bues,

Rudes est, s’a non Rudebues.  
Rustebues oeuvre rudement,  
Savent en sa rudece ment.

Quelquefois il met cette éloquence en oeuvre contre la fausse religion (v. 399-410) :



Papelart fet bien ce qu'il doit,  
Qui si forment papelardoit,  
De l'engin sevent et de l'art  
Li ypocrite papelart.  
De la loenge du pueple ardent,  
Por ce papelart papelardent.

Ne vaut rien papelarderie,  
Puis que la papelarde rie.  
James ne papelardirai,  
Ainçois des papelars dirai  
Por chose que papelars die,  
Ne croirai mes papelardie.

Autres exemples, v. 151-160, 189-194, 239-240.

Ici encore M. Warren a trouvé et cité des passages qu'on pourrait mettre en parallèle avec ceux de Gautier, surtout chez Chrétien de Troyes (cf. p. 11 ss. de son second article, *Modern Philology*, Avril, 1906). Mais comme ils pâlisent à côté de ceux de Gautier ! On pourrait dire que chez Chrétien il s'agit simplement d'une idée spontanée se présentant au poète en train de composer. Mais chez Gautier c'est un système délibérément adopté et mis à contribution dès que l'occasion s'en présente.

On trouve aussi quelques exemples, mais bien rares, dans les Fabliaux ; ainsi dans "Les trois chanoinesses de Cologne," par Watriquet Brassenel, de Couvin (No. LXXII dans Montaiglon et Raynaud) :

Je commençai d'amer l'ecole

Qui l'amant a amer escole.

Un fabliau au moins repose tout entier sur des jeux de mots de ce genre, "D'une dame de Flandres c'un chevalier tolli a un autre par force" (Barb. et Méon, III, pp. 444-446).

Il avint ja en Flandres qu'ot un chevalier tort  
Qui amoit une dame, de ce n'ot il pas tort,  
Il la vit bele et droite, si n'ot pas le col tort,  
Kant ne la pot avoir a droit, print la a tort.  
Mais puis fu lor afaire destorbes par un tort  
Qu'a tort li tant la dame qu'il ot ravie a tort,  
Et puis fu retolue et menee de tort en tort . . . , etc., etc.

Quant à l'épître "Au Roy" de Marot (1518) sur la rime, la rimaille et les rimailleurs, elle trahit évidemment l'influence des Rhétoriciens. Elle finit ainsi :



Si vous supposez qu'a ce jeune richement  
 Facies avoir un jour par sa riche hant.  
 Afin qu'il die en prose ou en richement :  
 "Ce richement qui s'aime tant.  
 Tant richement, richement et richement.  
 Qu'il a sagement quel bien par richement se a."

Rapportons peut-être ici le passage de *Ysaie* de Thomas, où Ysaie indique la cause de sa mélancolie : c'est l'amour (amant, l'amant amant) et le mot *En Bélier*, l. 53-54 : II, 140, 141.

Si l'on s'est moqué quelquefois de lui quand il s'agissait de vers et de prose, à plus forte raison Grandet devait-il se moquer extrêmement soigneusement pour faire des vers sérieux. Mais la science il en a même le talent de "l'art de l'épique" (l. 577) il ne peut prétendre à la même originalité. Sans aucun doute il a pris l'art des épiques pour l'art de la prose elle-même. Il était mortel de vers et équivalent à la prose même si simple, et qui avait été en usage dès le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi Henri de Poitiers :

Jeune noble homme  
 Plus vaillant que poète.

Tout jeune homme  
 Laisse l'art de l'épique.

Nous avons déjà dit plus haut au premier *Ysaie*, et dans toutes les autres œuvres de la prose et de l'épique pour parler de la *Virgile*. En toutes œuvres, nous devons Grandet même de s'occuper avec une attention toute particulière.

C'est à nous que de Poitiers  
 Tout est une œuvre d'art.

Il ne faut pas le dire à  
 L'art de l'épique.

La seule œuvre de l'homme

Et nous ne pouvons en dire rien.  
 L'art de l'épique.

Et si l'on ne peut pas dire

Et la seule œuvre d'art.  
 L'art de l'épique.

Et nous ne pouvons en dire rien

Pour ce que nous ne pouvons en dire rien.  
 L'art de l'épique.





Si les odore finement  
De basme et de muguélias,  
Dex ! tant donne mugue li as

Qu'aussi est en mugueliee  
Con sel fust en mugue liee.  
(Col. 128, v. 836-840).

Lessiez ester les chançonnettes

Quar ne sont pas leur chançons netes.  
(Col. 382, v. 324-5).

De la gloire de Paradis.

Mais mal partout tant par a dis.  
(Col. 383, v. 370-1).

M. Félix Brun cite, en note de la page 48 de sa petite monographie sur Gautier (tirée à cent exemplaires, Meulan, 1888), les exemples suivants tirés de la *Vie de Ste Léocadie* :

La sainte vierge Leochade  
En souspirant li dist, "O qu'a de

Douceur, douce pucele en toi. . . "

Petit advint que grant murmure

En grant cloistre n'en grant murmure

Sa ville et sa gent delivra,

He ! Diex com cil le cuer ivre a. . .

Sachiez qu'entour li saint umbre a

Quant Diex en son cors s'aumbra. . .

Se Dieu plaist, bien nous fournirons

Au moulin, mais a four n'irons. . .

La "rime équivoque" qui devint si populaire avec les grands rhétoriciens a été étudiée souvent, nous n'avons pas à nous y attarder, Voir Quicherat, *Traité*, pp. 462-465 ; Tobler, *Vers ancien et moderne*, pp. 174-178, de la Trad. fr., 2<sup>e</sup> éd.

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Concluons rapidement. Nous sommes à une période de transition. L'œuvre de Gautier n'aura peut-être pas été tout à fait vaine. Il a essayé la poésie latine en français. Certains éléments, la plupart même, ne se prêtent pas à cette transposition, d'autres comme la rime devaient rester tout en se modifiant. Tout à fait secondaire du point de vue de l'art dans le sens abstrait du terme, il est fort intéressant du point de vue de l'histoire et de la formation de notre art littéraire.



On a condamné Gautier en se plaçant trop au point de vue moderne pour le juger, c'est à dire d'une époque où le goût s'était déjà perfectionné. Gaston Paris a été un des seuls indulgents en appuyant sur sa touchante simplicité. Même quant à la forme si pauvre de sa poésie, il est permis d'admettre que les esprits fort peu blasés du Moyen-Age,—la jouissance des poètes latins leur était inconnue—ont dû voir dans ces grossières manifestations quelque chose de fort beau. Du reste, dans la quantité, il y a quelques beaux morceaux. Ainsi la prière de Théophile dont on a pu parfois comparer un passage avec la prière de la Gretchen de Goethe. On pourrait dire de Gautier ce que Rousseau disait des enfants : "Ce serait un prodige si, sur tant de vaines paroles, le hasard ne fournissoit jamais une rencontre heureuse."

ALBERT SCHINZ.



## XVII.—DE QUINCEY AND CARLYLE IN THEIR RELATION TO THE GERMANS.

What is the importance of De Quincey in comparison with Carlyle in introducing German literature and thought into England? In dealing with this question I shall speak of the field of German writing from which De Quincey drew the material that he presented to his English audience; of the value of that material; of his method of presenting it; and of his attitude toward his work.

As to the field from which De Quincey drew, it was German prose. At the beginning of the article on Lessing, as early as 1826, he announced a series of specimen translations from writers of German prose. He says there that it is unfortunate that the English interest in German literature has settled so exclusively on the poets, for not in them so much as in the prose authors do the strength and originality of the German mind appear. The prose authors have not written under the constraint of foreign models,—a hit at Goethe,—nor manifested their freedom from that constraint by the affectations of caprice. De Quincey carried out this program of introducing the prose of Germany to England with a spasmodic faithfulness. He translated from Richter, from Kant, from Lessing, from Tieck; but from no poet. This was natural, for De Quincey's genius was a prose genius. Scott and Coleridge, as poets, translated German poetry or poetical dramas; De Quincey and Carlyle translated prose. Carlyle translated fiction—the *Wilhelm Meister*, and the various articles of his volume of *German Romance*; De Quincey translated fiction from Tieck and from other unknown or less important romantic and sentimental novelists, and he also translated considerable German criticism and



philosophy. But besides translating De Quincey wrote many abstracts and digests,—a point I shall take up in a moment in speaking of his method. In these digests, again, his material is of course prose; he takes themes from philosophy and criticism, and especially from the pedantic region of German scholarship. His *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Free Masons (A Digest from the German)* is a case in point. So, too, his own works which have a basis in the German—as the *Flight of the Tartar Tribe*—are drawn from prose writers.

These translations and digests and other articles connected with the German may be considered both in their literary value and in their philosophical value, as introducing German literature and German thought to English readers. The translation of Tieck's *Love-Charms* is perhaps the only piece of prose of strictly literary quality which De Quincey has brought over from the German. The *Analects* from Richter can hardly be considered here, for they are too short, most of them only sentences of especial beauty; they convey nothing like a whole conception of any work of Richter's. The translation of the *Laocöon* also is not complete. I exclude likewise the several romances which De Quincey published as "from the German," for they are scarcely of enough importance for literature to be reckoned with. When we compare, then, the slight amount of strictly first class literary prose which he rendered accessible for the English with the substantial achievement of Carlyle in his *Meister* and the two volumes of *German Romance*, it becomes evident that De Quincey's claims as a translator can not stand beside Carlyle's. A basis for comparison between the two men offers itself also in the critical essays on German authors. In point of literary value Carlyle's work again must be preferred. De Quincey wrote his best criticisms on Richter and on Tieck, the latter a mere note in extent.



In these two articles one finds him a sympathetic critic, getting away from his own prejudices, giving a suggestive conception of his author and in some measure interpreting him to the reader. But in these articles even, his criticism is not intimate and detailed. The rest of his critical papers, with the further exception, perhaps, of what he says of *Die Räuber*, are unsympathetic, without detail, and utterly external in their tone. Over against these fragmentary and inadequate articles stands a body of criticism by Carlyle which is substantial, intimate, sympathetic; Carlyle has given the English reader an inspiring and illuminating interpretation of several German authors of the most representative type. His essays on Novalis (1829), Richter (1830), Schiller (1831), and Goethe (1832) are standard. Mr. Rhys says of them: "They still hold their own as at least the most vigorous and inspiring statement in English criticism of the great men of letters whose lives and writings they describe." Even the introduction to the translations from German romancers in 1827—the brief notices of Tieck, Richter, Fouqué, and Hoffmann—contain some passages of noteworthy critical value.

But if De Quincey's translation and criticism cannot be compared with Carlyle's in literary value, he has the advantage of being free from the rivalry of Carlyle in a whole field of German work; viz., in the translations and digests of a philosophical and scholarly sort. And yet even here De Quincey's contribution is not of commanding importance. For, in the first place, articles of scholarly interest, such as the *Toilette of the Hebrew Lady*, the *Philosophy of Herodotus*, the *Origin of the Rosicrucians*, are without any special significance that makes it creditable to have transferred them from the German to English. There is nothing vitally important in this part of De Quincey's work; he has gratified his own rather pedantic and antiquarian taste, and at the



same time without the fatigue of an exhaustive investigation has produced a readable magazine article. Moreover, while the transference of German philosophy into England is of vital importance, De Quincey did not accomplish a great deal of it by his translations and digests. There are two ways in which the transcendental philosophy came into England: by what may be called the academic translation or setting forth of its books and its doctrines; and secondly by the living inculcation of the philosophy through the works of great English authors. De Quincey helped the movement chiefly in the academic way. His articles on Kant set forth in the abstract some of Kant's ideas, explained them, and (granting De Quincey's claim) cleared up obscurities in his expression, which had puzzled other students. But he did not by these articles vitalize Kant's philosophy or make it effective in English thought. One reason was that Kant's philosophy was after all barren for him; and he did not reach the constructive side of it, nor apparently did he grasp or sympathize with the later constructive development of Kantian philosophy into the ideal systems of the neo-Kantians. Leslie Stephen says of him: "He had an acquaintance, which if his opinion were correct, was accurate and profound, with Kant's writings and had studied Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. He fancied that he could translate the technicalities of Kant into plain English; and that when so translated, they would prove to have a real and all-important meaning. But as nothing ever came of all this, it would be idle to deduce from his scattered hints any estimate of his powers" (*Fortnightly Review*, Vol. xv, old series, p. 324). Leslie Stephen with his love for the eighteenth century and its philosophers is hurt at De Quincey's scant regard for Locke, and is over hard on De Quincey in this article. In his later view of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* article he speaks more



sympathetically. And yet he has come pretty close to the fact when he says that "nothing ever came of all this." Certainly little has appeared in De Quincey's works to show for all the years of his devotion to German metaphysics; and, as I have said, the reason is that he failed to probe far enough to find in Kant that positively constructive element which his nature demanded.

Carlyle, on the other hand, while he did not translate anything, transfused the new philosophy into the substance of his *Sartor Resartus*, and in a thousand ways presented significant ideas from that philosophy throughout his works. For really putting German philosophy to work in England as a living factor in English thought, Carlyle must be given far greater honor than De Quincey.

De Quincey's method in his studies from the German is worth some few words. There is not very much evidence for the impression, but one certainly does get the impression that most of De Quincey's critical articles were composed on the spur of necessity after a long but torpid and profitless gazing at the work in hand. One feels that he has spent hours over his problem in a sort of nervous and impotent reverie; and at the last moment written what he could,—as in the case of the proofs of Goethe, where the time had slipped away without his having been able to look at them with "any use or profit." He was fitted rather to study and dream over his book, to lose himself in it, and spin fine webs out of it that ran into such intricacy that he must let the whole tangle go and begin afresh. For many years he was a student without a thought or a desire of any written self-expression; his opium habit no doubt confirmed him in his dreamy web-spinning nature and inhibited him from continued and concentrated effort toward the completion of his problem, so that he could present it as a whole. Hence much of his work is fragmentary. Again, he fre-



quently writes without his authorities at hand, and quotes inaccurately or roughly from books he has not read for years. In this way he quotes from Kant in an important connection, stating that fifteen years have elapsed since he read the passage; or he will make use of a half quotation from some classical author; and in one instance he explains that he is quoting from a book which he had never seen but once years before, and then only for a day. This indicates either mere bravado, or composition on short time and under difficulties.

Some of De Quincey's magazine writing came very near being hack work; for while he was free to choose his themes he was constantly driven to write whatever he could squeeze out that would pass muster and bring in a little money. It is pitiful work by a man in pitiful straits, a man with a painstaking and artistic nicety unable to produce anything save a fragment. Carlyle writes of him to his brother (November 29, 1827): "Poor little fellow! It might soften a very hard heart to see him so courteous, yet so weak and poor; retiring *home* with his two children to a miserable lodging house, and writing all day for the king of donkeys, the proprietor of the *Saturday Post*. I lent him Jean Paul's autobiography, which I got lately from Hamburg, and advised him to translate it for Blackwood, that so he might raise a few pounds and fence off the Genius of Hunger yet a little while. Poor little De Quincey. He is an innocent man, and, as you said, extremely *washable away*."

As for the method of De Quincy's translations and digests, he is quite frank usually in acknowledging his sources. His *Philosophy of Herodotus* is an article based on some investigations by a German named Hermann Bobrik on the *Geography of Herodotus*. This is the way De Quincey makes his acknowledgements: "What we propose to do is to bring forward two or three important suggestions of others not yet



popularly known—shaping and pointing, if possible, their application, brightening their justice, or strengthening their outlines. And with these we propose to intermingle one or two suggestions, more exclusively our own.” This shows De Quincey, the magazine writer, making himself an outpost reader for the general public, bringing in a report of new things of interest, and by his brilliant style making scholarly or dull treatises into readable magazine articles. He writes an exegetical comment on Herodotus’s notion of the course of the Danube, which is decidedly interesting, yet which for its substance might appear in one of the modern journals of ancient philology. In the work on the Rosicrucians and Free Masons he states that he has made an abstract of, rearranged, and improved the German work of Prof. J. G. Buhle (Göttingen, 1804). Similarly in the paper on the *Last Days of Kant*, De Quincey follows the biographies of Kant by Wasianski, and by Jachmann, Rink, Borowski, and others. It is noticeable, moreover, that in the critical papers De Quincey frequently quotes at some length from German critics. For example, he quotes Frau Herder and Richter on Herder for something more than half of the short article. He also quotes Schlegel on Lessing. Finally De Quincey has a way of using his general ideas on Germany and the Germans in contrast with France, and with England. Frequently in his essays not dealing with a subject which is especially German, as in the *Essay on Style*, or in the *Letter to a Young Man whose Education has been Neglected*, he will contrast German and French style, German and French manners, or the social life and conversational habits,—all this a good deal after the model of Madame De Staël.

De Quincey, then, falls far below Carlyle as a champion of Teutonism, both in the literary and the philosophic value of his contribution, both in his direct translation from the German and in the indirect bringing over of German ideas




and moods. His method of dealing with his work lacks consistency and energy of endeavor ; he works at his German mine, of which he spoke in the early editorial in the *Westmoreland Gazette*, in a desultory, hand-to-mouth fashion, without definite plan. Carlyle struck for the richest lodes, and worked them thoroughly and energetically. He thus permanently enriched English life and thought with the best that could be brought over from the German mine ; De Quincey fetched some nuggets, and more quartz of little value, and here and there he carefully lugged home copper pyrites.

A suggestive comparison may be made, finally, between De Quincey and Carlyle as regards the attitude which each took toward his work. De Quincey enjoyed German literature for himself ; Carlyle felt that England *ought to know* about it. When De Quincey was driven to writing he used the knowledge of German that he had as a resource for helping him toward many a magazine article ; but his attitude in this writing is far different from the frank sincerity of Carlyle. He is constantly implying that he is a master of the German language and literature in a degree in which few others in England are ; and gives the impression that German must remain a closed book, except in so far as he himself opens it and explains random pages and here and there a foot-note. This is perhaps exaggerated, but it suggests the attitude toward which he inclines. Masson somewhere speaks of De Quincey's attitude in one of his articles on Greek literature : he says that he has gone into the temple of Greek literature, explored its mysteries, and after coming out and locking the door behind him, has stood on the steps and told the people that it is very fine inside, but it will do them no good because he alone has the key. There is just a tinge of this in De Quincey's attitude



toward his English public eagerly listening for words about the great German literature. It is very different with Carlyle. In his preface to his volumes of *German Romance* (1827), discouraged about most of his translations except that from Richter, he nevertheless says: "On the whole, as the light of a very small taper may be useful in total darkness, I have sometimes hoped that this little enterprise might assist, in its degree, to forward an acquaintance with the Germans and their literature; a literature and a people both well worthy of our study." And a little later he ridicules one who claims much virtue for having mastered the German language: "The difficulties of German are little more than a bugbear,—three months of moderate diligence will carry a man over its prime obstacles, and the rest is play rather than labor." He concludes: "To judge from the signs of the times, this general diffusion of German among us seems a consummation not far distant. As an individual, I cannot but anticipate from it some little evil and much good; . . . thirty millions of men, speaking in the same old Saxon tongue, and thinking in the same old Saxon spirit with ourselves, may be admitted to the rights of brotherhood which they have long deserved, and which it is we chiefly that suffer by withholding." This is a frank and earnest avowal of Carlyle's feeling that German literature could do much for the English, and his modest hope that his own work might help bring about a better knowledge and appreciation of it. Carlyle realized the mutual advantage of literary cosmopolitanism far more deeply than De Quincey ever did.

Most of De Quincey's works connected with the German sprang from the head rather than the heart. Some few bear the glowing mark of imagination, but for the most part they show what has been called the *wire-drawing* character of his





intellect. They represent the fag-end of his genius; the warmth and charm of the great prose articles in which he wrote from deep personal feeling are lacking here. His mind is working unsympathetically and crabbedly, because under nagging compulsion. In his impassioned prose he is to be wondered at; but here he is more to be pitied, as Carlyle pitied him.

WALTER Y. DURAND.



### XVIII.—THE CHARACTER OF CRISEYDE.

The main view which I shall here present was formulated about the time of the last meeting of this Association in New Haven, when Professor Price, of Columbia University, read his paper before the Association on *Troilus and Criseyde*. In that year, 1895–6, I was giving an undergraduate course in Chaucer, and found, on coming to *Troilus and Criseyde*, that a majority of the men in the course felt that a great change for the worse had come over Criseyde's character after her departure for Troy. This led me to look with more care into the poem, both to see how far there might be a basis for such a view, and to discover items of evidence tending to modify this impression. The opinion which I then came to entertain was communicated to my graduate seminary in Chaucer in the academic year 1899–1900,<sup>1</sup> and in various other years. In the present paper, this view is supported by some additional considerations.

Of the modern commentators on the story, Ten Brink is certainly not among the least. His view is (*Hist. Eng. Lit.* 2. 1. 92, Eng. trans.): "The English Criseyde is more innocent, less experienced, less sensual, more modest, than her Italian prototype. What a multitude of agencies were needed to inflame her love for Troilus; what a concatenation of circumstances, what a display of trickery and intrigue, to bring her at last to his arms! We see the threads of the web in which she is entangled drawing ever closer around her; her fall appears to us excusable, indeed unavoidable. And if afterwards, after the separation, she does not resist the temptation of Diomedes, how is she

<sup>1</sup>See the reference to this in Dr. Robert K. Root's *Poetry of Chaucer* (1906), p. 115, note.



accountable, if her mind is less true and deep than that of Troilus? how is she accountable, when that first fall robbed her of her moral stay? . . . She only gives her heart to Diomedes when touched with sympathy for the wounds he had received from Troilus; and her infidelity is immediately followed by repentance. . . . The more innocent Criseyde is, the more inexperienced and helpless Troilus is, the greater grows the role of him who brings them together. . . . He is an elderly gentleman, with great experience of life, uncle to Criseyde—not, as in Boccaccio, her cousin.”

Mr. A. W. Ward (*Chaucer*, p. 92), calls Criseyde “not ignoble even in the season of her weakness.” Courthope (*Hist. Eng. Poet.* 1. 264) says: “It is not till the fourth book that the deterioration of Cressida’s nature reveals itself incidentally in the facility with which she listens, without displeasure though without response, to the artful love-making of Diomedes.” In 1893 Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his primer on Chaucer (p. 95), says: “Only a detailed study of the *Filostrato* reveals by how much Chaucer has ennobled the characters both of hero and heroine. In his hands . . . Cressida [becomes] the sweetest, most piteous of unfaithful women.” And in 1901, in the Chambers *Cyclopædia of English Literature* (1. 69), the same writer says: “In the end, as we all know, Criseyde failed to fight against the stress of circumstance, and was faithless.” Furnivall, treating of Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida* in the *Leopold Shakespeare* (p. lxxx), thus cries out against the ruthlessness of the great dramatist: “To have the beautiful Cressida, hesitating, palpitating like the nightingale before her sin, driven by force of hard circumstances which she could not control into unfaithfulness to her love, to have this Cressid, whom Chaucer spared for very ruth, set before us as a mere shameless wanton, making eyes at all the men she sees, and showing



her looseness in the movement of every limb, is a terrible blow."

What shall we say to a Criseyde suggested not only as an object for our pity, but, at least so far as the first half of her story is concerned, almost for our approval and affection?

In the first place, we must say that this conception is not warranted by antiquity. Criseyde's ancient prototype, whether we call her Briseis or Chryseis—and, according to Ovid (*Rem. Am.* 476), it is only the difference of a syllable—yielded and gave to the stronger, and could be transferred with much ease from one fighter to another. The scorn of a lawful wife for such temporary partners is fiercely proclaimed by Clytæmnestra over the dead body of Agamemnon (*Æschylus, Agam.* 1438–43):

There lies he, one who foully wronged his wife,  
The darling of the Chryseïds at Troia ;  
And there [*pointing to Cassandra*] this captive slave, this augress,  
His concubine, this seeress trustworthy,  
Who shared his bed, and yet was as well known  
To the sailors at their benches !<sup>1</sup>

It is with something of the same scorn that Chaucer, speaking of the unfallen, characterless Emilye,<sup>2</sup> after Palamon had been overmatched, remarks (*K. T.* 1823–4) :

For wommen, as to speken in comune,  
They folwen al the favour of fortune.

The Pandarus who is eventually resolved into the cousin or uncle of Criseyde, according as Boccaccio or Chaucer tells the story, is already in the Fourth Book of the *Iliad* a truce-breaker. When he is about to shoot the arrow which makes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ovid, *A. A.* 2. 711 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Another reflection, it must be remembered, of Boccaccio's notorious Maria ; see the Dedication to the *Teseide*, and Crescini, *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, p. 211.



him a perjured man, Homer thus characterizes him: "So spake Athene, and persuaded his fool's heart." And of him we are told by the Pseudo-Dictys (2. 41): "He finally paid the penalty of an accursed mode of fighting."

Calchas, who becomes in Benoît de Sainte More the father of Criseyde, is in Homer and Virgil a Greek priest. It is the Pseudo-Dares (15) that first tells how, when Achilles went to Delphi to consult the oracle, Calchas also arrived, having been sent on behalf of the Phrygians. The oracle commanded that, when the Greeks should set sail, he should persuade them not to return till Troy was captured. Hereupon he and Achilles become friends, and betake themselves to Athens together. On Achilles' report of the occurrence, the Greeks receive Calchas among their number.

He who first associated Criseyde, Pandarus, and Calchas as members of one family, brought together a woman who had already been conceived by antiquity as bound to accede to the wishes of a conqueror, whoever he might be; a man who had brought woe upon two peoples by the renewal of war, against the sacred faith of a treaty; and a refugee priest, ready on the instant to incline to the stronger side, and more or less an object of suspicion to both parties to the struggle. The fact that Helen is the central figure of this struggle, and lives in ease, luxury, and wantonness while brave men all about her are dying in her quarrel, must not be lost from sight when we are considering the moral atmosphere in which this exemplary Trojan family is supposed to live.

As for Benoît de Sainte More, a few words will suffice to show his sentiments. According to his excellent editor, M. Joly, Briseida is with him the "synonym for perfidy and treason" (1. 274); she represents "the coquetry of love, its graces, its diplomacy, its deceptions" (*ib.*); the motto of the story in Benoît might well be: "Frailty, thy name is



woman" (1. 285). I need hardly remind you that in Benoît there is no long account of the amour of Troilus and Briseida. Briseida is thus described (5. 267-9): "Much was she loved, and much did she love, but her heart was changeable; she was of a full amorous disposition." Joly (1. 291) calls attention to the fact that, on the point of leaving Troy, she had all her precious possessions packed, "and," says the poet, "all her gowns put up; she clothed and decked her person with the richest garments she had" (13303-6), and these the poet then proceeds to describe, in terms which might well set any feminine heart a-flutter. This, be it remembered, is the morning after the night spent in tears and moans with Troilus. Could anything more clearly paint the character of the woman? However, says the poet (13469-71), "the damsel thinks she will die when obliged to part from him whom she so loves and holds dear;" but he has already assured us (13404 ff.) that she will be calmed in time, and will soon forget. "If now she has sorrow, then she will have joy. Her love will soon turn to one whom she has never seen." To which, in the extremity of his indignation, the poet adds (13415 ff.): "Grief does not last long with a woman; she weeps with one eye, and laughs with the other. They soon change their fancy; and the wisest of them is enough of a fool. When she has loved any one for seven years, she will forget him in a day." When Briseida bestows her affections upon Diomedes, she is quite aware, says Joly (1. 293), that he is the particular enemy of Troilus. On the way to the Greek camp, he opens conversation by assuring her that she is the first he ever loved (13527 ff.; cf. *T. and C.*, 5. 1555 ff.). "By the fourth evening," says Benoît, "she no longer had heart or desire to return to the city" (13823-5). "She was of such great knowledge," we are assured, "that she perceived and well knew that Diomedes loved her beyond



everything, and so she was three times as severe towards him" (14964-7); to which Benoit amiably subjoins: "Ladies are always like this." "The poet continues," says Joly (1. 295), "to paint with piquant strokes the adroitness of feminine coquetry, its calculated severities, the humiliation of Diomede, and his prayers." Meanwhile Troilus has a kind of revenge. When, after some days, he encounters and wounds Diomede, he thus taunts the latter (20085-8): "She will entertain many before the siege is over; watch her carefully, if you do not wish to share her with others." As for Calchas, now become her father, Benoit remarks that "the Trojans hated Calchas, and said that he was viler than a dog." Pandarus does not yet appear in his familiar role.

It is well known that Boccaccio's poem, the *Filostrato*, is the basis of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Now the *Filostrato*, as Boccaccio's own preface shows, was written to image forth the relations between himself and Maria, natural daughter of Robert, king of Naples. The story of Boccaccio's passion for this young married woman—moving among the nobility of that dissolute court<sup>1</sup> which was soon to be presided over by the infamous queen Joanna—possessed of great beauty and gentle breeding, but of lax principles, is told, or sketched, or suggested, in no fewer than eight of his works, counting the *Canzoniere* as one, and in no fewer than eighteen passages.<sup>2</sup> It began with him on Holy Saturday, March 30, 1336, according to what seem the most trustworthy calculations, was crowned with mutual pleasure a few months later, and was interrupted by her faithlessness not later than about two years after it began. The story of this *liaison* having been so often repeated by Boccaccio in slightly different forms, and with a variety of assumed names, it

<sup>1</sup> See Symonds, *Ital. Lit.* 1. 121; cf. 1. 113, 122.

<sup>2</sup> According to the computation of Dr. E. H. Wilkins.



would seem as though the attentive reader, and especially the minute student, might be justified in forming an opinion about the character of the heroine. That she had beauty, wit, fine manners, grace, charm—upon this all are agreed; as to the essence of her nature there has been less outspokenness, but on this point also two of the most competent of recent investigators are at one. Speaking of her infidelity to Boccaccio—and it must be remembered that her yielding to him was disloyalty to an amiable and indulgent husband—Crescini says (*op. cit.*, p. 63): “But the lady did not keep faith with him; she left him, to love another. It follows from this that the love which united Maria to Boccaccio was a mere flash of caprice. This passionate and sensual woman”—mark the words—“gave herself to him for a time, but when her desires had been satisfied she passed on to other amours.”<sup>1</sup> A more recent investigator—who in fact published his researches only last year—is Della Torre. His decision is (*La Giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*, p. 190): “Lasciviousness constituted the basis of Maria’s temperament,” and he adduces as proof her inconstancy, and the ease with which she passed from one amour to another. He continues: “See how, in the *Fiammetta*, Maria excuses herself to her own conscience for having betrayed the husband who so fondly loved her by giving herself to Panfilo [*i. e.* Boccaccio]. She says in so many words: ‘Things which are freely possessed are usually considered worthless, though they are really precious; and such as can not easily be had,

<sup>1</sup>In the *Filocolo* (Bk. 4: 8. 79 Mou.), the queen, another incarnation of Maria, says: “Rimanga adunque simile scellerato ardire nelle pari di Semiramis e di Cleopatra, le quali non amano, ma cercano di quietare il loro libidinoso volere, il quale quietato, non più avanti d’alcuno più che d’un altro non si ricordano.” See Maria’s picture of her own heartlessness and blasphemous arrogance in *Filocolo*, Bk. 5: 8. 260 ff. Mou. (cf. Della Torre, p. 191). With this compare *T. and C.* 4. 1406 ff.



though in fact worthless, are regarded as most precious.' " <sup>1</sup> Della Torre contributes another quotation from the *Fiammetta* to the same effect (*Fiam.*, p. 84). Later (p. 191), he speaks of the beautiful voluptuary, who, in the consciousness of her omnipotent beauty, became even cruel.

Were there time, I might quote from the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* (205-210) a sentiment uttered by that worthy woman, which could hardly be distinguished from the one cited above from the mouth of Fiammetta. In fact, the sentiments of both might have been drawn from the long discourse of the duenna in the *Roman de la Rose* (cf. 14098 ff., 14208 ff.) or from its principal source, Ovid's *Art of Love* <sup>2</sup> (cf. 3. 583-6), a book with which we may assume that Maria, under her name of Fiammetta, was acquainted, since she seems distinctly to allude (*Fiam.*, p. 54) to the *Remedies of Love* (139-168). The same principles recur in the *Filostrato* (2. 73-4), and are condensed from there in *Troilus and Criseyde* (2. 770 ff.).

The profession of Pandaro was not unknown to antiquity, but in the *Filostrato* it is dignified by his kinship with the heroine and his friendship with the hero. Were it not for this, he might be one of the rascally slaves of Roman comedy, a Davus or a Syrus, the prototype of such intriguing valets as Molière's Scapin or Mascarille. An even closer parallel might be afforded by the nurse as a dramatic personage, such a one, for example, as we have in the

<sup>1</sup> *Fiam.*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> From one point of view, the *Filostrato*, and *Troilus and Criseyde* as well, might be regarded as a lengthy series of illustrations of the less savory parts of the *Roman de la Rose*, and of certain portions of the *Art of Love* (especially Bk. 3). Crescini has shown how the *Fiammetta* may be regarded as modeled on Ovid's *Heroides* (pp. 156 ff.) I may perhaps mention in passing that Maria's unfaithfulness to Boccaccio is affirmed or clearly implied in at least six passages of his works, and is referred to in still others.



*Hippolytus* of Euripides. And here it is worth noting that in two of the autobiographical love-passages of Boccaccio's works, the nurse appears—once in the *Fiammetta*, where she first endeavors to dissuade her mistress from her folly, though afterwards she acquiesces in it (*Fiam.*, pp. 16 ff., 31); and once in the *Filocolo* (see the next note), where Glorizia, the foster-mother as well as nurse of the heroine—again Maria under an assumed name—discharges a function similar to that in which Pandare delights in the Third Book of *Troilus and Criseyde*.<sup>1</sup> Crescini has pointed out resemblances between the speeches of the nurse in the *Fiammetta* and those of the nurse in the *Hippolytus* of Seneca. It may well be, then, that Pandarus, in the capacity of bower-thane, is the masculine counterpart of the bower-woman of the *Filocolo*, the companion and foster-mother of the heroine. Glorizia is a more active agent than the nurse of the *Fiammetta*, the portrayal of the latter owing much, as mentioned above, to the *Hippolytus* of Seneca, as that is derived from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

Passing for the moment over Chaucer, we may remind ourselves what estimate Shakespeare formed of the character of Cressida. His keen eye, whose penetrative insistence no disguises or subterfuges could baffle, discerned in Chaucer's

<sup>1</sup> When Filocolo (Florio) is drawn up by the window in a basket of flowers, Glorizia receives him, hides him in a room adjoining that which is to be occupied during the day by Biancofiore and her attendants, and at night ensconces him behind the curtains of Biancofiore's bed. Meanwhile, the nurse passes from the one to the other, holding conversations with each about the other, Biancofiore having no suspicion that he is near. Finally, late at night, Filocolo discovers himself to Biancofiore, Glorizia being meanwhile asleep in an adjacent room (*Filocolo*, Bk. 5: 8. 166–182 Mou. ; cf. 7. 71, 118). See Della Torre, pp. 270 ff. ; Crescini, pp. 80 ff. ; and cf. *Ameto*, p. 156. Since writing the above, my attention has been called to the article of Mr. Karl Young, in *Modern Philology* for July, 1906 (4. 169–177), entitled *Chaucer's Use of Boccaccio's 'Filocolo.'*



heroine the nature which is revealed in the pages of Boccaccio. Already in the First Act (1. 2. 310 ff.), Cressida says :

But more in Troilus thousand fold I see  
Than in the gloss of Pandar's praise may be ;  
Yet hold I off. . . .  
Men prize the thing ungained more than it is.

The shrewd maxims which she utters on this occasion might have come straight from the *Art of Love*.

In the Third Act (3. 2. 125 ff.), she says :

Hard to seem won, but I was won, my lord,  
With the first glance that ever—pardon me,  
If I confess much, you will play the tyrant.  
. . . . .  
But, though I loved you well, I wooed you not,  
And yet, good faith, I wished myself a man,  
Or that we women had men's privilege  
Of speaking first.<sup>1</sup>

A little later she says (3. 2. 160 ff.) :

Perchance, my lord, I show more craft than love.

But it is Ulysses, the wise, the much-experienced, who sums her up for Shakespeare (4. 5. 55–7) :

There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip—  
Nay, her foot speaks, her wanton spirits look out  
At every joint and motive of her body.

And the continuation of the speech is even more explicit.

We at length come to Chaucer's poem. Here we may first consider Criseyde as a daughter. Calchas, we remember, learning from the gods that Troy was to be destroyed, had gone over to the Greeks, and thus earned the name of traitor (1. 87). That the Greeks did not fully trust him we see

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Filocolo*, Bk. 4 : 8. 78–9.



from a remark of Diomedes's (5. 897-9). Troilus says of him (4. 1459):

Your fader is in sleighte as Argus yed.<sup>1</sup>

When Calchas knew that there was to be an exchange of prisoners, he went before the Greeks (4. 68),

And with a chaunged face hem bad a bone.

He alleges his services, and begs the redemption of Criseyde:

Telling his tale alwey, this olde greye,  
Humble in speche, and in his lokinge eke,  
The salte teres from his eyen tweye  
Ful faste ronnen doun by eyther cheke.<sup>2</sup>

This is the Criseyde whom the people had been ready to burn at once upon her father's departure (1. 90-1<sup>3</sup>), and who, to save herself, had been fain (1. 110 ff.) to fall upon her knees before Hector, and there

With pitous voys, and tendrely wepinge,  
His mercy bad, hirselves excusinge,

and, as Boccaccio adds (1. 12. 7), accusing her father. But the people never forgave him (cf. 4. 1467-8), nor did they forgive her for being her father's daughter, since (4. 194-5), when the proposal is once made, they are anxious to get rid of her.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 5. 897-9.

<sup>2</sup> This facility in weeping, it will be recalled, was inherited by Criseyde (1. 111; 4. 750, 814, 912; 5. 712, 725, 1046, 1052). Perhaps she liked to verify Ovid's saying (*A. A.* 3. 291-2):

Quo non ars penetrat? discunt lacrimare decenter,  
Quoque volunt plorant tempore, quoque modo.

<sup>3</sup>

And seyden, he and *al his kin* at ones  
Ben worthy for to brennen, fel and bones.



Her father has effected her exchange, and Criseyde is consoling Troilus by devising means for her return, when she gives utterance to these filial sentiments (4. 1368 ff.): My father is old and avaricious. I will take him part of his goods, and tempt him to send for the rest; then I shall have to return to see them safely off, and to make his peace with Priam. I will so enchant him with my words that he shall dream he is in heaven. All his divination is not worth three haws; the gods are liars,<sup>1</sup> and so I shall persuade him:

Desyr of gold shal so his sowle blende,  
That, as me lyst, I shal wel make an ende.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, we are expressly told that, hearing what her father had done to bring the exchange to pass, she (4. 667-8)

of hir fader roughete,  
As in this cas, right nought, ne whanne he deyde.

Here is a simple, innocent maiden for the nonce; but we know well that she was not a maiden, but already a widow when Calchas fled from Troy, old enough, though Chaucer cannot tell her age (5. 826), to have three nieces, apparently grown-up girls, as companions (2. 814 ff., 1716; 3. 597), and cool of head, though sufficiently warm of heart.

Her coolness of head admits of manifold illustration. She says herself (4. 1625 ff.) that she is not so silly as not to be able to devise ways of keeping her tryst with Troilus. When she visits the love-sick Troilus, who cannot speak for excess of passion (3. 80 ff.),

Criseyde al this aspyede wel ynough,  
For she was wys.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 537, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. her reproaches to her father, *Roman de Troie* 13685-739.



On an earlier occasion, Pandarus makes dire threats as to what will happen if she does not look kindly on Troilus, so that she thinks (2. 462):

It nedeth me ful sleyly for to pleye.

After this first intercession on the part of Pandarus, she passes the whole situation in review (cf. 5. 1023-9). She takes into account Troilus' prowess, estate, renown, wit, shape, and high birth (2. 660-2); she concludes that it would be an honor to deal with such a lord, as well for her estate as for his health (2. 703-7); besides, he is a king's son (cf. 4. 1667), and might do her an injury, if he were displeased with her (2. 708 ff.). Why shouldn't he love her, since no one in Troy is lovelier than she (2. 743 ff.); why shouldn't she love him, since she is her own woman, well at ease, young, and unencumbered (2. 750 ff.)? But as for a husband, oh no! freedom for her (2. 754 ff., 771 ff.; cf. her dread of poverty, 4. 1520-31; *Roman de Troie* 13692-5). Yet, "nothing venture, nothing have" (2. 807 ff.). Chaucer hastens to explain that she hasn't fallen in love at first sight, as one might suppose, but is merely inclined to like Troilus (2. 673 ff.), now that Pandarus has just broached the matter, and has been interrupted by Troilus' riding by.

We see in all this that she is both amorous and circumspect. Such she is at the beginning, and such she remains to the end. Her prototype, Maria, was wearing black when Boccaccio first saw her, because she was at church on Saturday in Passion Week. Criseyde in Chaucer's poem has no such reason, but then she is a widow, and besides Ovid might have taught her (*A. A.* 3. 189-190)—if her own shrewdness had not—that black was becoming to blondes (cf. 4. 736, 816), and that Briseis was dressed in black when she was carried off (1. 170; cf. 1. 109, 177;



2. 534; 4. 778 ff.). Moreover, there is evidence enough that the wearing of black was not fatal to her gayety (2. 1169; 4. 866-7). Although, in the temple, fear of the people, and perhaps her comparatively inferior position, made her stand quietly in the rear, with no companion (1. 178-180), yet she was of "ful assured loking and manere" (1. 182), with a rather haughty air (1. 290 ff.),

for she leet falle  
Hir look a lite aside, in swich manere  
Ascaunces, 'What, may I not stonden here?'

In manner she is the society woman of that period. After she had taken her leave of Helen and Deiphobus "ful thriftily, as she wel coude," they praised her excellence, her governance,<sup>1</sup> her wit, and her manner, so that it was a joy to hear (3. 211 ff.). We may be sure that her farewells to members of the royal house were not marked by any assumption of equality, but by deference, humble cordiality, and obsequious gratitude.

Her wit and governance never deserted her, apparently. She can pretend to her agonizing lover that she has no idea what he seeks of her (3. 124-6), and afterwards is ready to deal with Diomedes in the same way (5. 867-8); she does not scruple to speak to Troilus of her own dissimulation (5. 1613; cf. 4. 1625 ff.), and she is quite capable of telling Diomedes (5. 977-8), that, save for her dead husband,

other love, so helpe me now Pallas,  
Ther in myn herte nis, ne ever was.

Yet there comes a time when even Troilus mistrusts her

<sup>1</sup> Troilus' good governance, by the way, consisted in dissimulation (3. 427-434; cf. 477-483); one would like to know how his reason bridled his delight (4. 1678), and precisely what Criseyde understood by his "moral vertue, grounded upon trouthe" (4. 1672).



(4. 1606 ff., 1427–8; cf. his fear of her, 4. 165–8). Her continual and apparently chief dread is, lest her reputation be compromised; at all hazards, she wishes to save appearances.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, Pandare feels as she does (3. 265 ff.). She dissembles her surrenders, because she enjoys prolonged wooings.<sup>2</sup> Thus, after allowing Pandare<sup>3</sup> to go through the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 87–88:

For be we never so vicious withinne,  
We wol been holden wyse, and clere of synne.

Cf. *Filoc.*, pp. 78–9; *Fiam.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shakespeare, *T. and C.*, 1. 2. 312 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It is the fashion to regard Pandare as well advanced in years; Ten Brink, for example, calls him an “elderly gentleman with great experience of life.” It might be worth while to marshal all the evidence for and against this assertion. I content myself here with adducing a few passages which point in the direction of relative youth:

1. In the *Filostrato*, Pandaro tells Troilo that he himself is in love (2. 13. 7, 8):

Ed io, come tu sai, contra mia voglia  
Amo, nè mi può tor nè crescer doglia.

Similarly in *T. and C.* 1. 666–7:

Right so fare I, unhappily for me;  
I love oon best, and that one smerteth sore.

Again (*T. and C.* 2. 57 ff.), Pandare's love made his hue green many times a day, and sent him to bed in woe, where he tossed through the night.

When he calls on Criseyde, she remarks (2. 98), “your maistresse is not here.” Shortly afterward (2. 111–2), he proposes to dance, and do some observance to May.

Pandare's oath is (2. 234), “by the blisful Venus that I serve.”

Troilus upbraids Pandare (4. 486–490); cf. *Filost.* 4. 57):

Why hastow not don bisily thy might  
To chaungen hir that doth thee al thy wo?  
Why niltow lete hir fro thyn herte go?  
Why niltow love another lady swete,  
That may thyn herte setten in quiete?

Cf. 491–2 (*Filost.* 4. 58. 1, 2).



motions of seduction and urgency, after keeping Troilus upon the rack for many weary days, she can calmly say, at the moment of her abandonment (3. 1201) :

Ne hadde I ere now, my swete herte dere,  
Ben yolde, ywis I were now not here.

We saw above (p. 535) that, in the *Roman de Troie*, the heroine had no desire after the fourth evening to return to Troy ; Chaucer seems to say (5. 1033-4) of Diomedes that, on the eleventh day after her arrival,

So wel he for himselve spak and seyde  
That alle hir sykes sore adoun he leyde,

though a few lines later he professes not to know how long it was before Criseyde forsook Troilus for Diomedes. It is significant that on that very tenth day when she was to return to Troilus, Diomedes calls at Calchas' tent, and she not only

Welcomed him, and doun by hir him sette,  
but

2. No allusion to the appearance of Pandarus suggests that he is elderly.

3. Neither Criseyde nor Troilus treats him as elderly, nor, save for the use of the term "nece," does he treat either of them as considerably younger.

4. His interest and participation in Troilus' love-affairs is not that of an elderly person.

5. Chaucer (1. 860), following Boccaccio (2. 16. 7, 8), makes Pandarus say :

Were it for my suster, al thy sorwe,  
By my wil, she sholde al be thyn tomorwe.

And Troilus reciprocates in similar terms (3. 409 ff. ; cf. *Filost.* 3. 18).

6. Pandarus once calls Criseyde "suster" (4. 848), following *Filost.* 4. 98. 1.

7. Troilus repeatedly calls Pandarus "brother" (1. 773 ; 2. 1046 ; 4. 541 ; 5. 414, 477 ; and cf. 5. 521), and Pandarus reciprocates (2. 1359 ; 3. 239, 330 ; 5. 407, 1731 ; and cf. 3. 252).

But the younger Pandarus is, and the more mature Criseyde is, the less is she excusable, since the less probable is it that she is his dupe (observe how promptly she forgives him, 2. 595).



after this, withouten longe lette,  
The spyces and the wyn men forth hem fette.

The latter point is significant, because spices and wine were usually reserved for the conclusion of a banquet, if we may trust the romances (cf. Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* 1. 432-3; Chaucer, *L. G. W.* 1109-10; *C. T. F.* 291-4), and the relation of wine to the amatory passion was sufficiently known in the Middle Ages (cf. Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 526-7; 3. 753; *Rem. Am.* 146, 805; Chaucer, *C. T. C.* 509; *D.* 464-8). In fact, if for the moment we may recall that Criseyde virtually represents Boccaccio's mistress (cf. p. 10), and that, as the daughter of a French-woman, she was very likely familiar with the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>1</sup> we shall be sure that she was well informed on this point (cf. *Fiam.*, pp. 92-3; *Filocolo*, Bk. 5: 8. 259; *R. de la R.* 14393-4). It is evident that Criseyde knew how to woo under the guise of being wooed. We need not be surprised, then, if she consents to make an appointment with Diomedes for the next day (5. 944, 949, 995, 1030), and that on that day

He refte hir of the grete of al hir peyne.

After all, it is Criseyde who has pronounced her own doom (5. 1058 ff.):

Allas, of me, unto the worldes ende,  
Shal neither been ywritten nor ysonge  
No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende.

O, rolled shal I been on many a tonge!  
Throughout the world my belle shal be ronge;  
And wommen most wol hate me of alle.

ALBERT S. COOK.

<sup>1</sup> We may remember that Boccaccio, at the end of the Fourth Day of the *Decameron*, gives Fiammetta eyes "che parevan d'un falcon pellegrino" (cf. *T. and C.* 3. 1784, and that Idleness, *R. de la R.* 533 (Chaucer, *R. R.* 546),

Les yex ot plus vaire d'une faucons.



## XIX.—FOUR OBSCURE ALLUSIONS IN HERDER.

Concerning Homer, Lessing makes in the twelfth chapter of *Laokoon* the rash generalization,<sup>1</sup> “Unsichtbar seyn, ist der natürliche Zustand seiner Götter.” Herder, in chapter XIII of his *Erstes kritisches Wäldchen*,<sup>2</sup> has an easy task to disprove this proposition; but he cites in support of his case some witnesses of exceedingly doubtful credibility. The story of Pallas and Tiresias, which he tells after Callimachus,<sup>3</sup> is good evidence that gods can be surprised by mortals. Having given, however, only the vague reference, “Callim. hymn. in Pallad. Dianam &c.,” Herder goes on to say:—“Wie der Pallas: so gieng es auch der badenden keuschen Diana. Kalydon sah sie, ebenfalls wider seinen und der Göttin Willen, und ward zu Steine. So gieng es selbst dem Jupiter, da er in seinem liebsten Vergnügen einmal seine Wolke vergessen hatte. Er ward, da er bei der Rhea schlief, von Haliakmon, wider Willen seiner, und seiner geliebten Beischläferin, und seines Überraschers, in seiner Schäferstunde gestört—wie das? wenn ‘unsichtbar seyn, der natürliche Zustand der Götter wäre.’ —Ich will solche gestörte Schäferstunden der Götter und Göttinnen nicht aufzählen. Meine Muse ist diesmal nicht so, wie die Schwester des Amors, die

. . . . wie die Mädchen alle thun,  
Verliebte gern beschleicht.”

On this passage Suphan has the following note:<sup>4</sup> “Calli-

<sup>1</sup> *Laokoon*, ed. H. Blümner, Berlin<sup>2</sup>, 1880, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, Berlin, 1877 ff., III, 109.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Callimachi Hymni et Epigrammata* iterum ed. Udal. de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berol. 1897, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *L. c.*, p. 484.



mach. hymn. v, εἰς λουτρὰ τῆς Παλλάδος v. 53 ss. 100 ss. Hymnus III, εἰς Ἄρτεμιν hat auf die 'badende Diana' keinen Bezug. Das Citat ist so unsicher wie der Text, zu dem es gehört; 'Kalydon,' der Überrascher der Göttin, ist eine höchst fragwürdige Gestalt, an deren Dasein vielleicht eine misverstandene Virgilstelle (vii, 306) den meisten Anteil hat." Hans Lambel, in his edition of Herder,<sup>1</sup> simply quotes from Suphan, and no editor, so far as I know, has yet referred to Herder's probable source. This is the Pseudo Plutarch, *De Fluviiis*.<sup>2</sup> As to Kalydon we read:<sup>3</sup> οὗτος γὰρ κατ' ἄγνοιαν λουομένην ἰδὼν Ἄρτεμιν, τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ σώματος μετέβαλεν εἰς πέτραν· κατὰ δὲ πρόνοιαν θεῶν τὸ ὄρος καλούμενον Γυρὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Καλυδὼν μετωνομάσθη. And similarly of the other interloper:<sup>4</sup> Ἀλιάκμων δέ, τῇ γένει Τιρύνθιος, ἐν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ ποιμαίνων ὄρει καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῇ Ῥέᾳ συγγινόμενον τὸν Δία θεασάμενος, ἐμμανὴς ἐγένετο καὶ μεθ' ὀρμῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμὸν Καρμάνορα, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλιάκμων μετωνομάσθη.

I doubt, however, whether Herder could have found even pseudo classical authority for a sister to Cupid. He quotes from the poem, *Der Morgen*, by J. P. Uz:<sup>5</sup>—

“Auf! auf! weil schon Aurora lacht;  
Ihr Gatten junger Schönen!  
Ihr müsst nunmehr, nach fauler Nacht,  
Dem Gott der Ehe fröhnen.

<sup>1</sup> DNL, *Herders Werke*, III, 2, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this clue to H. W. Stoll in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Lpz., 1884 ff., I, 1820, and II, 939. It is hardly necessary to add proof that Herder knew the *Moralia*; but cf. the quotation from *De Pythiae Oraculis*, XXI (ed. Bernadakis, III, p. 54), in *Werke*, I, 147, *Einleitung zur ersten Sammlung von Fragmenten* (1767).

<sup>3</sup> *Moralia*, ed. G. N. Bernadakis, Leipzig, 1888 ff., VII, p. 322; *De Fluviiis*, XXII, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *De Fluviiis*, XVII, 1, ed. cit., VII, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> *Sämtliche poetische Werke*, ed. A. Sauer, DLD, 33, p. 26 f.



Erneuert den verliebten Zwist,  
Der süßer, als die Eintracht ist,  
Nach der sich Alte sehnen.

Ists möglich, dass zu solcher Lust  
Ein Gatte nicht erwache?  
Dass eine nahe Liljen Brust  
Ihn nicht geschäftig mache?  
Indess schwebt um der Gattinn Haupt  
Der Morgentraum, mit Mohn belaubt :  
Ihr träumt von eitel Rache.

Da, wo Cytherens waches Kind  
Den Schlaf vom Bette scheuchet ;  
Da rauschts, wie wann ein Morgenwind  
Bethautes Laub durchstreicht.  
Da lauschet meine Muse nun,  
Die, wie die Mädchen alle thun,  
Verliebte gern beschleicht.”

U. S. W.

Were it not for Herder's error, we should probably without hesitation interpret "Cytherens waches Kind" as Cupid. As it is, we can hardly help feeling that perhaps Uz makes Venus the mother of Aurora. This is evidently what Herder did, and so Cupid came by a sister.

It is well known that Herder habitually quoted from memory and often inexactly ; but so violent a twist as he gave to the sense of Uz's stanza could not ordinarily occur. Encouraged by this example, however, I venture to suggest an explanation of a fourth obscure allusion. *Das dritte kritische Wäldchen*, chapter II, contains the following admonition to Klotz :<sup>1</sup> "Der wahre Tempel des Geschmacks ist nicht eine Orientalische Pagode, ein Ruhesitz, wo man als am Ende seiner Wallfahrt sich niederlässt ; er ist vielmehr wie der Tempel des Marcellus gebauet ; die Pforte des Geschmacks, auch in Münzen, ein Durchgang zur Wissen-

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, III, p. 382.



schaft: zur Wissenschaft, welche es wolle." Suphan<sup>1</sup> notes on this passage: "Eine passende Beziehung zu Herders Worten kann ich in den Stellen der Alten, die von dem Bauwerk handeln . . . . nicht auffinden." Is it not possible that there was in Herder's mind a vague reminiscence of Moses Mendelssohn? Mendelssohn says:<sup>2</sup> "Plutarch erzählt, Marcellus habe zwei Tempel, den einen für die Tugend und den andern für die Ehre, dergestalt an einander bauen lassen, dass man durch den Tempel der Tugend gehen musste, um in den Tempel der Ehre zu kommen." Neither in the life of Marcellus,<sup>3</sup> nor in the treatise *De Fortuna Romanorum*<sup>4</sup> where the *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* is mentioned, are there *two* structures described as standing in any such relation. Given this relation, however, Herder could readily make of the Temple of Virtue a portal; whereupon the substitution of taste and science for virtue and honor became easy in an allusion that served polemical and not didactic purposes. Herder refers to Mendelssohn's essays in the *Erste Sammlung von Fragmenten*;<sup>5</sup> and, as I believe has not been pointed out, has in the sixteenth chapter of *Das erste kritische Wäldchen* a passage<sup>6</sup> showing even verbal resemblance to a passage in the essay, *Über die Hauptgrundsätze*.<sup>7</sup> He mentions this essay by name in *Das vierte kritische Wäldchen*, chapter XI.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *L. c.*, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> *Über d. Hauptgrundsätze d. schönen Künste u. Wiss., Ges. Schriften*, Lpz., 1843, I, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. XXVIII, *Vitae*, ed. C. Sintenis, Lpz., 1873 ff., II, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Cap. V, *Moralia*, ed. Bernadakis, II, p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, I, 225.

<sup>6</sup> *Werke*, III, 137 f.

<sup>7</sup> *L. c.*, 291 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Werke*, IV, 148.



## XX.—STUDIES IN THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMANCE OF THE ROSE UPON CHAUCER.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the Romance of the Rose upon Chaucer has been generally recognized, Chaucer scholars differ, however, concerning the extent and the time of this influence. The relatively older view (represented by Mr. E. G. Sandras in his *Étude sur Chaucer*, Paris, 1859) that Chaucer is an imitator of the Romance of the Rose who has never freed himself sufficiently from this influence to appreciate the greater art of his Italian model, seems now generally put aside by those who, following the lead of Mr. ten Brink, bring the English poet before us as having not only fully grasped the value of his Italian models, but as having actually surpassed at least some of them.

We cannot accept the statement of Sandras—that Chaucer reached old age under the yoke of imitation, having composed nothing but allegorical poems, thus classing all his work before the *Canterbury Tales* as false and affected court poetry. For, surely, the *Troilus* is not an allegory, nor can the character of Pandarus be looked upon as the work of a disciple of Guillaume de Lorris. Yet, if such scholars as Sandras do not sufficiently value the influence of Chaucer's Italian models, others like Mr. Skeat and Mr. ten Brink seem to underestimate the continued influence of the Romance of the Rose.

<sup>1</sup>I first treated of the Influence of the Romance of the Rose upon Chaucer in a report for a seminar given by Professor John M. Manly at the University of Chicago several years ago. Though I did not in that report reach the results I now present, yet the intelligent direction then received has no doubt influenced the present paper, and it seems only fair to acknowledge my indebtedness.



All the passages which Chaucer has borrowed from the Romance of the Rose have not been completely pointed out, and the reason for this is easily found in the bulkiness of the French poem. I cannot presume to have finished the task myself, yet even what I have accomplished is due to peculiarly favorable circumstances—a period of illness which allowed me to work on this subject exclusively, without interruptions of any sort. The value of the passages I have collected differs greatly. In some cases, as for instance, in the introduction to the *Hous of Fame*, the coincidence not only in subject matter, but in a number of rhymes, is such as to put it beyond doubt that Chaucer made use of the French poem, yet there are other passages which seemed worth pointing out, though it would be absolutely unwise to pass definite judgment concerning them. As a basis for literary discussions, all passages which have anything in common with the Romance of the Rose—though it be a mere analogy—seemed worth noticing. These passages may not justify us in saying that Chaucer borrowed his material from the French poem, but they all may help decide whether at certain periods he did or did not belong to the school of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean le Meung.

Amongst the Minor Poems of Chaucer the majority shows no influence of the Romance of the Rose. Three of these poems—*The Former Age*, *Fortune*, and *Gentilesse*, treat subjects which Jean de Meung has treated, and Chaucer makes use of Jean de Meung and Jean de Meung's direct source, Boethius. Of the other poems only two, the *Book of the Duchess*, and the *Parlement of Foules*, demand special discussion.

It is, however, worth mentioning that such poems as the A. B. C., in their devotion to the Virgin Mary, though by no means taken from his works, harmonize with Jean de Meung's religious tendencies as expressed in the Romance



of the Rose. In *Anelida and Arcite*, on the other hand, the character of the false lover might be taken altogether from material found in the Romance of the Rose. This only demonstrates how dangerous it is to reach any absolute conclusion as to the influence of one writer upon another. Chaucer may have been led to his choice of subjects by his study of Jean de Meung, whilst on the other hand elements which are identical with those found in the works of the French writer may owe nothing to his influence.

The *Book of the Duchess* is the most important work of the first period which has been preserved to us, if Chaucer's translation of the Romance of the Rose has been lost. It is generally accepted that the *Book of the Duchess* is an outgrowth of Old French court poetry. Mr. Sandras showed that Chaucer draws largely from the Romance of the Rose (almost exclusively from the first part), and that besides, he has used two Old French poems, Machault's *La fontaine amoureuse* and *Le remède de Fortune*.

Mr. Sandras thought that the story of *Ceyx and Halcyone* was taken altogether from the French. Mr. ten Brink thinks that Chaucer used Ovid more than Machault, and added to both (*Chaucer Studien*, pp. 8-9). The framework of the poem is taken from Machault. The first reference to the Romance of the Rose occurs in line 284-, and quotes Macrobius' *Dream of Scipio*.

The dream in the *Book of the Duchess* is full of reminiscences. Skeats and Koepfel mention the following lines in connection with the Romance of the Rose, 292, 331, 402, 410 to 412, 419-, 431-, 559-, 614-, 629, 639, 644-, 654, 658, 663, 673, 717, 726, 728, 732, 735, 738, 791 to 792, 835 to 837, 849, 963 to 964, 982, 1020 to 1021, 1056 to 1058, 1080 to 1083, 1121, 1152.

Besides these verbal reminiscences Chaucer is indebted to the Romance of the Rose for the framework of the dream



which the French poem did not invent but made the fashion. Besides the reference quoted above the following seem worth considering :

B. of D. 301–302 :<sup>1</sup>

And songen everich in his wyse  
The moste solempne servyse.

R. R. 665–668 :

Trop parfesoient bel servise  
Cil oisel que je vous devise ;  
Il chantoient un chant itel  
Cum s'il fussent espéritel.

An absolute verbal coincidence is found :

B. of D. 304–305 :

. . . ; for som of hem song lowe,  
Som hye, and al of oon acorde.

R. R. 708–9 :

Chantoit chascun en son patois  
Li uns en haut, li autre enbas.

Also B. of D. 317 :

For ther was noon of hem that feyned.

R. R. 710 :

De lor chant n'estoit mie gas.

B. of D. 318–319 :

To singe, for ech of hem him peyned  
To finde out mery crafty notes.

<sup>1</sup>The lines have been numbered according to *The Complete Works of Geoffrey-Chaucer*, edited by W. W. Skeat, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900, and the edition of the *Romance of the Rose*, edited by Francisque Michel, Paris, 1864.



## R. R. 74-77 :

Li rossignos lores s'esforce  
 De chanter et de faire noise  
 Lors s'esvertue, et lors s'envoie  
 Li papegaus et la kalandre.

## R. R. 100-101 :

Et les oiselés escontant  
 Qui de chanter moult s'engoissaient.

## B. of D. 340-342 :

Blew, bright, clere was the air,  
 And ful atempre, for sothe, hit was,  
 For nother cold nor hoot hit was.

## R. R. 124-125 :

Clere et serie et bele estoit  
 La matinée et atemprée.

The description of the sorrow of the knight seems to have general reminiscences of the description of Tristece.

## B. of D. 475-476 :

I have of sorwe so gret woon,  
 That joye gete I never noon.

reminds one of the description of sadness in

## R. R. 306-313 :

Je cuit que nus ne li séust  
 Faire riens qui lui péust plaire ;  
 N'el ne se vosist pas retraire,  
 Ne reconforter à nul fuer  
 Du duel qu'ele avoit à son cuer.  
 Trop avoit son cuer correcié,  
 Et son duel parfont commencié.  
 Moult sembloit bien qu'el fust dolente.

## B. of D. 497-499 :

His hewe chaunge and wexe grene  
 And pale, for no blood was sene  
 In no maner lime of his.



R. R. 200–202 :

Et aussi vert com une cive  
Tant par estoit descolorée,  
Qu'el sembloit estre enlangorée.

B. of D. 591–594 :

And who so wiste al, by my trouthe,  
My sorwe, but he hadde routhe  
And pite of my sorwe smerte,  
That man hath a feendly herte.

R. R. 323–326 :

Nus, tant fust dur, ne la veist  
A cui grant pitié n'en preist.

The passage in B. of D. from lines 758 to 774 contains analogies to the longer passage in the R. R. line 1891 to 2032, in which the God of Love demands, and the Lover grants, service. B. of D., lines 771–772, bring this out clearly, and are evidently suggested by the request of the Lover to the God of Love to take possession of his heart, R. R. 1987–. This passage is too long to quote in full.

The meeting of the knight in the *Book of the Duchess* with his lady love contains analogies to this first part of the Romance of the Rose. The knight comes upon a company of people just as the Lover does in the Romance of the Rose. The reference to youth and idleness,

B. of D. 797–798 :

For that tyme Youthe, my maistresse,  
Governed me in ydelnesse,

is not perhaps without relation to Oyseuse in the R. R.

Compare B. of D. 807–809 :

Trewly, the fayrest companyë  
Of ladies, that ever man with yë  
Had seen togedres in oon place.



to R. R. 619–620 :

Les plus beles gens, ce sachies  
Que vous jamès nul leu truissiés.

R. R. 726–730 :

Que quant je le vi, je ne soi  
Dont si très-beles gens pooient  
Estre venu : car il sembloient  
Tout por voir anges empennés  
Si beles gens ne vit homs nés.

The description of Faire Whyte contains analogies to  
R. R. 1197–1238.

B. of D. 822–824 :

Is fairer, clerer, and hath more light  
Than any planete, (is) in heven,  
The mone, or the sterres seven.

R. R. 1246–1249 :

El fu clere comme la lune  
Est avers les autres estoiles,  
Qui ne ressemblent que chandoiles  
Faitisse estoit et avenant.

R. R. 1000–1002 :

Ains fu clere comme la lune,  
Envers qui les autres estoiles  
Ressemblent petites chandoiles.

B. of D. 874–877 :

Hir loking was not folȝ sprad,  
Ne wildely, thogh that she pleyde ;  
But ever, me thoghte, hir eyen seyde,  
“By god, my wrathe is al for-yive !”

R. R. 1237 :

Si n'ere orgueilleuse ne fole.



R. R. 1241 :

El ne fu ne nice n'umbrage.

R. R. 1251 :

Ele ere en toutes cors bien digne.

and particularly B. of D. 877 to

R. R. 1245 :

Ne ne porta nului rancune.

B. of D. 880—882 :

She nas to sobre ne to glad  
In alle thinges more mesure  
Had never, I trowe, creature.

R. R. 1241—1242 :

El ne fu ne nice n'umbrage,  
Mès sages auques, sans outrage.

B. of D. 994—998 :

Therto I saw never yet a lesse  
Harmful, than she was in doing.  
I say nat that she ne had knowing  
What was harm ; or elles she  
Had coud no good, so thinketh me.

seems to combine the thought of

R. R. 1204—1205 :

Et fu simple comme uns coulons  
Le cuer ot dous et débonnaire.

and R. R. 18096—18099 :

Cil qui bien euvre, ou malement,  
Quant il ne puet faire autrement,  
Quel gré l'en doit dont Diex savoir,  
Ne quel poine en doit-il avoir ?



Again the whole passage B. of D. 181–1257 seems to have analogies to R. R. 2376–2402. Compare, for instance, B. of D. 1211–1220 :

With sorweful herte, and woundes dede,  
 Softe and quaking for pure drede  
 And shame, and stinting in my tale  
 For ferde, and myn hewe al pale,  
 Ful ofte I wex bothe pale and reed ;  
 Bowing to hir, I heng the heed ;  
 I durste nat ones loke hir on,  
 For wit, manere, and al was gon.  
 I seyde "mercy !" and no more ;  
 Hit nas no game, hit sat me sore.

to R. R. 2403–2414 :

S'il avient que tu aparcoives  
 T'amie en leu que tu la doives  
 Araisonner ne saluer,  
 Lors t'estovra color muer,  
 Si te fremira tous li sans,  
 Parole te faudra et sens,  
 Quant tu cuideras commencer ;  
 Et se tant te pués avancier  
 Que ta raison commencer oses,  
 Quant tu devras dire trois choses,  
 Tu n'en diras mie les deus,  
 Tant seras vers li vergondeus.

B. of D. 1283–1284 :

She wolde alwey so goodely  
 For-yeve me so debonairly.

seems again a reminiscence of  
 R. R. 1245 :

Ne ne porta nului rancune.

Mr. ten Brink (*History of English Literature*, p. 84) says that in the *Parlement of Foules* the original idea is suggested by the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, which Macro-



buis made popular in the Middle Ages by his commentary. Mr. ten Brink adds that in Chaucer we see more than once the effect of Cicero's book interblending with the influence of Dante or Boethius. He makes no mention of the influence of the Romance of the Rose. But Mr. Sandras, in his *Étude*, pp. 61–62, tries to show that the passage of the Teseide, which Chaucer makes use of, Boccaccio took to a great extent from the Romance of the Rose. Hence, we would have, as in the Troylus, an indirect influence of the French poem.

Mr. Skeat quotes the following lines in connection with the Romance of the Rose:—P. of F., 1, 60, 114, 122, 140, 176—, 214, 302, 380. In addition to Mr. Skeat's list I think the following points worth noticing:—

The gate bearing on each wing an inscription is a reminiscence, as has been repeatedly brought out, of Dante's famous verses on the gates of Hell. Yet, whilst Dante's influence is indisputable, the influence of the Romance of the Rose seems to have been overlooked. The idea of the two parks has, I think, at least, an analogy, in the comparison made by Jean de Meung between the park and the orchard in R. R., ll. 21173–21558. This appears, I think, clearly also in the idea of the *welle of Grace*, P. of F., ll. 129–130, which corresponds to the *fontaine* which plays so important a part all through the passage of the Romance of the Rose just mentioned, and it is significant that the inscription of Chaucer corresponds to an inscription described in R. R. 21449–55. The passage in the Romance of the Rose should be read in full, and the necessarily limited quotations which I give below cannot fully illustrate the point. Chaucer applies the moral of Jean de Meung. Compare

P. of F. 129–130 :



Thorgh me men goon unto the welle of Grace,  
Ther grene and lusty May shal ever endure.

R. R. 21449-55 :

Si pendent à l'olive escrites  
En un rolet letres petites  
Qui dient à ceus qui les lisent  
Qui souz l'olive en l'ombre gisent :  
Ci cort la fontaine de vie  
Par desouz l'olive foillie,  
Qui porte le fruit de salu.

R. R. 21585-88 :

. . . la bele fontaine  
Qui tant est doce et clère et saine,  
Que jamès mort ne recevrés,  
Si tost cum de l'iaue bevrés.

P. of F. 204-210 :

The air of that place so attempre was  
That never was grevaunce of hoot ne cold ;  
Ther wex eek every holsom spyce and gras,  
Ne no man may ther wexe seek ne old ;  
Yet was ther joye more a thousand fold  
Then man can telle ; ne never wolde it nighte,  
But ay cleer day to any mannes sighte.

R. R. 21327-28 :

Jamès soif avoir ne porront,  
Et tant vivront comme eus vorront.

R. R. 21491-93 :

Cis la nuit en essil envoie  
Cis fait le jor que dit avoie  
Qui dure pardurablement.

R. R. 21518-21 :

Por la bele clarte véue  
Plaine d'atrempée cholor,  
Qui par merveilleuse valor  
Tout le parc d'odor replenist.



R. R. 21589-90 :

Ains irés par joliveté  
Chantant en pardurableté.

The moral which Jean de Meung means to teach through the allegory of the Fountain of Life (R. R. 21453), viz., to honor nature and continue the race, is explicitly stated in R. R. 21559-21593. The following lines will give an idea of the passage—

R. R. 21559-62 :

Seignor, sachiés certainement,  
Se vous vous menés sagement  
Et fetes ce que vous devrés.  
De ceste fontaine bevrés.

R. R. 21569-70 :

Pensés de Nature honorer,  
Servés-la par bien laborer.

After other general laws to be observed, as not stealing, not killing, etc., he adds—

R. R. 21582-85 :

Lors ires ou champ déliteus  
Par trace l'aiglelet sivant  
En pardurableté vivant,  
Boivre de la bele fontaine.

As the *Parlement of Foules* is a hymeneal poem, the relation to this passage of the Romance of the Rose seems worth considering.

“Boethius in his ‘Consolation of Philosophy’ first influenced Chaucer indirectly, through the use of it made by Jean de Meung in the poem entitled *Le Roman de la Rose*, as well as directly, at a later period, through his own translation of it. Indeed, I have little doubt that Chaucer’s attention was drawn to it when, somewhat early in life, he



first perused with diligence that remarkable poem ; and that it was from the following passage that he probably drew the inference that it might be well for him to translate the whole work :—

‘ Ce puet l’en bien des clers enquerre  
 Qui Boëce de Comfort lisent,  
 Et les sentences qui là gisent,  
 Dont grans biens as gens laiz feroit  
 Qui bien le lor translateroit’ (ll. 5052–6).

*I. e.*, in modern English :—‘ This can be easily ascertained from the learned men who read Boece on the Consolation of Philosophy, and the opinions which are found therein ; as to which, any one who would well translate it for them would confer much benefit on the unlearned folk :’—a pretty strong hint !’’ (Skeat’s *Works of Chaucer*, Clarendon Press Edition, volume 11, page x).

On page xvii of the same volume Mr. Skeat says : “ In the Book of the Duchess Chaucer is affected second-hand through Jean de Meung, but in the other poems we may usually suppose such influence to have been direct and immediate. Nevertheless we should always keep an eye on the *Roman de la Rose*, for Jean de Meung was, in like manner, influenced in no slight degree by the same work.” There is nothing to be added to this summing up of the relation between Chaucer, Boethius and Jean de Meung.

Mr. Skeat gives one gloss (*Student’s Chaucer*), Book II, metre v, lines 8–10 :

That is to seyn, they could make no piment nor clarree,

as taken from

R. R. 8418–9 :

Et de l’iaue simple bevoient  
 Sans querre piment ne claré.

The following passages also seem worth noticing :



B. Bk. II, Metre IV, l. 123 :

As who seith, thou thy-self, ne no wight elles, nis a  
wrecche, but whan he weneth himself a wrecche by repu-  
tacioun of his corage.

R. R. 5767 :

Nus n'est chétis, s'il n'el cuide estre.

B. Bk. II, Pr. V, l. 210–213 :

As who seith, a pore man, that berth no richesse on him  
by the weye, may boldely singe biforn theves, for he hath  
nat wherof to ben robbed.

R. R. 6001–4 :

Miex porroit uns ribaus de Griève  
Séur et seul par tout aler,  
Et devant les larrons baler  
Sans douter eus et lor affaire.

R. R. 6020–21 :

Contre la force d'un ribaut  
Qui s'en iroit à cuer si baut.

B. Bk. II, Metre VI, l. 7–9 :

That is to seyn, he leet sleen and slitten the body of his  
moder, to seen wher he was conceived.

R. R. 6930–32 :

Et si fist desmembrer sa mère  
Por ce que par li fust véus  
Li lieus où il fu concéus.

B. Bk. II, Metre VI, l. 12 :

He was so hard-herted

R. R. 6928 :

Cis ot les cuers plus durs que pierre,



## B. Bk. II, Metre VI, ll. 18-21 :

That is to seyn, he governed alle the peoples by  
ceptre imperial that the sonne goth aboute, from est to  
west.

## Lines 24-26 :

This is to seyn, he governede alle the peoples that ben  
under the party of the north.

## Lines 29-30 :

That is to seyn, alle the peoples in the south.

## R. R. 6984-86 :

Et d'orient et de midi,  
D'occident, de septentrion  
Tint-il la jurisdiction.

## B. Bk. II, Pr. VIII, l. 51-2 :

That is to seyn, the knowinge of thy verray freendes.

## R. R. 5682-83 :

El li povres qui par tel prueve  
Li fins amis des faus esprueve,

## B. Bk. III, Metre II, l. 25 :

That is to seyn, in the wode.

## R. R. 14888 :

Li oisillon du vert boscage,

## B. Bk. III, Pr. VIII, l. 39-40 :

That is to seyn, the beautee of thy body.

## R. R. 9063-64 :

Gart que du tout ne s'aséure  
En sa biauté, ne en sa forme.



B. Bk. iv, Pr. iv, l. 309-10 :

That is to seyn, that ne hate hath no place amonges  
wyse men.

R. R. 6495 :

Que nule riens hair doie-en.

B. Bk. v, Pr. iii, l. 198-9 :

As who seyth, that men han no power to doon no-thing,  
ne wilne no-thing.

R. R. 18060-61 :

Vosist ou non, il le feroit,  
Puisque destiné li seroit.

Bk. v, Pr. iii, l. 201-4 :

As who seyth, that felweth it, that god oughte han the  
blame of oure vyces, sin he constreineth us by necessitee  
to doon vyces.

R. R. 18102-3 :

Dont ne feroit pas Diex justice  
De bien rendre et de pugnir vice.

R. R. 18711-13 :

A Diex, fet-il, vous en prenés,  
Qui vuet que la chose ainsinc aille ;  
Tout si fist-il faire sens faille.

B. Bk. v, Pr. vi, l. 178-81 :

This is to seyn, that, whan that god knoweth any thing  
to bityde, he wot wel that it ne hath no necessitee to  
bityde.

R. R. 18213-15 :

Por ce que Diex les sot devant,  
Ne s'ensieut-il pas qu'il aviengnent  
Par force, ne que tex fins tiengnent.



B. Bk. v, Pr. vi, l. 321–23 :

That is to seyn, sin that necessitee nis nat in thinges by  
the devyne prescience.

R. R. 18209–11 :

Que la prescience devine  
Ne met point de nécessité  
Sor les euvres d'umanité.

To a student of comparative literature no subject can present more interest than the study of the *Troylus* considered in its relation to the *Filostrato* and the Romance of the Rose. We have already seen how Sandras says that “without the Canterbury Tales the Father of English poetry would be all in all but a disciple of Guillaume de Lorris.”

Kiszner (*Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienschen Literatur*, Marburg, 1867, page 53–), says: “Chaucer’s point of view was still entirely that of medieval knighthood, which centered on romantic love; he has a serious attitude towards his lovers, and does not look down upon them mockingly; rather he treats their fate with sincere sympathy. Much which impresses us as irony has its foundation in the still unschooled naïve expression, or is, just as the figure of Pandarus, an involuntary outflow of the humorous nature of the poet.”

Ten Brink (*Chaucer Studien*, page 73) objects to this :

1). Could the translator and disciple of Jean de Meung still hold the point of view of medieval knighthood?

2). Was not Cervantes deeply in earnest with his Don Quixote; indeed, has he not revealed his heart in the character of his hero far more than Chaucer revealed his in the representation of Troylus?

3). Is irony in true poets not always (more or less) also an involuntary outflow of their humorous nature?



Ten Brink (page 44), quoting Kiszner's views as to the progress of Chaucer from the *Troilus* and the *Knight's Tale* to the *Griseldis* in the *Canterbury Tales*, says concerning these views: "We see that this is again altogether the point of view of Sandras," and rejects Kiszner's conclusions.

Ten Brink sees the Chaucer of the *Troilus* under the influence of three great Italian writers—Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. From Boccaccio "he borrowed a multitude of suggestions and motives, and even two whole epics. But the way in which he worked up and assimilated the borrowed material manifests in a most remarkable manner the greater poetical depth of the Englishman" (*History of English Literature*, page 56). "He stood furthest from Petrarch, notwithstanding the warm admiration with which he mentions him in the grandest of his own works" (*Canterbury Tales, Clerk's Prologue*, line 26—). "Petrarch's great excellences and great weaknesses lay equally distant from Chaucer's own character" (*id.*, page 55). ". . . it was the influence of Dante that supplied the form—one might almost say the spirit—of his art. Chaucer could hardly have been able to follow the intensity of Dante in all its height and depth; but he was quite capable of appreciating his high character and high style. . . . Whoever follows closely Chaucer's own style and manner of composition cannot doubt but he allowed Dante to influence him in the same way as Dante himself had been influenced by the ancients and especially by Virgil. But the most important elements in this domain are exactly those which cannot be demonstrated, but merely foreshadowed; they depend on the ideal of style present to the poet's mind and half unconsciously followed by him. Chaucer's ideal was necessarily very different from Dante's; but, as we shall see, it borrowed many traits from him, and had others in common with him from the first" (*id.*, pages 56–57).



Besides the influence of these three great Italian masters, the author of the *Troilus* was under the influence of Boethius. A number of passages have been pointed out, and a study of the same is within easy reach of the student through Skeat's notes.

Ten Brink (*Chaucer Studien*, page 84) says that next to Dante and Boethius, the Romance of the Rose asserts at least a part of its old influence. This is shown by the use of the dialogue which Chaucer introduces. But "most important is the connection which shows itself between Chaucer and his old masters in the conception and description of love and its birth and manifestation. *Troilus* falls in love just exactly as Guillaume did in the first part of the Romance of the Rose, and his demeanor reminds one in many things of that ideal of a true lover which Love there describes to the one he has stricken down (compare ed. Michel, I, pages 68-69); on the other hand, the attitude represented by Pandarus depends upon the views in whose development the teaching and example of Jean de Meung have influenced our poet not a little. In the relation of Chaucer to Jean de Meung we must not overlook the difference which exists between a satirist without real power of construction, and a highly endowed poet, just as little as the difference between the two characters can be overlooked. Instead of the biting, sarcastic traits which mark the poem of Jean, and which Chaucer softened already as a translator, we find in the English poet a combination of sharpness of observation and mildness of judgment, of humor and good nature, that with the course of time grows always more lovable, and deepens always more to true humor—a humor which turns to indignation only before developed vice."

From the passages quoted above we see (1) that Chaucer took his subject matter from the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio; (2) that Sandras and Kiszner think it still shows him on



the same plane as Guillaume de Lorris—somewhat influenced perhaps by Jean de Meung (compare also Kiszner, pages 80–81); (3) that on the other hand ten Brink sees in the author of the *Troilus* a poet greatly in advance of the authors of the Romance of the Rose, and that he thinks that Chaucer owed this progress to the influence of Dante, though the influence of Jean de Meung is also felt.

Ten Brink (*Chaucer Studien*, page 84, quoted above) mentions that the “demeanor of Troilus” reminds one in several things of the ideal lover described by Guillaume de Lorris. An exhaustive discussion of the subject would involve a full treatment of the relation of the *Troilus* to the *Filostrato*, and this is beyond the scope of my essay. It is impossible, however, to pass over the subject altogether. I shall limit myself, therefore, to the consideration of the point ten Brink refers to, that is, the demeanor of Troilus when he first falls in love. The first part of the *Filostrato* offers us sufficient material for this.

We can say that from stanza 33 to stanza 48 the subject matter of the *Filostrato* might have been taken bodily out of the Romance of the Rose, though Boccaccio expresses the thoughts in his own words; yet in some cases even verbal coincidences exist. It seems almost impossible that these coincidences should be so many and so connected, and be entirely due to chance. The length of the passage prevents its being quoted in full, but the following examples may serve to illustrate the point:—

Fil. st. XXXIII :

E partitosi ognun, tutto soletto  
In camera n'andò, dove a sedere  
Si pose, sospirando, appiè del letto  
E seco a rammentarsi del piacere  
Avuto la mattina dell' aspetto  
Di Griseida cominciò, e delle vere  
Bellezze del suo viso annoverando,  
A parte a parte quelle commendando.



R. R. 2435—38 :

Quant ce vendra qu'il sera nuis ;  
Lors auras plus de mil anuis :  
Tu te coucheras en ton lit  
Où tu auras poi de delit.

R. R. 2373—76 :

Et quant partir t'en convendra,  
Tout le jor puis t'en sovendra  
De que tu auras veu ;  
Si te tendras a deceu.

Fil. st. XXXIV, l. 1—2 :

Lodava molto gli atti e la statura,  
E lei di cuor grandissimo stimava.

R. R. 2445—47 :

Lors te vendra en remembrance  
Et la facon et la semblance  
A cui nule ne s'apareille.

Fil. st. XXXVI :

Perchè disposto a seguir tale amore,  
Pensò volere oprar discretamente ;  
Pria proponendo di celar l'ardore  
Concetto già nell' amorosa mente  
A ciascheduno amico e servidore,  
Se ciò non bisognasse, ultimamente  
Pensando, che amore a molti aperto  
Noia acquistava, e non gioia per merto.

R. R. 2399 :

Mès vers la gent très-bien te cèle.

R. R. 2402 :

Car c'est grans sens de soi céler.

R. R. 8488—95 :

Cuidies que dame à cuer vaillant  
Aint un garcon fol et saillant  
Qui s'en ira par nuit resver,



Ausinc cum s'il deust desver,  
Et chantera dès miennit,  
Cui qu'il soit bel, ne cui qu'anuit  
Ele en craindroit estre blasmée  
Et vil tenue, et diffamée.

Fil. st. XXXVII :

Ed oltre a queste, assai più altre cose,  
Qual da scuoprire e qual da provocare  
A sè la donna, con seco propose,  
E quindi lieto si diede a cantare  
Bene sperando, e tutto si dispose  
Di voler sola Griseida amare,  
Nulla apprezzando ogni altra che veduta  
Glie ne venisse, o fosse mai piaciuta.

R. R. 2185-90 :

Après ce te doit sovenir  
D'envoiséure maintenir ;  
A joie et a déduit t'atorne,  
Amors n'a cure d'omne morne ;  
C'est maladie moult cortoise,  
L'en en rit et geue et envoise.

R. R. 11160 :

Jolis et renvoisiés deviengne.

R. R. 11162 :

En un seul leu tont mon cuer doingne.

R. R. 2498-99 :

Car miex vaut de li uns regars,  
Que d'autre li déduis entiers.

As a guide to the student who wishes to make a closer study of the subject, I add the following list of passages, still from Part I, which are worth comparing:—F., st. II, l. 3-4 ; R. R. 8300-2 ; F., st. XIX, l. 3-4 ; R. R. 1763-4 ; F., st. XXVII, l. 6-7 ; R. R. 14506-8 ; F., st. XXVIII, l. 5-6 ; R. R. 41-42 ; F., st. XXXII ; R. R. 2435-38 ; 2373-76 ; F., st. XXXIV ; R. R. 2445-8 ; F., st. XXXVI ; R. R.



2399 ; 2402 ; 8488-95 ; F., st. xxxvii ; R. R. 2185-90 ; 2498-99 ; F., st. xxxviii ; R. R. 1990-98 ; F., st. xxxix ; R. R. 1748-52 ; F., st. xl ; R. R. 2353-2370 ; F., st. xli ; R. R. 2353-2370 (particularly cp. ll. 7 and 8 to R. R. 2355-6) ; F., st. xlii ; R. R. 2244-47 ; F., st. xliii ; R. R. 2489-92 ; F., st. xliv ; R. R. 2691-94 ; F., st. xlvi ; R. R. 2211-12 ; F., st. xlvii ; R. R. 2435-38 ; 2517-18 ; 2566 ; 2566-67.

The conception of friendship in the second part of the *Filostrato*, particularly stanzas viii-xiii, might also be a mere expansion of R. R. 2698-2728.

If there is a direct influence of the Romance of the Rose on the *Filostrato*, and this influence shows itself in the conception of the character of Troylus, and in the conception of the friendship between Pandarus and Troylus, we reach the conclusion that Chaucer has twice undergone the influence of the Romance of the Rose ; once consciously and directly through the original, and once unconsciously and indirectly through the *Filostrato*.

It is, however, noteworthy that if the *Filostrato* has borrowed from the Romance of the Rose, it has borrowed either from the first part, or from such passages in the second as harmonize with the spirit of the first.

Boccaccio was no doubt a satirist, and in such works as the *Corbaccio*, that, I think, is directly indebted to the Romance of the Rose, he follows viciously the way led by Jean de Meung ; but I can see absolutely no satire in his *Filostrato*, which, on account of its autobiographical qualities, has a sincerity and passion rarely found in epic poems.

In the *Troilus* Chaucer shows a humor and satire which are not found in the *Filostrato*, but, especially the satire, are found in the Romance of the Rose. We must not forget, moreover, that even Jean de Meung has plenty of humor.



Yet, where the influence of Jean de Meung on Chaucer shows itself most emphatically is in the ethical and religious traits which distinguish the *Troylus* from the *Filostrato*. The attitude in the treatment of the subject matter is identical; *i. e.*, love, its delights and its drawbacks, are fully described, but this description leads up to the advice of discarding earthly love for the love of Christ, who died for us on the cross. "Love made God incarnate; love made him hang from the cross; love made him hang from it; love brought him the wound in the side" (R. R. 50451-54). To this, of course, may be added the other important passage: "With all your heart and all your soul, I wish that you should love the gentle lady, when love excites you to love her, you must love her with love. Love, therefore, the Virgin Mary. Through love wed yourself to her. Your soul wants no other husband. Through love wed yourself to her. *After Jesus Christ, her spouse, to her give yourself; to her wed yourself; to her give yourself; to her grant yourself; without denying, to her grant yourself*" (R. R. 5107-5119).

In this religious and ethical attitude, which it seems to me Chaucer and Jean de Meung have most markedly in common, not only in the *Troylus*, but through all of Chaucer's works, the difference between the English poet and our two great Italians is most markedly shown. Boccaccio treats an erotic subject for what it is worth (for the pleasure it may give him and his mistress) without any intention of giving a moral lesson. Dante gives us his great religious and ethical lessons in such a widely different way that the influence, ten Brink sees, on the spirit of Chaucer seems utterly out of the question.

The influence of the Romance of the Rose on Chaucer appears, it seems to me, nowhere more distinctly than it does in the *Troylus*. We can, moreover, prove that Chaucer



connected the Romance of the Rose and the *Troilus* in his own mind.

L. of G. W., Prol. A, l. 430-31 :

And forthren yow, as muche as he misseyde  
Or in the Rose or elles in Criseyde.

Also the well-known passage in the same poem, Prol. A, l. 250-266, shows that he looked upon the Romance of the Rose as a protest of Reason (and Reason in the R. R. includes religion) against Love.

L. of G. W., Prol. A, l. 249-252 :

And of myne olde servaunts thou misseyest,  
And hinderest hem with thy translacioun,  
And lettest folk to han devocioun  
To serven me, and haldest hit folye  
To troste on me.

Mr. Skeat gives the following lines as showing the influence of the Romance of the Rose on the *Troilus*: Tr. Bk. I, l. 638-44, 744, 811, 699; Tr. Bk. II, l. 167, 716, 784, 1564; Tr. Bk. III, l. 328, 329, 861, 1194, 1634; Tr. Bk. IV, l. 6, 7, 320; Tr. Bk. V, l. 365-8, 552, 1174. To this list I add the following passages as worth considering. Particularly interesting is a comparison of

Tr. Bk. I, l. 449 :

For ay the neer the fyr, the hotter is.

R. R. 2370 :

Qui plus est près du feu, plus art.

We have here an absolute verbal coincidence in the use of the line added from the very passage of the Romance of the Rose from which Boccaccio (I think) drew his inspiration.

Tr. Bk. I, l. 715-16 :

If god wole thou art not agast of me,  
Lest I wolde of thy lady thee bigyle.



R. R. 2719–20 :

Si n'auras pas paor qu'il muse  
A t'amie, ne qu'il t'encuse.

Tr. Bk. I, l. 927–8 :

And thoughten that it was a siker art,  
For fayling, for to assayen over-al.

R. R. 22560–62 :

Qu'il fait bon de tout essaier  
Por soi miex ès biens esgaier,  
Ausinc cum fait li bons léchierrea.

Tr. Bk. I, l. 960–62 :

But he that parted is in every place  
Is no-wher hool, as writen clerkes wyse ;  
What wonder is, though swich oon have no grace ?

R. R. 250–52 :

Et por ce que fins amans soies,  
Voil-je et commans que tu aies  
En un seul leu tout ton cuer mis.

Chaucer's distinction between celestial love and love of kind in

Tr. Bk. I, l. 977–983 :

“Was never man ne woman yet bigete  
That was unapt to suffren loves nete  
Celestial, or elles love of kinde ;”  
For-thy som grace I hope in hir to finde,  
And for to speke of hir in special,  
Hir beautee to bithinken and hir youthe,  
It sit hir nought to be celestial.

has analogies to the views expressed by Jean de Meung in the long passages :—R. R. 4994–5148, 6096–6136, 21186–21601. These passages are too long to quote in full.

Tr. Bk. II, l. 723–4 :

His thewes goode, and that he is not nyce.  
Ne avauntour, seyth men, certein, is he noon.



R. R. 8488-9 :

Cuidies que dame à cuer vaillant  
Aint un garçon fol et saillant.

R. R. 10600-1 :

Et gart que de li ne se vende,  
Qu'ele en porroit estre dolente.

Tr. Bk. II, L. 756 :

Or maisterfel, or breux arcedye.

R. R. 10202-3 :

Or se classez seigneur et mestre  
Sur cele qui donne et chauce.

Tr. Bk. II, L. 809-11 :

And with an othe thought hir herte quaketh ;  
Than wipeth hope, and after dreed awaketh ;  
Now hot, now cold ; but thus, bi-twixen tweye.

R. R. 2287-88 :

En n'estre sans sens destrois,  
En n'estre sans et autre frois.

A comparison between

Tr. Bk. II, L. 1027

and the other with thy eres eek a lyte,

and the other

of the other de tiex gens sachent

is interesting. In the Romance of the Rose the  
suggestion of the other will help win the lover's cause immedi-  
ately. The other to the lover to write.

Tr. Bk. II, L. 1027

and the other whyle Troilus,  
and the other in this manere,  
and the other, 'thus wole I seye and thus ;  
and the other to my lady dere ;



That word is good, and this shal be my chere ;  
This nil I not foryeten in no wyse.'  
God leve him werken as he gan devyse.

Tr. Bk. III, l. 80–84 :

Ne mighte a word for shame to it seye,  
Al-though men sholde smyten of his heed.  
But lord, so he wex sodeinliche reed,  
And sire, his lesson, that he wende conne,  
To preyen hir, is thurgh his wit y-ronne.

R. R. 2403–2414 :

S'il avient que tu aparcoives  
T'amie en leu que tu la doives  
Araisonner ne saluer,  
Lors t'estovra color muer,  
Si te frémira tous li sans,  
Parole te faudra et sens,  
Quant tu cuideras commencer ;  
Et se tant te pués avancier  
Que ta raison commencer oses,  
Quant tu devras dire trois choses,  
Tu n'en diras mie les deus,  
Tant seras vers li vergondeus.

Tr. Bk. III, l. 1212–1221 :

O ! sooth is seyde, that heled for to be  
As of a fevre or othere greet syknesse,  
Men moste drinke, as men may often see,  
Ful bittre drink ; and for to han gladnesse,  
Men drinken often peyne and greet distresse ;  
I mene it here, as for this aventure,  
That thourgh a peyne hath founden al his cure.  
And now swetnesse semieth more sweet,  
That bitternesse assayed was biforn  
For out of wo in blisse now they fleté.

R. R. 22560 :

Qu'il fait bon de tout essayer.

R. R. 22574–22588 :

Liquex sunt dous, liquex amer,  
Car de plusors en a goustés.



Ausinc sachiés, et n'en doutés,  
 Que qui mal essayé n'aura,  
 Jà du bien gaires ne saura ;  
 Et qui ne set d'onor que monte,  
 Jà ne saura congnoistre honte ;  
 N'onc nus ne sos quel chose est aise,  
 S'il n'ot avant appris mésaise ;  
 Ne n'est pas digne d'aise avoir,  
 Qui ne vuet mésaise savoir ;  
 Et qui bien ne la set soffrir,  
 Nus ne li devroit aise offrir.  
 Aunsinc va des contraires choses.  
 Les unes sunt des autres gloses.

Tr. Bk. III, l. 1543—46 :

And fermely impressen in his minde  
 The leste poynt that to him was plesaunce ;  
 And verrayliche, of thilke remembraunce,  
 Desyr al newe him brende, and lust to brede.

R. R. 2247—49 :

Ades i pens sans cesser,  
 Et te membre de la douce hore  
 Dont la joie tant te demore.

Tr. Bk. III, l. 1622—24 :

That I shal seyn, be war of this myscheef,  
 That, there-as thou now brought art in-to blisse,  
 That thou thy-self ne cause it nought to misse.

R. R. 9017—19 :

S'est bien drois que chétis se clame  
 Valez, quant il pert ce qu'il aime,  
 Por quoi ce soit par sa défaute.

Tr. Bk. III, l. 1634 :

As greet a craft is kepe wel as winne.

R. R. 9013—16 :

Car la vertu n'est mie mendre  
 De bien garder et de desfendre  
 Les choses, quant el sunt aquises  
 Que del aquerre en quelques guises.



Tr. Bk. iv, l. 22-24 :

O ye Herines, Nightes doughtren three,  
That endeleß compleynen ever in pyne,  
Megera, Alete, and eek Thesiphone.

R. R. 17872-73 :

Que la nuit, en lor drunries,  
Concut les trois Forsenerims.

R. R. 20767-69 :

Alecto et Thesiphoné,  
Car de chascune le non é.  
La tierce r'a non Megera.

Mr. Skeat in his note to line 22 says that Bell's remark, "that Chaucer found these names in Boccaccio, does not seem to be founded on fact. He more likely found them in Vergil, who has Erinnyes. . . . But I suppose that even in Chaucer's time, MS. note-books existed, containing such information as the names of the Furies: Chaucer even knew that some (as Aeschylus) considered them to be the daughters of Night." Chaucer may have got this information out of the passage from the R. R., quoted above.

Tr. Bk. iv, l. 1305-306 :

But him bihoveth som-tyme han a peyne,  
That serveth love, if that he wol have joye.

R. R. 2613-14 :

Et plus en gré sunt recéu  
Li bien dont l'en a mal éu.

Tr. Bk. iv, l. 1553 :

That thou retorne bakwarde to thy welle.

R. R. 14166-69 :

Que Xantus s'en retourneroit  
Si tost cum il la lesseroit.  
Or r'aut Xantus à la fontaine.



Tr. Bk. v, l. 460 :

For she, that of his herte berth the keye.

R. R. 2018-20 :

Lors la me toucha au costé,  
Et ferme mon cuer si soef,  
Qu'a grant poine senti la chef.

Tr. Bk. v, l. 638-641 :

O sterre, of which I lost have al the light,  
With herte soor wel oughte I to bewayle,  
That ever derk in torment, night by night,  
Toward my deeth with wind in stere I sayle.

R. R. 8300-8305 :

Li mariniers qui par mer nage,  
Cherchant mainte terre sauvage,  
Tout regarde-il à une estoile,  
Ne quert-il pas tous jors d'un voile ;  
Ains le treschange moult souvent  
Por eschever tempeste et vent.

Lines 1814-48 of the *Troilus* show the influence of Jean de Meung most distinctly, but it is absolutely impossible to show this influence by the quotation of single passages. I must refer the student to the whole speech of Reason extending from R. R. 4894-5349. . Compare, however,

Tr. Bk. v, l. 1835-48 :

O yonge fresshe folkes, he or she,  
In which that love up groweth with your age,  
Repeyreth hoom from worldly vanitee,  
And of your herte up-casteth the visage  
To thilke god that after his image  
Yow made, and thinketh al nis but a fayre  
This world, that passeth sone as floures fayre,  
And loveth him, the which that right for love  
Upon a cros, our soules for to beye,  
First starf, and roos, and sit in hevne a-bove ;  
For he nil falsen no wight, dar I seye,  
That wol his herte al hoolly on him leye.  
And sin he best to love is, and most meke,  
What nedeth feyned loves for to seke ?



with R. R. 5335-5341 :

Ne l'il laisse plus sejourner,  
Trop sunt à grant meschief livré  
Cuer qui d'Amor sunt enivré ;  
En la fin encor le sauras  
Quant ton tens perdu i auras  
Et degastée ta jonesce  
En ceste dolente léescce.

R. R. 5019-24 :

Li plus sage n'i sevent tour.  
Mès or entens que te dirai,  
Une autre Amour te descrirai ;  
De cele voil-ge que por t'ame  
Tu aimes la très-douce Dame,  
Si cum dit la sainte Escripiture.

R. R. 5045 :

Il n'est rien que Amors ne face.

R. R. 5051-58 :

Amors fist Diex nostre char prendre,  
Amors le fist en la crois pendre,  
Amors le fist ilec estendre,  
Amors li fist le costé fendre ;  
Amors li fist les maus reprendre,  
Amors li fait les bons à prendre,  
Amors le fist à nous venir,  
Amors nous fait à li tenir.

R. R. 5115-19 :

Par Amor à li te mari ;  
Après Jhésu-Christ son espous,  
A li te doing, à li t'espous,  
A li te doing, à li t'otroi,  
Sans desotroier t'i otroi.

I have stated that the influence of the Romance of the Rose on Chaucer shows itself more distinctly in the *Troylus* than in any other single poem. It may, therefore, be necessary for me to recapitulate explicitly the points in which I think this influence shows itself.



1. There is an indirect influence through Boccaccio, which introduces elements characteristic of the first part of the *Romance of the Rose*. This shows particularly in the conception of the character of Troylus as a model lover, and in the conception of the friendship between Pandarus and Troylus. The friend must aid by counsel and by deed; by giving the lover a chance to relieve his troubled heart in confidence.

2. The changes in the character of Pandarus all show tendencies which coincide with the satirical attitude of Jean de Meung towards love. The additions of Chaucer to the *Filostrato* are also primarily in the spirit and with the method and the material used by Jean de Meung. The long passages taken from Boethius expand the *Troylus* as the same passages expand the *Romance of the Rose*. The same may be said for the discussion of dreams, etc.; in fact, of all the philosophical and psychological reflections which destroy the more perfect form of the Italian original.

3. But the influence of Jean de Meung on Chaucer is most important in the ethical teaching with which Chaucer ends the love story, making the *Troylus* a *Tendenzroman*, in which the folly of love is shown in order to lead the reader to the love of Christ and eternal salvation.

The student of Chaucer must, however, not forget that even in the source of Boccaccio himself (the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure) we have certain elements of satire against women which are entirely in the spirit, indeed in the style, of Jean de Meung. A good example of this is found in the passage quoted by Mr. Sandras on page 266 of his *Étude*:

A fame dure diax petit,  
A l'un oel plore, a l'autre rit;  
Mult se muent li lor corage,  
Asez est fole la plus sage. . . .  
Salemons dit an son escrit :



Qui fort fame porroit trover,  
 Le creator devroit loer' . . . .  
 Fort est cele qui se deffant  
 Que fol corages ne la prant :  
 Biautez et chastéez ansamble  
 Est mult gries chose, ce me sanble.

Therefore, whilst the discussion of influence and sources is not only interesting, but necessary, hard and fast conclusions are unwise.

For the humorous conception of the relation of Troilus and Pandarus compare

R. R. 7118–7143 :

Je vois maintes fois que tu plores  
 Cum alambic sus alutel  
 L'en te devroit en un putel  
 Tooiller cum un viex panufle.  
 Certes ge tendroie à grant trufle  
 Qui diroit que tu fusses hon ;  
 C'onques hon en nule seson,  
 Por qu'il usast d'entendement,  
 Ne demena tel marement ;  
 Li vif déable, li maufé  
 T'ont si en amer eschaufé,  
 Qui si font tes iex lermoier,  
 Que de nule riens esmoier  
 Qui t'avenist, ne te déusses,  
 Se point d'entendement éusses.  
 Ce fait li diex qui ci t'a mis,  
 Tes bons mestres, tes bons amis :  
 C'est Amors qui soufle et atise  
 La brèse qu'il t'a ou cuer mise,  
 Qui fait tes iex les lermes rendre,  
 Chier te vuet s'acointance vendre ;  
 Car ce n'afèrist mie à home  
 Que sens et proesce renome.  
 Certes malement t'en diffames.  
 Lesse plorer enfans et fames,  
 Bestes fiebles et variables.

The *Hous of Fame* is, according to ten Brink, the poem of Chaucer's which is most personal in character, and one



which marks the climax of one species of art in middle English poetry (*History of English Literature*, page 107). Besides Boccaccio, and even before him, Dante is distinctly the man from whom the English poet learned (*id.*, page 103). Ten Brink gives Ovid, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Alanus de Insulis, Martianus Capella, adding that Boethius certainly influenced the conception of the general idea, and still more Dante, whose precedent determined at once the disposition and the arrangement of the poem, and supplied numerous motives and expressions to the story (*id.*, 107-108).

Skeat (page 35 of his Introduction to the *Hous of Fame*, in the Complete Works of Chaucer) says that the best general account of the poem is in ten Brink's *History of English Literature*. He agrees with ten Brink, and gives as the main influences on the *Hous of Fame*, Dante and Ovid. For the influence of Dante on the *Hous of Fame* he quotes, of course, Rambeau in *Englische Studien*, III, page 209, "an article far too important to be neglected." No influence of the Romance of the Rose is mentioned in the introduction.

The influence of the Romance of the Rose, however, shows itself in the Prologue, of which the greater part is taken bodily from the French poem. It is seldom that in citing the reminiscences of the Romance of the Rose that I have found in Chaucer (beyond those accepted by Skeat) I feel absolute assurance. In this case, however, the number of verbal coincidences, and the actual preservation of rhymes from the original, put, I think, the relation of this part of the *Hous of Fame* to the Romance of the Rose beyond discussion. Skeat, in his note to line 1, refers to a passage in the Romance of the Rose, beginning line 18699 (ed. Meon), which corresponds to line 19432 (ed. Michel). The bulkiness of the French poem explains why the passage from which Chaucer took his material, and which precedes by a



few pages the one quoted by Skeat, should have escaped his attention. In his note to line 7 Skeat says that Chaucer evidently follows Macrobius, who, in his *Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis*, lib. i, c. 3, distinguishes five kinds of dreams; viz., somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium, and visum. The fourth kind, insomnium, was called *fantasma*, and this provided Chaucer with the word *fantome* in l. 11. In the same line oracles answers to the Lat. oracula. Cf. ten Brink, *Studien*, p. 101. The word *fantome* is found in l. 19116 of the R. R.

Reminiscences of the Romance of the Rose may, moreover, be found in his conception of the *Hous of Fame* itself. The detail of the walls being covered with gold and precious stones seems to come from the Romance of the Rose.

This is the case also with the conception of the idlers who desire fame, but do not wish to work, which seems influenced by the long speech which Jean de Meung attributes to Faux-Samblant. The passages are quoted below.

Moreover, without disputing the influence that the part which Virgil plays in the Divine Comedy, and the part which Philosophy plays in Boethius, have had on the conception of Chaucer's mentor-like eagle, it seems to me that the dialogue form and the familiar turn of speech, indeed, the whole "tone of conversation" is due to the influence of Dame Reason in the Romance of the Rose.

All this would show that the French poem influenced Chaucer to a considerable extent even in the *Hous of Fame*.

Mr. Skeat gives the following lines in connection with the Romance of the Rose on the *Hous of Fame*: H. of F., ll. 1, 105, 116, 239, 265-6, 392, 730, 917, 1022, 1213, 1218, 1273, 1323-35, 1386, 1413, 1571, 1759-62. The following passages also seem worth considering:—

H. of F. 11:

Why this a fantom, these oracles.



R. R. 19116 :

Si font fantosmes aparens.

H. of F. 12 :

I noot ; but who-so of these miracles.

R. R. 19143 :

Font aparoir trop de miracles.

H. of F. 15-18 :

. . . . ne never thinke  
To beaily my wit to swinke,  
To knowe of hir signifaunce  
The gendres, neither the distaunce.

R. R. 19182-83 :

Mes ne voil or pas metre cure  
En ci declairier la figure.

R. R. 19144 :

Si font bien diverses distances.

H. of F. 24-31 :

For to greet feblenesse of brayn,  
By abstinence, or by seeknesse,  
By hevyn, or greet distresse,  
Or elles by disordinaunce  
Or natural acustomaunce,  
That man is to curious  
To wote, or melancolious,  
Or man is inly ful of drede.

R. R. 19184 :

Quant certains sont pris et tenu  
En grant maladie,  
Quant il pert en frenisie.

R. R. 19185 :

Quant il est mis en prison.

R. R. 19186 :



Tous mors de froit et de mésèse.

R. R. 19280-84 :

Qui mainte fois, sens ordenance,  
Par naturel acoustumance,  
De trop penser sunt curieus,  
Quant trop sunt melencolieus,  
Ou paoreus outre mesure.

H. of F. 33-35 :

Or elles, that devocioun  
Of somme, and contemplacioun,  
Causeth swiche dremes ofte.

R. R. 19292-95 :

Cil qui par grant dévocioun  
En trop grant contemplacion,  
Font aparoir en lor pensées  
Les choses quil ont porpensées.

H. of F. 36-40 :

Or that the cruel lyf unsofte  
Which these ilke lovers leden  
That hopen over muche or dreden,  
That purely hir impressiouns  
Causeth hem avisiouns.

R. R. 19329-37 :

Dont tuit amant par jor s'esfroient.  
Car cil qui fins amans se clament,  
Quant d'amors ardemment s'entr'ament,  
Dont moult ont travaux et anuis,  
Quant se sunt de nuit endormis  
En lor lit, où moult ont pensé  
(Car les propriétes en sé)  
Si songent les choses amées,  
Que tant ont par jor reclamées.

H. of F. 41-42 :

Or if that spirits have the might,  
To make folk to dreme a-night.



R. R. 19300-01 :

Qui voit, ce cuide, en sa présence  
Les esperitueux sustance.

H. of F. 112-13 :

Whan hit was night, to slepe I lay,  
Right ther as I was wont to done.

R. R. 24-25 :

Une nuit, si com je souloie,  
Et me dormoie moult forment.

H. of F. 279-82 :

For this shal every woman finde  
That som man, of his pure kinde,  
Wol shewen outward the faireste,  
Til he have caught that what him leste.

H. of F. 338-40 :

How sore that ye men conne grone,  
Anoon, as we have yow receyved,  
Certeinly we ben deceyved.

R. R. 5008-14 :

Toutevois fin amant se faignent,  
Mes par Amors amer ne daignent,  
Et se gabent ainsinc des dames,  
Et lor prometent cors et ames,  
Et jurent menconges et fables  
A ceus qu'il truevent decevables.  
Tant qu'il ont lor délit éu.

R. R. 14080-82 :

Mais moult est fox, se Diex m'amant,  
Qui por jurer croit nul amant ;  
Car il ont trop les cuers muables.

R. R. 22489-98 :

Joignent lor mains et merci crient,  
Et s'enclinent et s'agenoillent,  
Et plorent si que tuit se moillent,



Et devant eus se crucefient  
 Por ce que plus en eus se fient,  
 Et lor prometent par faintise  
 Cuer et cors, avoir et servise,  
 Et lor fiancent et lor jurent  
 Les sains qui sunt, seront et furent,  
 Et les vont ainsinc décevant.

Compare for the name of Cipris—

H. of F. 518 :

Now faire blisful, O Cipris.

R. R. 22224 :

Bien avisa dame Cypris.

For Joves,

H. of F. 586 :

Wher Joves wol me stellifye.

R. R. 21754 :

For Perseus, li filz Jovis.

The fact that both forms occur in the part of the French poem which Chaucer perhaps had in mind for lines 338–40 (quoted above) may be significant.

H. of F. 1342–1352 :

Ne of the halle eek that need is  
 To tellen yow, that every wal  
 Of hit, and floor, and roof and al  
 Was plated half a fote thikke  
 Of gold, and that nas no-thing wikke,  
 But, for to prove in alle wyse,  
 As fyn as ducat in Venyse,  
 Of whiche to lyte al in my pouche is ?  
 And they wer set as thikke of nouchis  
 Fulle of the fynest stones faire,  
 That men rede in the Lapidaire.

R. R. 6835–40 :

Moult reluit d'une part, car gent  
 I sunt li mur d'or et d'argent ;



Si r'est toute la couverture  
De cele meisme feture,  
Ardans de pierres precieuses  
Moult cleres et moult vertueuses.

H. of F. 1653-54 :

As doth the river from a welle,  
And hit stank as the pit of helle.

R. R. 6759-64 :

Or te dirai de l'autre flueve,  
De quel nature l'en le trueve :  
Les iaues en sunt ensoufrées,  
Tenébreuses, mal savorées.  
Comme cheminées fumans,  
Toutes de puor escumans.

In comparing the lines above the whole description of the river and its significance is worth considering, since its allegorical character corresponds very closely in thought and tone to Chaucer's own work in the *Hous of Fame*.

H. of F. 1710-11 :

For they, for contemplacioun  
And goddes love, hadde y wrought.

R. R. 18380-81 :

Por vivre vertueusement,  
Et por l'amor Dieu solement.

H. of F. 1732-33 :

We han don neither that ne this  
But ydel al our lyf y-be.

H. of F. 1761-62 :

Let men glewe on us the name ;  
Suffyceth that we han the fame.

R. R. 12254-55 :

Car qui oiseus hante autrui table,  
Lobierres est, et sert de fable.



H. of F. 1780–82 :

By famous good, and no-thing nolde  
Deserve why, ne never roughete ?  
Men rather yow to-hangen oughte !

H. of F. 1793–95 :

Sey : “These ben they that wolde honour  
Have, and do noskinnes labour,  
Ne do no good, and yit han laude.”

R. R. 12270–75 :

Que nus hons, en nule manière,  
Poissans de cors, son pain ne quière,  
Por qu’il le truisse à graingnier ;  
L’en le devroit miex mehaingnier,  
Ou en faire aperte justice,  
Que soustenir en tel malice.

and still speaking of the same idlers,

R. R. 12566–72 :

Et des sièges aiment as tables  
Les plus haus, les plus honorables,  
Et les premiers ès sinagogues,  
Cum fier et orgueilleus et rogues,  
Et ament que l’en les salue  
Quant il trespasent par la rue,  
Et vuelent estre apelé mestre.

Mr. ten Brink (page 113 of his *History of English Literature*) says that the sources which Chaucer used in the *Legend of Good Women* are, besides Ovid, Virgil, and in small measure Livy; further, Florus, Guido de Colonna and, presumably, Hyginus. Mr. ten Brink does not make it clear whether he thinks that Chaucer is indebted to Boccaccio’s *De claris Mulieribus*. He only says, page 110 : “In his Book of Celebrated Women Boccaccio had similarly ended with the history of a contemporary queen, to whom he dedicated his book, at least indirectly.”



Mr. Skeat, in his *Introduction to the Legend of Good Women*, page xxviii, quotes the main points which M. Bech makes in his essay printed in *Anglia*, vol. v, pp. 313–382, with the title, *Quellen und Plan der Legende of Goode Women und ihr Verhältniss zur Confessio Amantis*. He also accepts the sources which Mr. ten Brink quotes, and admits that Chaucer may have been influenced by poems of Machault and Froissart. On page xxxvi he says: “We trace a lingering influence upon Chaucer of the Roman de la Rose; see notes to l. 125, 128, 171. Dante is both quoted and mentioned by name; l. 357.”

Mr. Skeat has notes on the following lines in connection with the Romance of the Rose: L. of G. W., ll. 25, 128, 195, 227, 249, 338, 352, 655, 917, 2230. In addition to these passages I think the following ones are worth examining:—

L. of G. W., Prol. B, 132–37:

Upon the fouler, that hem made a' whaped  
In winter, and destroyed had hir brood,  
In his despyt, hem thoughte hit did hem good  
To singe of him, and in hir song despyse  
The foule cherl that, for his covetyse,  
Had hem betrayed with his sophistrye.

R. R. 22500–509:

Ainsinc cum fait li oiselierres  
Qui tent à l'oisel comme lierres,  
Et l'apele par dous sonés,  
Muciés entre les buissonés,  
Por li faire à son brai venir,  
Tant que pris le puisse tenir.  
Li fox oisiaus de li s'aprisme,  
Qui ne set respondre au sophisme  
Qui l'a mis en décepcion  
Par figure de diction.

The passage, L. of G. W., 148–168, has, I think, reminiscences from the passage R. R. 10563–99, in which



directions are given to lovers who, as Chaucer expresses it, have *doon unkindenesse for new fangelnesse*, and the longer passage, R. R. 6460–6528, which contains the discussion of love and the instinct of reproduction in animals. Lines 148–152 seem to me distinctly suggested by the R. R., though there is no verbal coincidence.

L. of G. W., Prol. B, 153–159 :

And tho that hadde doon unkindenesse—  
As dooth the tydif, for new fangelnesse—  
Besoghte mercy of hir trespassinge,  
And humblely songen hir repentine,  
And sworn on the blosmes to be trewe,  
So that hir makes wolde upon hem rewe,  
And at the laste maden hir accord.

R. R. 10593–99 :

Puis que jamès ne sera fait ;  
Qu'il est en vraie repentance,  
Près de faire tel pénitance  
Cum cele enjoindre li saura,  
Puis que pardoné li aura.  
Lors face d'Amors la besoigne,  
S'il vuet que cele li pardoigne.

L. of G. W., Prol. B, 165–169 :

Ne fals pitee, for 'vertu is the mene,'  
As Etik saith, in swich maner I mene.  
And thus thise foules, voide of al malyce,  
Acordeden to love, and laften vyce  
Of hate, and songen alle of oon acord.

R. R. 6493–98 :

Ge ne lis pas d'amors ainsi ;  
Onques de ma bouche n'issi  
Que nule riens hair doïe-en,  
L'en i puet bien trover moien ;  
C'est l'amor que j'aim tant et prise,  
Que ge t'ai por amer aprise.

LISI CIPRIANI.







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XXI.—THE EARL OF WARWICK'S *VIRELAI*.

I.

The career of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, from 1401 to 1439 is hardly to be equalled in the annals of chivalry, even by that earlier Richard, Cœur-de-Lion. It is no part of this introductory note to his *Virelai*, to rehearse in detail the extraordinary events of his long life of travel, adventure, warfare, and diplomacy. Mr. James Gairdner's life of the hero<sup>1</sup> tells the story of his chief exploits, and those to whom Dugdale's *Warwickshire*<sup>2</sup> is accessible may read it in detail. But to come upon a literary personality in the fifteenth century is so rare a thing, and the character of Richard Beauchamp is so happy an example of a true knight of the Middle Ages, that these few notes upon him and his family, most of them not in Gairdner's article, will not come amiss to the student of the period.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iv, article Richard Beauchamp.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1730, vol. i, 405–411.



When Henry IV married Joan of Navarre, this young knight "kepte joustes for the Queenes part ageynst alle other commers." At the battle of Shrewsbury (1403), he behaved himself notably, and received the Garter for reward. Soon after he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on the way stopping to fight a fierce duel of battle-axes with Sir Pandulf Malatete at Verona, and wounding him sorely. Arriving in his noble ship at the Holy Land, he went up to the Holy Sepulchre and hung up his arms in that place. Baltir-dam, the Soldan's lieutenant and governor of Jerusalem, hearing that a descendant of Guy of Warwick was in the town (whose life he had in his own tongue, a tribute to the popularity of the story), feasted Richard finely. Richard returned through "Russy, Littowe, Poleyn, and Spruse," and in this journey "got him greet worship at many turnaments, and other faites of werre."

At Calais, about 1414, he held jousts against three French knights in noble manner, as is hereinafter related. At the Council of Constance he slew a mighty duke of Germany in tournament. The Empress was so enraptured at this, says the veracious chronicler, that she threw over him the livery of the Bear, as reward for his prowess.<sup>1</sup>

Of his other deeds there is no space to tell. He was made Master to Henry VI in 1422, and the agreement made by Richard in assuming charge of the one year old boy, with the other nobles of the realm, in which they solemnly swear to acquit him of lese majesté when the Earl shall see fit to administer corporal chastisement to his

<sup>1</sup> These events are told in Dugdale, *loc. cit.*, who used as his source the episodic accounts explaining the famous drawings of the life of this Earl, in MS. British Museum Cotton Julius E IV, pt. II. For a full account of the drawings (reproduced by Strutt in *Manners and Customs*, vol. II), see Sir E. M. Thompson in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. I (1903), pp. 151-164. He gives much of the text, with four drawings.



Sovereign, contrasts amusingly with his brilliant career in arms.<sup>1</sup> But Richard feared the babe's wrath more than armed men, and wisely, too.

He founded the chantry at Guy's Cliff perhaps as early as 1423,<sup>2</sup> and it was his daughter, Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, wife of the Talbot whom Shakespeare has made known to us, who employed Lydgate to write the life of their legendary progenitor.<sup>3</sup> Richard was himself a patron of the fashionable poet of his time. In 1426 Lydgate defended in verse Henry VI's title to France, at Warwick's command.<sup>4</sup> And if we may credit John Shirley, the famous scribe, upon whose authority alone these other facts given are based, Warwick had no little share in getting Lydgate to write his *Life of St. Edmund*.<sup>5</sup> At all events, there is MS. evidence for the fact that one of Lydgate's best poems, *The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary*, was written for Isabella, Lady Despenser, his second wife, whom Richard married in 1422, and to whom the *Virelai* here printed was dedicated.<sup>6</sup>

The pictures of Warwick in the famous Cotton Manuscript<sup>7</sup> give a wonderfully vivid impression of the man.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, article I.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson's date. Others are given.

<sup>3</sup> So Shirley in Harley 7333 and the Harvard Shirley MS.

<sup>4</sup> So Shirley in Harley 7333, printed in Wright, *Political Songs* (Rolls Series), II, 131-140. Lydgate tells us this in his poem, also.

<sup>5</sup> So Shirley in the same MS.

<sup>6</sup> So the rubric in Cotton MS. Titus A xxvi, a good xv century text. It calls Isabelle, "now Countasse." This is the poem referred to by Mr. Sidney Lee (*Dictionary of National Biography*, article Lydgate, vol. xxxiv, 307), as the "XV Odes," an odd mistake for the "Fifteen Ooes," so called because each stanza begins with O. The title of "Fifteen Ooes" belongs properly, however, to the *Ooes of Christ*, an entirely different poem by Lydgate. Mr. Lee is further in error in assigning Stowe as his authority for the rubric here noted. Stowe had nothing to do with the Titus MS.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned above.



But the following extract from another source will not be unwelcome, I think, as a brilliant picture of a typical scene in the revival of chivalry in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> I am not aware that this description of the challenge has up to now been identified with a feat of this Earl of Warwick, or that it has ever been printed.

The account to which I refer is one of many narratives of challenges, and joustes, collected for Sir John Paston about 1470, I suppose (Paston died 1479). The narrative here given thus antedates by a dozen years the account in the Cotton ms., the date of which Sir E. Maunde Thompson gives as 1485-95. But the present extract is far earlier than this in reality, as several references in the ms. point to its being a contemporary account. Thus fol. 16b we have "the xiith day of Cristmasse *last*." Again the frequent phrase "my lorde" indicates that the Earl is still alive. On the same page Gerard Herbawmes is referred to as alive and lately challenging English warriors. Finally at the end of the narrative the present and perfect tenses are used, showing that the fame of the meeting is still sounded.

The extract here given is also interesting, since it or a narrative identical with it was plainly condensed to make up the account in the Cotton ms., an almost literal copy of which may be read in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* (1730), i, 406-7. The single variation from the narrative here is that the third encounter relates how Richard rushed upon the knight and smote him until the Frenchman said he was tied to his saddle; upon which Richard alighted and rode to his pavilion, the feast being *served thereafter*. This episode is, I believe, borrowed from *some other tournament* and inserted here for picturesque effect. *It may be that the details of the third encounter are omitted in our narrative because*

<sup>1</sup> From ms. Lansdowne 285 (British Museum) ff. 16-17.



of the knight's relationship to the Beauchamps, for one of whom this narrative may have been written.

MS. Lansdowne 285, fols 16a-17b.

The challenge of an Auncestre of therle of Warrewyk.

Ffirst the seide lorde departid oute of Caleis to Guynes by watir thee tuisday aftir Cristmas day, for to take the eire and disporte of the Countrey, as he saide. And all his Armure and his harneis for his Armes was pryvily caried thidir. And nerehand a foortnyght before Cristmasse my lorde lete set vp a pavilon, within the parclos of Guynesse, and lete hange therin thre tables of the devisez depeyntid. The first a lady standyng and harpyng at a beddis feete with a Gratoure of golde for a Spere tacchid on hir Sleeve and sent an haraude into ffraunce, that what kynght that was borne Gentilman of name and armes withoute Reproche within the Reem of ffraunce that wolde touche that devise, there shulde a knyght that clepith hym Le Chiualer Vert oue<sup>1</sup> le quarter noir, that was borne in Englonde Gentilman of name and Armes withoute Reproche shulde delyucr that frenshe knyght of XII Cours hit on horsbak with Speres of oon length and Sheeldis of oon makyng, of the which Sheeldis the frenshe knyght shulde choose the bettir, and hereupon my lorde sent his letres ensealde with his Armes that he berith of Siluir with the maunchet of Goules as they bee enbrowdid in þe seide lords white bedde of berys.<sup>2</sup> Secondly he let hong vp in the same pavyllone a noothir table of his devise portreied with a lady wirchyng perles with a Glove of plate of Golde fol. 16b. tacchid on hir Sleeve and sent by the same heraude into the Reame of ffraunce that what knyght that was borne Gentelman of name and armes withoute Reproche of the Reame of ffraunce that wolde touche that devise, he shulde fynde a knyght of Englonde borne Gentilman of name of Armis withoute Reproche, the which clepith him le Chiualer gryse, that shulde delyuer the frenshe knyght of xv strokys with a swerde hitte for the which Armes the Englishe knyght shulde ordeygne twey Sadles and send the frenshe knyght choise of both. And herevpon sent my lorde his letres sealde with his Armes of Silvyr with twey barris of Goules as they ben also wele enbrowdid in the same white bedde of berys. The thridde my seide lorde lete hong vp in the same pavyllone anothir table of his devise with a lady depeyntid in a Gardyne makyng a Chaplet of Roses, with a poleyne of golde in the same pavyllone tacchid on the seide lady Sleeve, and sent by the same heraude that what knyght of the Reame of fraunce, that

<sup>1</sup> *Oue* for *o*. Dugdale, *l. c.*, p. 406, reads from Cotton MS. "the green knight *with* a black quarter."

<sup>2</sup> The Warwick bear is well known, of course.



was borne Gentilman of name and Armes withoute Reproche, that wolde touche the thrid devise, he shulde fynde a knyght of Englonde Gentilman borne of name and of Armes withoute Reproche that clepith hym Le Chiualer attendaunt, that shulde delyuer that frenshe knyght of x Cours hit with speres of oon length in hosteyng harneis withoute sheldis. And herevpon my lorde sent his letres sealde with his Armes quarterly golde & goules bordu redd with siluyr and azure verrid as they ben wele enbrowdid in the same bedde of Berys.

So whan this heraude was thus delyuerd theise thre lettres of my lordis ensealde with dyuers seals of his Armys And wreton of dyuers handys he Rode into fraunce and declarid his messages Amonges alle the lordis knyghtis & Squyers of honoure that were that tyme come doune into the marchis of pycardye for the werre: And vpon the shewyng of theise lettres which the heraude brought; Weenyng the frenshemen that it were three knyghtes of Englonde that had hongid vp thoo thre devises. The first frenshe knyght clepid hym in his letre Le chiualer Rouge to whom the Right name is Sir Gerard herbaumes, a Seemely man and oon of the best Justers of fraunce accountid And is oon of the xv frenshemen that have nowe late Chalengid xv English men to the outraunce, they beryng a plate of goolde for their devise till their Armes be doon. And this day of Armys with my seide lorde set vpon the xiiith day of Cristmasse last vpon the which day my lorde came into the felde at xii at thee klok, the fairest  
 fol. 17a. Armyd man and the Surest that evir was seen before that tyme, with basyned on his hede and visoure downe for he wolde not be knowe, with an vncouthly freshe Chaplet wrought of dyuers colours of ffethirs & perles vpon his basynet, A fyne girdill of golde large about the nethir bordure of his plates, and his spere xv Inches large aboute, which was right grete woonder to all the frenshemen that evir man myght welde so grete tymbre. And than my lorde sent the twoo Sheldis to his felowe to choose as the purport of his letre wolde, which Sheeldes were of lethir nat als thyk as the thyknes of vi papir leves. And so my seide lorde and the frenshe knyght ran to gider with hir speeris woondir knyghtly, And brake their speris and either parcid othir harneys, but thonkid be god, at the thrid Cours my lorde smote downe þe frenshe knyght at the spere poynt hors and man. And so whan the Armes of that day was doon my lorde sent to the frenshe knyght a feire coureser to his tent. Vpon the morowe my lorde came into the felde to accomplishe the seconde armes with Swerde aftir the entent of his letre Armyd in the godelyest wise as seiden all the Straungers that evir was seen with a frenshe Creste of Ostrigge ffethers of golde coompacid with a white Chaplet aboue his basynet. And ronnen to gidirs an hors bak. So that my lorde smote the kni3te that clepid hym in his letre le Chiualer blank, to whom the Right name is monsieur hugh de lawncy, that he recoildid hym to his hors behynde. And an oothir stroke smote vp his visoure, And evir thankid be god had much the bettir by all



mennes iuggement. And so to his high woorship fulfillid the poyntis of his Armes and evir his vmbriere downe for he wolde not be knowen in the felde And at his departyng oute of the felde my lorde sent his felowe a feire coureser And vpon Soonday aftir my lorde came into the felde aboute ix of the klok Armyd bright with a Rounde brode tofte of Ostrich fethirs spreynthe with golde And a long tartaryn fethir in the myddis with a brode Girdill of Goldsmythis werk rounde aboute his plates beneth to performe his Armes in hosteyeng harneis as his letre contenyth, A courser trappid with his Armes of Warre embrowdid to fore hym on the which Rode oon Botiller, And behynde hym came three Coursers trappid in thre Armys of his Armys Accordaunt to the seals of his thre Armes to foresaide. And the same trappers folowid hym eche day of the three dayes, oonly to the touchyng of the devise; so that these Armes were wele and worshupfully accomplisshid to the grettist Woorshup of my lorde both of the frenshemen

fol. 17b. And also of all the Souldeours of these marche that evir had man in Pykardye, blessid be god of his grace! And sent his felowe a noothir Courser which knyght is callid le Chiualer noir, to whom the Right name is Messir Colarde de ffyennes, the whiche is my lordis Cousyn, And by that that theis Armys were thus doon, my lorde sittyn on horsbak in þe felde armed praide all the frenshe men to dyne with hym there Right in the felde.

In the which felde was ordeyned an halle muche and large in the which was hangid the white bedde with all theise Armes that the frenshemen myght wele see that the were verely his Armys of olde Auncestrie and there the frenshe men hadd a gret feest of thre Courses, cc messes large. And a thousonde mo persones that yeetyn in the felde had mette Inowgh & drynk also ryght largely.

So whan the spices and wyne was droonke my lorde yave sir Gerard de herbaumes the first frenshe knyght an Owche better than livres. lʒ; To sir hugh de lawncy an oche woorth xi marcs; and to Sir Colarde de ffyennes which is Cousyn to the Erle Seintpoule and to my lorde also, A cupp of Golde woorth ix marcs. And this doon they departid and the frenshemen helde them passyngly wele Apaide, And large yiftes gevyn to the frenshe heraudes and mynsterells And all this feste tyme lastyng the fairest wethir that evir sigh Cristen man. So that all maner men in this marche, thonkid be god, gevyn to my seide lorde the pryce of all men that evire came there and seyne playnely that god had shewyd passyng grete myracles in hym. And this on the Monday aftir he is coomen to Coleys with much woorship where hath met hym the lieutenaunt of the towne with all the Garnyson.

To complete our picture of this valiant knight we have only to add a bit of the narrative from the Cotton ms. relating to the Earl and his countess. In 1437 "Erle



Richerd when he with his navy toke the salt water, in short space rose a grevous tempest and drofe the shippes into diverse coostes in so moch that they al fered to be perissshed. And the noble Erle, forcastyng, lete bynde hymself and his lady and Henry his sone and heire, after Duc of Warrewik, to the mast of the vessel to thentent that where ever they were founde they myght have beene buried to gedres worshipfully by the knowledge of his cote armour and other signes uppon hym. But yet God preserved hem al; and so retourned to Englund and after to Normandy.”<sup>1</sup>

## II.

But whither am I slipped? Earl Richard, while preferring military glory, was not averse to clerkly wit, and thus showed that he had profited by reading the famous *Dialogus inter Clericum et Militem*, his own copy of which, bound in a volume along with Higden's *Polychronicon*, and a *Sermon against Friars*, is still to be seen.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the *Virelai* here printed has some artistic merit and is as good as was done, in his time, so far as may be known. Of this form of the *Virelai* I know of no other example in Middle English.

The ms. British Museum, Additional 16165, from which this is copied, is a quarto volume, paper, written by Shirley. The rubric is his, and may be credited, as certainly as any unique ascription can be, for Shirley except in ms. Ashmole 59, written in his last age, rarely went wrong. But we must await Miss Hammond's study of Shirley<sup>3</sup> before pass-

<sup>1</sup> Copied from ms. Cotton Julius E IV, fol. 25b. This episode is not quoted by Sir E. M. Thompson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 24194.

<sup>3</sup> See her remarks on Shirley in *Modern Philology*, I, 330 ff., *Anglia* LVIII, I ff., LXX, 320-348. O. Gaertner's recent dissertation, *Johan Shirley's Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1906), is useless for this purpose.



ing any judgment on the authority of this MS. as compared with others of the same scribe. We have, however, no ground for doubting Shirley's statement, and every reason to believe that Richard Beauchamp was quite capable of this gallant effusion to his lady.

## THE VIRELAI.

Ms. Brit. Mus. Adds 16165, fols. 245b.-246b.

"Balade made of Isabelle Countesse of Warr', and lady Despenser by Richard Beauchamp Eorlle of Warrewyk."

I can not half þe woo compleyne  
 þat doþe my woful hert streyne  
 With bisy thought and grevous peyne,  
 Whan I not see  
 5 My feyre lady whos beaute  
 So fully preented is in me  
 þat I for wo naduersite  
 May not astert  
 From hir good list, þat never thwert  
 10 I shal, howe sore þat me smert,  
 But right humbely with lowly hert  
 Hir ordenaunce  
 Obeye, and in hir governaunce  
 Set al my welfare and plesaunce,  
 15 Abydyng tyme of allegeaunce,  
 And never swerve  
 fol. 245a. Til þat þe dethe myn hert kerve ;  
 For lever is me hir man to sterve  
 Than any oþer for to serve.  
 20 For hir noblesse,  
 Hir flouryng youþe in lustynesse,  
 Grownded in vertuous humblesse,  
 Causeþe þat she cleped is maystresse,—



- I yow ensure,—  
 25 Of al good chaunce and aventure  
 þat may be gyven by nature  
 Til any worldly creature ;  
 For she alloone  
 In vertue is, and þer haþe noon,—  
 30 —þus seyne boþe sune and eueych oon,—  
 þat dele wyth hir, and euer in oon  
 Preyse hir maner,  
 Hir wommanhed, hir lusty chere,—  
 So wold god ! my lady dere,  
 35 At my request and my prayer  
 Yow list to ruwe  
 On me hir man þat hole and truwe  
 Haue been, and chaunged for no nuwe,  
 Ne never wol myn hert remuwe  
 40 From hir servyce ;  
 And þat is myn hertis empryse,  
 Beseching hir þat in some wyse  
 She wol for my guerdon avyse,  
 And wommanly,  
 fol. 246b. 45. Counsayled by pitous mercy,  
 Resceyve me þat hevyly  
 Endure þus, and pytously,  
 In to hir grace ;  
 And whyles þat I haue lyves space,  
 50 Owt of myn hert to arrace  
 þe descomfort þat me manasse  
 Depe in my thought ;  
 But of she þer of no thing rought,  
 And I be lytell worthe or nought,  
 55 Hir wommanhed certis ought  
 And gentylesse



To ruwe vpon myn hevynesse,  
 For hir to serve in stedfastnesse,  
 Myn hert, and al my bysynesse,

60    Haue I gyve  
       For euermore whyles pat I lyve.

NOTES.—The rubric is in Shirley's hand, but evidently written in after the copying of the poem. The title of the poem as at first copied was merely, "Balade." The ink of the rest of the rubric differs from this word.

The paragraphing is mine. Shirley divided the poem into quatrains, a a a b, b b b c, etc. The division is not made by spacing, but by marks on the margin, and thus my only change has been to set rhyming lines together, in order better to indicate the swing of the song.

I have taken no liberties with the text, except to substitute F for the old ff, which is nearly always used for capital F in the fifteenth century MSS.

Suggested readings. In ll. 4, 17, 50, for *hert*, herte. L. 17, *delthe*, deth. L. 34, *wold*, wolde. L. 53, *of*, if.

Ll. 29 ff., present a difficult question. Line 29 does not make sense as it stands. I suggest (1) for *per* read *oper*; (2) we have here an anacoluthon, in which the poet was misled by the parenthetical line 30, to substitute the subject and structure of the parenthetical line for the subject already given. The sense would be, then, "there hath none dealt with her that doth not always praise her manner, etc., thus says everyone." I incline to this second guess as to the meaning, on account of the exceedingly loose, and withal charming, construction throughout.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.



subordinate and summary treatment of words and poetry that Burke appended as part v. His work was not primarily a work on poetics. It is, however, to this part, and to a few passages on poetry in the preceding parts, that I wish to call attention; for in them Burke takes a long step towards the goal that Lessing set for himself in *Laokoon*. This fact is, to be sure, so little recognized that Burke's name is not even mentioned among the predecessors of Lessing by Blümner.<sup>1</sup> But Burke had a clear notion of the difference between painting and poetry, and of the appropriate means of expression in these arts. Indeed, his view of the function of words, a view which I have not found before him in the eighteenth century, might have furnished Lessing with additional ammunition for his bombardment of the citadel flying the banner *ut pictura poesis*. The evidence before us would not seem to indicate that Lessing was especially influenced by Burke in respect to these matters. Nevertheless, he must have been confirmed by Burke in his instinctive abhorrence of descriptive poetry, and Burke's name deserves to be coupled with the names of Diderot and Mendelssohn as one of those who more or less definitely anticipated the conclusions reached in *Laokoon*.

Burke's system has been called empirical, naturalistic,

<sup>1</sup>*Laokoon*,<sup>2</sup> Berl., 1880.—B. Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic*,<sup>2</sup> London, 1904, devotes three pages to Burke and Home (*Elements of Criticism*, 1762) together, and remarks that they "anticipated Lessing." The full significance of this anticipation can be brought out only by a comparative study. For Home, who is barely mentioned by Blümner (p. 31, note and p. 640), see Josef Wohlgemuth, *Henry Homes Ästhetik und ihr Einfluss auf deutsche Ästhetiker*, Berl., 1893; and Wilhelm Neumann, *Die Bedeutung Homes für die Ästhetik und sein Einfluss auf die deutschen Ästhetiker*, Halle, 1894. The habit of giving precedence to Home (Kames) over Burke in histories of esthetics is justified by the dates of the birth of the two men, and on other grounds; but it should be observed that Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* antedated Home's *Elements of Criticism* by five years.



even "crudely materialistic;"<sup>1</sup> it impresses us as putting undue emphasis upon physiological reactions; it makes a wider gap between the sublime and the beautiful than is altogether desirable; and it is undoubtedly least satisfactory in its treatment of the beautiful. It is the work of a young man who frankly consults his own feelings for an answer to questions that every man must answer for himself according to his feelings; and the first of Burke's merits is his courageous disregard of the abstract speculations that many of his contemporaries carried on so unprofitably.<sup>2</sup> Writing to Mendelssohn,<sup>3</sup> Lessing well says: "Das heisst ohne Zweifel sehr commode philosophiren! Doch, wenn schon des Verfassers Grundsätze nicht viel taugen, so ist sein Buch doch als eine Sammlung aller Eräugnungen und Wahrnehmungen, die der Philosoph bey dergleichen Untersuchungen als unstreitig annehmen muss, ungemein brauchbar. Er hat alle Materialien zu einem guten System gesammelt, die niemand besser zu brauchen wissen wird, als Sie."<sup>4</sup>

In the second place, differentiation, even if carried to excess, was a laudable method in the treatment of subjects which the prevailing tendency to unify, or at most compare, had confused and obscured. Burke was at least definite and clear in grouping his observations about two opposite

<sup>1</sup> Max Schasler, *Kritische Geschichte der Ästhetik*, Berl., 1872, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> "I am afraid it is a practice much too common in inquiries of this nature, to attribute the cause of feelings which merely arise from the mechanical structure of our bodies, or from the natural frame and constitution of our minds, to certain conclusions of the reasoning faculty on the objects presented to us; for I should imagine, that the influence of reason in producing our passions is nothing near so extensive as it is commonly believed" (p. 71 f.). I quote from the sixth edition, London, 1770.

<sup>3</sup> Feb. 18, 1758; L-M, xvii, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Mendelssohn wrote his essay, *Über das Erhabene und Naïve in den schönen Wissenschaften* (1758) before he had seen Burke's treatise; but modified it considerably, after reading Burke, for publication in the *Philosophische Schriften*, Berl., 1761.



poles, pain and pleasure, "simple ideas, incapable of definition," but matters about which "people are not liable to be mistaken;" both positive, independent of each other, and ensuing as the mind is swayed this way or that from a state of indifference.<sup>1</sup> Pain and pleasure are referable to two distinct sources. "Most of the ideas which are capable of making a powerful impression on the mind, whether simply of Pain or Pleasure, or of the modifications of those, may be reduced very nearly to these two heads, *self-preservation* and *society*; to the ends of one or the other of which all our passions are calculated to answer. The passions which concern self-preservation, turn mostly on *pain* or *danger*."<sup>2</sup> Now "whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling."<sup>3</sup> But the passions which belong to society, whether of the sexes or general society, are different kinds of pleasure;<sup>4</sup> and the qualities of men, women, animals, and things of nature that give us pleasure are the constituents of *beauty*.<sup>5</sup> "By beauty I mean, that quality, or those qualities in bodies, by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it."<sup>6</sup> The passions aroused by the sublime are astonishment, terror, admiration, reverence, and respect.<sup>7</sup> The qualities of things arousing these passions are obscurity, power, vacuity, darkness, solitude, silence, vastness, infinity, difficulty, magnificence, and the like.<sup>8</sup> Beauty, on the other hand, being "some quality in bodies acting mechanically upon the human mind by the intervention of the senses,"<sup>9</sup> and found in such things as

<sup>1</sup> P. 44.<sup>2</sup> P. 57.<sup>3</sup> P. 58.<sup>4</sup> P. 60 ff.<sup>5</sup> P. 66 ff.<sup>6</sup> P. 162.<sup>7</sup> P. 95 ff.<sup>8</sup> P. 99 ff.<sup>9</sup> P. 210.



"excite in us the passion of love,"<sup>1</sup> is by experience proved to subsist in objects that are comparatively small, smooth, with an undulating outline, delicate, clear but subdued, or at any rate diversified, in color.<sup>2</sup> The sublime is connected with the arousing of the reciprocal passions of pain and terror; and yet, "if the pain and terror are so modified as not to be actually noxious; if the pain is not carried to violence, and the terror is not conversant about the present destruction of the person, as these emotions clear the parts, whether fine or gross, of a dangerous and troublesome incumbrance,<sup>3</sup> they are capable of producing delight; not pleasure, but a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquillity tinged with terror; which, as it belongs to self-preservation, is one of the strongest of all the passions. Its object is the sublime."<sup>4</sup> Hence the sublime effect of darkness,<sup>5</sup> and the other qualities enumerated above; and hence the emotional gratification with which we contemplate suffering, calamity, and the tragic, in life and in art.<sup>6</sup>

This bare outline is not intended to commend Burke's system, or even to expound it adequately except in so far as it has a bearing upon the particular problem under discussion. Burke, not being himself primarily concerned with our problem, did not draw from the premises implied in his system the conclusions that follow from them. If he had proceeded to distinguish painting from poetry, it is evident that he must have assigned painting to the realm of the beautiful, and poetry to the realm of the sublime. Paintings are apt to be comparatively small, and suggestive of smoothness; their figures are of undulating, or at least not angular outline; they are delicate, not glaring, but diversified

<sup>1</sup> P. 210.<sup>2</sup> P. 222.<sup>3</sup> As exercise tones up the physical system.<sup>4</sup> P. 257.<sup>5</sup> P. 275ff.<sup>6</sup> P. 70 ff.



in color. A painting presents "a very clear idea"<sup>1</sup> of a palace, a temple, or landscape; "images . . . exactly similar to those in nature;"<sup>2</sup> to be sure, "a judicious obscurity in some things contributes to the effect of the picture;"<sup>3</sup> but "there is a passage in the book of Job<sup>4</sup> amazingly sublime, and this sublimity is principally due to the terrible uncertainty of the thing described;"<sup>5</sup> and "when painters have attempted to give us clear representations of these very fanciful and terrible ideas, they have I think almost always failed; insomuch that I have been at a loss, in all pictures that I have seen of hell, whether the painter did not intend something ludicrous. . . . In all these subjects poetry is very happy."<sup>6</sup> "It is one thing to make an idea clear, and another to make it *affecting* to the imagination."<sup>7</sup> "The most lively and spirited verbal description I can give, raises a very obscure and imperfect *idea* of such objects; but then it is in my power to raise a stronger *emotion* by the description than I could do by the best painting."<sup>8</sup> "And I think there are reasons in nature why the obscure idea, when properly conveyed, should be more affecting than the clear. It is our ignorance of things that causes all our admiration, and chiefly excites our passions. Knowledge and acquaintance makes the most striking causes affect but little. It is thus with the vulgar, and all men are as the vulgar in what they do not understand."<sup>9</sup> Milton's portrait of Satan<sup>10</sup> "is a very noble picture; and in what does this poetical picture consist? In images of a tower, an archangel, the sun rising through mists, or in an eclipse, the ruin of monarchs, and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itself, by a croud of great and confused images; which affect because

<sup>1</sup> P. 101.<sup>2</sup> P. 107.<sup>3</sup> P. 107.<sup>4</sup> Job 4, 13-17.<sup>5</sup> P. 108.<sup>6</sup> P. 109.<sup>7</sup> P. 101.<sup>8</sup> P. 102.<sup>9</sup> P. 105.<sup>10</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 589-599.



they are crouded and confused. For separate them, and you lose much of the greatness; and join them, and you infallibly lose the clearness. The images raised by poetry are always of this obscure kind; though in general the effects of poetry are by no means to be attributed to the images it raises."<sup>1</sup>

Painting, then, presents ideas through clear images affecting the mind but little; poetry stirs the emotions through obscure images, or without raising images at all.<sup>2</sup> This is no apology for what is ordinarily called "obscurity" in literary composition; it is an observation concerning the means of poetic expression, namely, words. Burke recognizes three sorts of words, which he calls<sup>3</sup> *aggregate words* (man, horse, tree, castle, etc.), *simple abstract words* (red, blue, round, square, and the like), and *compounded abstract words* (virtue, honor, persuasion, magistrate, and the like). Of the last Burke is "convinced, that whatever power they may have on the passions, they do not derive it from any representation raised in the mind of the things for which they stand. As compositions, they are not real essences, and hardly cause, I think, any real ideas."<sup>4</sup> We habitually use these words in association with particular occasions, they have an emotional value, and their effect on the mind is like

<sup>1</sup> P. 106.

<sup>2</sup> How far Burke may have been influenced in the making of this distinction by James Harris's *Dialogue concerning Art* (*Three Treatises*, London, 1744) I cannot say. Harris (pp. 29 ff.) described a painting as a *work*, the perfection of which is visible after the energy of its production is accomplished; poetry, as an *energy*, its perfection being perceived only during the production. As is well known, Herder turned this distinction against Lessing in *Das erste kritische Wäldchen, Werke*, III, 78, 158 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. 313 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. 314. That abstract words are not real essences is the ancient doctrine of nominalism; that they hardly cause any real ideas, is a paradox.



the emotional reaction upon the occasions themselves.<sup>1</sup> We have a feeling attached to general words, like vice and virtue, and aroused by such words, before we have any idea what vice or virtue is.<sup>2</sup> "If words have all their possible extent of power, three effects arise in the mind of the hearer:"<sup>3</sup> *sound*, the *picture* or representation of the thing signified by the sound, and the *affection* of the soul produced by one or by both of the foregoing. As has been said above, *compound abstract* words "produce the first and the last of these effects, but not the second;" *simple abstracts* "are capable of effecting all three of the purposes of words; as the *aggregate* words . . . are in a yet higher degree. But I am of opinion, that the most general effect even of these words, does not arise from their forming pictures of the several things they would represent in the imagination."<sup>4</sup> "The aggregate words operate, as I said of the compound abstracts, not by presenting any image to the mind, but by having from use the same effect on being mentioned, that their original has when it is seen"<sup>5</sup>—that is, the appropriate "affection of the soul." That words may be a perfect substitute for ideas Burke proves by the example of a poet, blind from birth, who nevertheless could describe visible objects with a spirit and justness excelled by few men blessed with sight;<sup>6</sup> and by the further example of a blind professor of mathematics who lectured instructively on light and colors.<sup>7</sup> These men did what we all do every day in common discourse: we correctly and significantly use words without stopping to estimate their value; they are our counters, accepted at their face value, as good as gold and more convenient; substitutes for reali-

<sup>1</sup> P. 316.<sup>2</sup> P. 320.<sup>3</sup> P. 325.<sup>4</sup> P. 317 f.<sup>5</sup> P. 321.<sup>6</sup> P. 319.<sup>7</sup> P. 323 f.



ties, not immediate conjurers up of images.<sup>1</sup> "I know very well," Burke adds, "that the mind possesses a faculty of raising such images at pleasure; but then an act of the will is necessary to this; and in ordinary conversation or reading it is very rarely that any image at all is excited in the mind."<sup>2</sup> This is true, however, not merely of ordinary speech or reading; it holds for the most sensuous form of language, for poetry, as well. "Indeed, so little does poetry depend for its effect on the power of raising sensible images, that I am convinced it would lose a very considerable part of its energy<sup>3</sup> if this were the necessary result of all descrip-

<sup>1</sup> Mendelssohn, in the review above-mentioned (*Werke*, iv, 1, 348), asks impatiently apropos of these propositions, "hat man jemals gezweifelt, dass die Worte gemeiniglich nur eine symbolische Erkenntniss gewähren?" If by "symbolische Erkenntniss" he means recognition through images formed in the imagination, the answer must be that the greater number of contemporary writers on poetry escaped doubt by taking the thing for granted. If he does not mean this, then the question is out of order. Mendelssohn had before him a copy of the first edition, without Burke's *Introduction on Taste*. Since this first edition is not accessible to me, I cannot say to what extent the second, the basis for all subsequent ones, may have been less open to criticism than the first. As recently as six years ago, Theodor A. Meyer (*Das Stilgesetz der Poesie*, Lpz., 1901) maintained with great positiveness and philosophical acumen "die Überzeugung, dass nicht innere Sinnbilder, wie man lehrt, sondern die Worte und Gedanken der Sprache selber das Darstellungsmittel der Poesie sind, das infolge seiner Geistigkeit und Abstraktheit unfähig ist zur Erzeugung innerer Sinnbilder und die Poesie ungeeignet macht für die Aufgabe der Veranschaulichung" (p. iv)—and Burke straightway applied his conclusions about words to poetry, where his very naiveté proved to be insight. As to Meyer, see Johannes Volkelt, *System der Ästhetik*, München, 1905, I, 88. On the whole matter cf. Hubert Roetteken, *Poetik*, München, 1902, p. 39 ff.: "Die Sprache und das innere Bild;" and Otto Harnack, "Über Lyrik," in *Essais und Studien*, Braunschweig, 1899, p. 20 ff., where an interesting distinction is made between rhetorical and metaphorical lyric poetry, and we read (p. 38): "Es ist im Ganzen eben der rhetorischen Lyrik mehr gegeben, das Erhabene zu erreichen, als der metaphorischen."

<sup>2</sup> P. 326. Cf. Volkelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 116, 128 f., 137.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Harris, *supra*, p. 614, note 2.



tion. Because that union of affecting words, which is the most powerful of all poetical instruments, would frequently lose its force along with its propriety and consistency, if the sensible images were always excited.”<sup>1</sup> “The truth is, if poetry gives us a noble assemblage of words, corresponding to many noble ideas, which are connected with circumstances of time or place, or related to each other as cause and effect or associated in any natural way, they may be moulded together in any form, and perfectly answer their end. The picturesque connection is not demanded; because no real picture is formed; nor is the effect of the description at all the less upon this account. What is said of Helen by Priam and the old men of his council, is generally thought to give us the highest possible idea of that fatal beauty.

Οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἑὺκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
κ. τ. λ. [Il. III, 156–158].

“Here is not one word said of the particulars of her Beauty; no thing which can in the least help us to any precise idea of her person; but yet we are much more touched by this manner of mentioning her than by these long and laboured descriptions of Helen, whether handed down by tradition, or formed by fancy, which are to be met with in some authors.”<sup>2</sup> “In reality poetry and rhetoric do not succeed in exact description so well as painting does; their business is to affect rather by sympathy than imitation; to display rather the effect of things on the mind of the speaker, or of others, than to present a clear idea of the things themselves.”<sup>3</sup> Clear and perspicuous languages, like the French, “are generally deficient in strength,” and so less adapted to poetry than the oriental tongues and the languages of most unpolished people.<sup>4</sup> For poetry, working

<sup>1</sup> P. 328.<sup>2</sup> P. 330 f.<sup>3</sup> P. 332.<sup>4</sup> P. 340.



with energy upon the passions and presenting no clear ideas to the mind, "cannot with strict propriety be called an art of imitation. . . . *Descriptive* poetry operates chiefly by *substitution*; by <sup>this</sup> means of sounds, which by custom have the effect of realities. Nothing is an imitation further than as it resembles some other thing; and words undoubtedly have no sort of resemblance to the ideas for which they stand." <sup>1</sup>

Lessing's *Bemerkungen über Burkes philosophische Untersuchungen* <sup>2</sup> have to do with the sublime, the beautiful, delight and its opposite, love, and hatred; there is no attempt to connect Burke with the problems later treated in *Laokoon*. If in the *Laokoon* itself there is no reference to Burke, this is probably because of Lessing's substantial agreement with Burke's conclusions concerning painting and poetry, and his own different basis of ratiocination; for Lessing developed his case by refuting propositions made by theorists with whom he did not agree. The upshot of Burke's discussion is this: "the truth is, all verbal description, merely as naked description, though never so exact, conveys so poor and insufficient an idea of the thing described, that it could scarcely have the smallest effect, if the speaker did not call in to his aid those modes of speech that mark a strong and lively feeling in himself." <sup>3</sup> *Die Schilderungssucht in der Poesie* <sup>4</sup> was the evil which Lessing particularly desired to cure, and in large measure did cure, by means of *Laokoon*. That poetry is not a so-called "word-painting;" and that it is not so because of the peculiar qualities of its symbols—on these propositions Burke and Lessing are at one. They differ in their point of view regarding these symbols. According to Lessing,

<sup>1</sup> P. 333.

<sup>2</sup> P. 339 f.

<sup>3</sup> L-M<sup>3</sup>, iv, 220 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Laokoon*, ed. Blümner, p. 147.



succession in time is the most striking quality of words; hence the most suitable subject for poetry is action, and the least suitable, bodies at rest.<sup>1</sup> Lessing, as well as Burke, recognizes the conventional character of words, and he admits the partial invalidation of his conclusions because (to use Burke's language) "words have no sort of resemblance to the ideas for which they stand." In the formulation of his conclusions he saw fit to disregard this fact. Burke, on the contrary, magnified the fact to the point of conceding to words a dominion pretty nearly independent of those ideas to which words are conventionally supposed to be subservient. The premises were different, but the conclusions were identical: words are inadequate to the description of bodies. Because, says Lessing, though they may make clear, they cannot make interesting; and though they may be successively exhaustive, they cannot give an impression of coexistent totality. And Burke, because if clear, they do not affect the mind; and if they affect the mind, it is through obscurity, emotional connotation, and the combination of elements which, taken in the sense denoted by the words, would be fantastic, incomprehensible, or absurd. Lessing would admit description only by suggestion through action. For Burke there is no description, properly so-called, in poetry. Poetry is not an imitative art. It does not represent scenes or pictures as they are, but substitutes for these the stimulus of a transcendent sublimity subsisting largely in scenes and pictures as they are not.

There is perhaps nowhere to be found a franker recognition of the fine frenzy which makes a poet. Critics of Schiller, for instance, can from this point of view explain

<sup>1</sup> *Laok.*, p. 250 f.



the undeniable esthetic effectiveness of much of his verse that sets logical analysis to scorn. Melchthal's words :<sup>1</sup>

"Die Hand hab' ich gelegt auf seine Augen,  
Und glühend Rachgefühl hab' ich gesogen  
Aus der erlöschnen Sonne seines Blicks,"

produce upon naïve natures, as I have often observed, the effect of a certain sublimity, though I cannot myself escape the reflection that one does not suck with the fingers, and certainly not anything ardent from an extinct sun. This very example, however, suggests the limitations of a theory of poetry built upon irrationality and obscurity. Burke does not affirm that all poetry is of this non-imitative sort. Poetry "is indeed an imitation so far as it describes the manners and passions of men which their words can express; where *omnis motus est interpretæ lingua*. There it is strictly imitation." But the manners and passions of men are most certainly to be observed and imitated, in their actions. Where it follows that Burke, no less than Lessing, recognized the proper domain of a large part of poetry to be action, the actions of men, or "the effect of things on the mind of the speaker, or of others."<sup>2</sup> Dramatic and epic poetry on the one hand, and lyric poetry on the other, set forth actions and feelings; they do not primarily address themselves to an exact description of things.

In contrast to Lessing's *Laokoon*, Burke's work is, as he himself says, a philosophical inquiry, not a controversial document. He does indeed, occasionally remark that his theory has been shared "by several;" but, although he cites Aristotle, and Spence in connection with subsidiary points, he is a solitary theorist whose opinion he controverts on no point is the Abbé du Bos.<sup>4</sup> This Frenchman's

<sup>1</sup> P. 333.

<sup>4</sup> P. 103.



*Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*,<sup>1</sup> one of the most extensive works on these subjects produced during the eighteenth century, was known to Lessing,<sup>2</sup> and made, though less definitely, some of the same distinctions that he made. In general, however, du Bos's book belongs in substance as well as in time to the generation before both Burke and Lessing. Du Bos prints the Horatian—one ought rather to say pseudo-Horatian—*Ut pictura poesis* on his title-page. He regards both painting and poetry as imitative arts;<sup>3</sup> he sees in them the means of saving the mind from tedium by an agreeable appeal to the passions;<sup>4</sup> he holds that both arts interest the spectator or reader in a degree corresponding to the intrinsic interest of the subjects that they treat;<sup>5</sup> he declares that the method of each is the presentation of images to the mind;<sup>6</sup> but he recognizes that some subjects are more suitable for the painter, and others, for the poet;<sup>7</sup> and he states clearly that the difference between the arts is founded upon the difference in their

<sup>1</sup> 3 vols., Paris, 1719. I quote from the first volume of the sixth edition, Paris, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Theatral. Bibliothek*, 3. St., 1755, L-M, vi, 247 f.; letter to Nicolai, Apr. 2, 1757, L-M, xvii, 98; Konrad Leysaht, *Dubos et Lessing*, Greifswald, 1874.

<sup>3</sup> "Les Peintres et les Poètes excitent en nous ces passions artificielles, en présentant les imitations des objets capables d'exciter en nous des passions véritables. . . . La copie de l'objet doit, pour ainsi dire, exciter en nous une copie de la passion que l'objet y auroit excitée" (p. 27 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 5 ff., 35.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 52, 56. He recognizes a passing satisfaction in the successful copy of objects uninteresting in themselves: "nous louons l'art du Peintre à bien imiter, mais nous le blâmons d'avoir choisi pour l'objet de son travail des sujets qui nous intéressent si peu" (p. 53).

<sup>6</sup> "Le but que se propose la Poésie du style, est de faire des images, et de plaire à l'imagination" (p. 313). "C'est pour inventer des images qui peignent bien ce que le Poète veut dire . . . qu'il a besoin d'un feu divin" (p. 300). "Il faut donc que nous croyions voir, pour ainsi dire, en écoutant des Vers: *Ut Pictura Poësis*, dit Horace" (p. 295).

<sup>7</sup> § XIII, pp. 84-112.



means of expression,<sup>1</sup> namely, natural signs (or symbols) in painting, arbitrary (or conventional) symbols (*i. e.*, words) in poetry—furthermore, that the signs of painting produce their effect instantly, the signs of poetry, on the contrary, in a succession of instants.<sup>2</sup>

Upon the last-mentioned distinction, du Bos bases no such reasoning as Lessing's in *Laokoon*, XVI, but from it he does deduce certain opinions; and since it was these opinions that Burke challenged, we may first examine du Bos's system at this point. It is not a point on the whole favorable to du Bos; for his immediate purpose is not to distinguish between the arts, but rather, after the then popular fashion, to seek grounds for preferring one to the other. He gives the preference to painting, because<sup>3</sup> (1) it appeals to the sight, the sense that has the greatest and most immediate power over the soul; (2) it makes its appeal instantly by natural signs that need no interpretation, since they represent nature as she is; (3) it is clearer and more definite, just as a diagram or illustration is clearer than the most detailed description; and (4) it is more affecting; as the

<sup>1</sup> "La Peinture agit sur nous par le moyen du sens de la vue . . . n'emploie pas des signes artificiels, ainsi que le fait la Poésie, mais bien des signes naturels" (p. 415). "C'est avec des signes naturels que la Peinture fait ses imitations" (p. 416). "Les signes que la Peinture emploie, pour nous parler, ne sont pas des signes arbitraires et institués, tels que sont les mots dont la Poésie se sert" (p. 416 f.).

<sup>2</sup> "Les vers les plus touchans ne sçauroient nous émouvoir que par degrés, et en faisant jouer plusieurs ressorts de notre machine les uns après les autres" (p. 417). "Ainsi les objets que les tableaux nous présentent agissant en qualité de signes naturels, ils doivent agir plus promptement" (p. 418). "Cette image [poétique] nous touche; mais quand elle nous est représentée dans un tableau, elle nous touche bien davantage. Nous voyons alors en un instant ce que les vers nous font seulement imaginer, et cela même en plusieurs instans" (p. 419). There is here a suggestion, but no sharp formulation, of the Lessingian "coexistent" and "successive."

<sup>3</sup>P. 415 f.



statue or painting of a god filled the ancients with awe of a present deity greater than they ever derived from the mythology of the poets; as an exhibit is more effective than a verbal appeal for mercy or justice; and as a tragedy enacted moves to tears which do not flow from the eyes of one who merely reads it.

Burke, who esteemed sublime obscurity more highly than unassuming clearness, inverted du Bos's preference, and said simply,<sup>1</sup> "Among the common sort of people, I never could perceive that painting had much effect on their passions. It is true, that the best sorts of painting, as well as the best sorts of poetry, are not much understood in that sphere. But it is most certain, that their passions are very strongly roused by a fanatic preacher, or by the ballads of Chevy-chase, or the children in the wood, and by other little popular poems and tales that are current in that rank of life. I do not know any paintings, bad or good, that produce the same effect." And though the art of twenty Christian centuries testifies to the belief that statues and paintings are at least a valuable *supplement* to preaching—whether fanatic or not—it is evident that Burke had as much reason on his side as du Bos had on his, in this fruitless attempt to compare the incomparable.

Neither Burke nor anybody else could dissent from du Bos's section XIII, *Qu'il est des sujets propres spécialement pour la Poësie, et d'autres spécialement propres pour la Peinture*; and yet every such classification, however self-evident to us, had its importance in an age so little discriminating that one book<sup>2</sup> found ready acceptance in which it was said, "the rules for the conduct of a picture being much the

<sup>1</sup> P. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1719) by Jonathan Richardson. I quote from *The Works of Jonathan Richardson*, London, 1792.



same as those to be observed in writing a poem ;”<sup>1</sup> “a painter must not only write a history, a poem, a description, but do it in a fine character ;”<sup>2</sup> “painting is a sort of writing, it ought to be easily legible ;”<sup>3</sup> and another<sup>4</sup> likewise, which laid down the law, “scarce anything can be good in a poetical description which would appear absurd if represented in a statue or picture.” Du Bos declares : a poet can fully set forth thoughts and sentiments which baffle the painter, “parce que ni les uns ni les autres ne sont pas suivis d’aucun mouvement propre et spécialement marqué dans notre attitude, ni précisément caractérisé sur notre visage,”<sup>5</sup>—such as the famous *Qu’il mourût* in Corneille’s *Horace* ; or the delicate variations in the effects of a passion like anger, or a complex of passions and sentiments differentiated according to the personal equation in a given temperament ;<sup>6</sup> or an extended action with cause and effect in successive moments of time. Poets can arouse interest in their heroes by bringing out inner virtues and qualities of soul ;<sup>7</sup> they can easily make them known by pronouncing their names or otherwise characterizing them ;<sup>8</sup> they can the more certainly count upon their appeals for sympathetic interest because among the multitude of traits that they can include in their characterizations, one will be taking if another is not.<sup>9</sup> For all of these purposes the painter’s resources are inferior to the poet’s. The painter is limited to externals, restricted to one instant, and bound to treat subjects in which the effects are due to comparatively simple causes.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, a painter can include, and by preference does include, in one scene a great number of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.<sup>4</sup> Joseph Spence, *Polymetis*, London, 1747, p. 311. Lessing noted this sentence ; cf. *Nachlass B*, Blümner, p. 415.<sup>5</sup> P. 84 f.<sup>6</sup> Pp. 86, 94 f.<sup>7</sup> P. 87.<sup>8</sup> P. 90.<sup>9</sup> P. 92.<sup>10</sup> P. 93.



persons differentiated in character; in a poem this would be tedious, if not impossible.<sup>1</sup> Poet and painter appear to be equal in their powers to express original conceptions of character;<sup>2</sup> but whereas the poet may treat an unfamiliar subject,<sup>3</sup> the painter's work loses much of its effectiveness if its subject is not known and recognized.<sup>4</sup>

Burke was fortunate in avoiding the temptation to compare by holding fast to the faith that there was no *tertium comparationis*. Not the least advantage which he derived from that common sense of his which professional philosophers have derided as unscientific, was freedom from the trammels of a traditional terminology uncritically employed. His contemporaries might have escaped many a pitfall if they had taken the trouble to read Horace, before jumping at the conclusion that seemed to be expressed in his *Ut pictura poesis*; and they might have been less inclined to assume that poetry was an art of depiction in words, if they had abandoned the misapplied Aristotelian "imitation."<sup>5</sup> When Burke says *imitation*, he does not mean the expression <sup>n</sup> of an idea, but the copying of a model by means of symbols that have some sort of resemblance to the qualities of the model. Imitation in words is imitation of words, where *animi motus effert interprete lingua*.<sup>6</sup> Lessing believed too firmly in Aristotle to profit by this example of Burke's independence of the Stagirite.

But Burke was also independent—perhaps ignorant—of the work that had in his time the greatest authority in esthetics, l'Abbé Charles Batteux's treatise, *Les Beaux Arts*

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 95 f., 102 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. 97 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. 103.

<sup>4</sup> P. 109.

<sup>5</sup> The Greek opinion that *music* is the most imitative of the arts must have given them pause if they had meditated upon it. Cf. S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London<sup>2</sup>, 1898, chapter II, 'Imitation' as an Aesthetic Term.

<sup>6</sup> P. 333.



*réduits à un même principe.*<sup>1</sup> This principle was imitation. In the preface, the author describes his search for it. He turned to Aristotle: "le principe de l'imitation, que le Philosophe Grec établit pour les beaux Arts, m'avoit frappé. J'en avois senti la justesse pour la Peinture, qui est une Poésie muette. J'en rapprochai les idées d'Horace, de Boileau, de quelques autres grands Maîtres. J'y joignis plusieurs traits échappés à d'autres Auteurs sur cette matière; la maxime d'Horace se trouva vérifiée par l'examen: *ut Pictura Poësis*. Il se trouva que la Poésie étoit en tout une imitation, de même que la Peinture."<sup>2</sup>

The very title of Batteux's book precludes the expectation that we shall find in it any such distinction between the arts as Lessing established. It was so far from being Batteux's intention to distinguish, that he devotes to painting but a single section of three pages, beginning, "Cet article sera fort court, parce que le principe de l'imitation de la belle Nature, sur-tout après en avoir fait l'application à la Poésie, s'applique presque de lui-même à la Peinture. Ces deux Arts ont entr'eux une si grande conformité; qu'il ne s'agit, pour les avoir traités tous deux à la fois, que de changer les noms, et de mettre Peinture, Dessèing, Coloris, à la place de Poésie, de Fable, de Versification."<sup>3</sup> Contrariwise: "ainsi que la Poésie chante les mouvemens du coeur, qu'elle agisse, qu'elle raconte, qu'elle fasse parler les Dieux ou les Hommes; c'est toujours un portrait de la belle Nature, une image artificielle, un tableau, dont le vrai et unique mérite consiste dans le bon choix, la disposition, la ressemblance: *ut Pictura*

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1747. Mendelssohn, reviewing C. W. Ramler's translation (Lpz., 1758), described Batteux's work as, in spite of its errors, "das beste Lehrbuch in den schönen Wissenschaften, das wir haben;" *Werke*, iv, 1. 361. Cf. a fuller criticism in the essay, *Über die Hauptgrundsätze der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften*, *Werke*, i. 283.

<sup>2</sup> P. viii.

<sup>3</sup> P. 256.



*Poesis.*"<sup>1</sup> Under the rubric, *Qu'il y ait une action dans un Poëme,*<sup>2</sup> we hope for more than we find; for "les choses sans vie peuvent entrer dans la Poësie. Il n'y a point de doute. Elles y sont même aussi essentielles, que dans la Nature. Mais elles ne doivent y être que comme accessoires, et dépendantes d'autres choses plus propres à toucher. Telles sont les actions, qui étant tout à la fois l'ouvrage de l'esprit de l'homme, de sa volonté, de sa liberté, de ses passions, sont comme un tableau abrégé de la nature humaine. C'est pour cela que les grands Peintres ne manquent jamais de jeter dans les paysages les plus nuds, quelques traces d'humanité; ne fut-ce qu'un tombeau antique, quelques ruines d'un vieil édifice. La grande raison, c'est qu'ils peignent pour les hommes."<sup>3</sup> There appears, therefore, to be no difference between poetry and painting in the expression of action; and action itself, although "toute action est un mouvement,"<sup>4</sup> and "toute notre vie n'est qu'action,"<sup>5</sup> seems to be quite as recognizable and available in ruins of the past as in doings of the present.

It is, however, rather in his definition and application of the principle of imitation that Batteux's significance is to be sought. He had read Aristotle. He at least approximated to a conception of the meaning of the term "imitation" as used by Aristotle, and he used it with fair consistency himself. The human mind, he says, cannot, properly speaking, create; it can only compose with elements that it finds in nature.<sup>6</sup> "Sa fonction [sc. la fonction du génie] consiste, non à imaginer ce qui ne peut être, mais à trouver ce qui est. Inventer dans les Arts, n'est point donner l'être à un objet, c'est le reconnoître où il est, et comme il est."<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> P. 255.

<sup>2</sup> P. 163, in chapter III, *Les règles generales de la Poësie.*

<sup>3</sup> P. 163 f.

<sup>5</sup> P. 165.

<sup>4</sup> P. 164.

<sup>6</sup> P. 10.

<sup>7</sup> P. 11.



means of art, which are natural,—marble, colors, sounds, words—are employed to present to the mind objects to which they are not natural: the human figure in statuary, all kinds of visible things in painting, a tempest in music,—“et le Poëte enfin par son invention et par l’harmonie de ses vers, remplit notre esprit d’images feintes et notre cœur de sentimens factices, souvent plus charmans que s’ils étoient vrais et naturels. D’où je conclus, que les Arts, dans ce qui est proprement Art, ne sont que des imitations, des ressemblances qui ne sont point la Nature, mais qui paroissent l’être; et qu’ainsi la matière des beaux Arts n’est point le vrai, mais seulement le vrai-semblable.”<sup>1</sup> “Ainsi, tous les Arts dans tout ce qu’ils ont de vraiment artificiel, ne sont que des choses imaginaires, des êtres feints, copiés et imités d’après les veritables.”<sup>2</sup> “Et cette imitation . . . est une des principales sources du plaisir que causent les Arts. L’esprit s’exerce dans la comparaison du modèle avec le portrait.”<sup>3</sup>

This is all self-evident and not distinctively Aristotelian. But with reference to Aristotle’s comparison<sup>4</sup> of history and poetry, to Xeuxis’s method of painting a perfect beauty, and to Molière’s procedure in the composition of his *Misanthrope*, Batteux goes on to show how what the artist copies is not external nature, but a prototype in his own mind, an idea based upon knowledge of many examples of his subject in nature; and henceforth he speaks no more of imitating nature, but says, *imiter la belle Nature*. “Ce n’est pas le vrai qui est; mais le vrai qui peut être, le beau vrai, qui est représenté comme s’il existoit réellement, et avec toutes les perfections qu’il peut recevoir.”<sup>5</sup> In other words, the artist

<sup>1</sup> P. 13 f.

<sup>2</sup> P. 16.

<sup>3</sup> P. 27. This, I take it, is Aristotelian. Schasler, however, maintains (p. 316) that “das Batteux’sche Princip der sogenannten ‘Naturnachahmung’ nichts weniger als aristotelisch, sondern vielmehr platonisch ist.”

<sup>4</sup> P. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. ix, 2–4.



makes use of the forms of nature to express an idea ; and this idea is itself a divination of the essential quality, of which those forms are themselves the representatives to sense. The condition of the soul enabled thus to conceive and produce is *enthusiasm*. “Il y a donc des momens heureux pour le génie, lorsque l’ame enflammée comme d’un feu divin se représente toute la nature ; et répand sur les objets cet esprit de vie qui les anime, ces traits touchants qui nous séduisent ou nous ravissent. Cette situation de l’ame se nomme *Enthousiasme*, terme que tout le monde entend assez, et que presque personne ne définit.”<sup>1</sup> “C’est un grand fonds de génie, une justesse s’esprit exquise, une imagination féconde, et sur-tout un cœur plein d’un feu noble, et qui s’allume aisément à la vue des objets. Ces ames privilégiées prennent fortement l’empreinte des choses qu’elles conçoivent, et ne manquent jamais de les reproduire avec un nouveau caractère d’agrément et de force qu’elles leur communiquent. . . .”<sup>2</sup> Rappelons nous l’exemple de Xeuxis. La Nature a dans ses trésors tous les traits dont les plus belles imitations peuvent être composées : ce sont comme des études dans les tablettes d’un Peintre. L’Artiste qui est essentiellement observateur, les reconnoît, les tire de la foule, les assemble. Il en compose dans son esprit un Tout dont il conçoit une idée vive qui le remplit.”<sup>3</sup>

Batteux is himself rather more enthusiastic than clear in these passages, and in others, and when he comes to define *la belle nature*, he gets still farther away from the Aristotelian *idea* : “la belle Nature est, selon le Goût, celle, qui a 1°. le plus de rapport avec notre propre perfection, notre avantage, notre intérêt. 2°. Celle qui est en même-tems la plus parfaite en soi.”<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, if art does no more

<sup>1</sup> P. 31 f.<sup>2</sup> P. 33.<sup>3</sup> P. 34.<sup>4</sup> P. 81. There is a hopeless entanglement of the beautiful and the good on p. 89 f.



than interpret nature in agreeable terms, it is no process of photographic reproduction, its models are not existent objects, its method is not a description of objective phenomena; it expresses an ideal, and does not copy reality. "Descriptive poetry" has no place in art so understood; and no word "description," nor anything like it, occurs in Batteux's book.

In 1751, no less a person than Diderot addressed to Batteux, though without calling him by name, a *Lettre sur les sourds et muets, à l'usage de ceux qui entendent et qui parlent*.<sup>1</sup> Batteux indulged in some particularly *banal* remarks about the French language and French poetry in part III, chapter iii of his treatise, and with reference to these Diderot volunteered an exceedingly interesting discussion of language and the refinements of poetic style, culminating in the sentence, "tout art d'imitation ayant ses hieroglyphes particuliers, je voudrais bien que quelque esprit instruit et délicat s'occupât un jour à les comparer entre eux."<sup>2</sup> That is to say, the arts instead of being reduced to *one* principle—and a vague one—ought to be shown to have each its own principle as well as its own symbols. The really instructive line of inquiry would be a comparison of the mode of treatment of one and the same subject in different arts. And above all, tell us what you mean by *belle nature*! People wonder that estimates of natural objects vary so widely. "Ils veulent que je leur dise encore pourquoi une peinture admirable dans un poëme deviendrait ridicule sur la toile? Par quelle singularité le peintre qui se proposerait de rendre avec son pinceau ces beaux vers de Virgile :

Interes magno misceri murmure pontum,  
Emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus, et imis  
Stagna refusa vadis : graviter commotus, et alto  
Prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda.

VIRGIL *Aeneid*. lib. I. vers 124.

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres*, ed. J. Assézat, Paris, 1875, I, 343 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. 385.



“ Par quelle singularité, disent-ils, ce peintre ne pourrait prendre le moment frappant, celui où Neptune élève sa tête hors des eaux? Pourquoi le dieu, ne paraissant alors qu’un homme décollé, sa tête, si majestueuse dans le poëme, ferait-elle un mauvais effet sur les ondes? Comment arrive-t-il que ce qui ravit notre imagination déplaît à nos yeux? La belle nature n’est donc pas une pour le peintre et pour le poëte, continuent-ils? Et Dieu sait les conséquences qu’ils tirent de cet aveu !”<sup>1</sup>

This is precisely the kind of problem with which Lessing<sup>2</sup> began the *Laokoon*, and Diderot provides also the means of solving it: there is one kind of beauty for the poet and another for the painter; each artist expresses himself with his own appropriate symbols; and these symbols are hieroglyphs—that is, they have a value determined by the conditions of the particular art in which they are used. Mere imitation of nature can be no guide to artistic production.

But Burke likewise expressly denied at least for poetry that it was an art of imitation; and he affirmed of poetry that its power was conditioned by its symbols, the words to which he, like Diderot, attributed a significance that might fairly be called hieroglyphic. Both Burke and Diderot suggested rather than systematized. Lessing’s most helpful predecessor was his generous and modest friend Mendelssohn, and no one can desire to underestimate the importance to Lessing of Mendelssohn’s counsel in oral discussions and in letters, or of his philosophy in the *Briefe über die Empfindungen*,<sup>3</sup> the *Betrachtungen über die Quellen*

<sup>1</sup> P. 385 f. Diderot proceeds to illustrate the treatment of another subject, a woman dying, in the three arts, poetry, music, and painting.

<sup>2</sup> Lessing reviewed Diderot’s *Lettre* in *Das Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes*, *Monat Junius*, 1751 (L-M<sup>3</sup>, IV, 415–422), translating liberally from the passage about Virgil, but saying nothing about the significant example of the *jeune mourante*.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, I, 107 ff.



und die Verbindungen der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften<sup>1</sup> and other writings. However, one would think that Blümner ought hardly to have passed over Diderot, and certainly not to have omitted Burke, when he wrote concerning the last-mentioned work:<sup>2</sup> "Dies der erste Hauptteil der Mendelssohn'schen Untersuchung. Seine Wichtigkeit gegenüber allem früheren Ästhetisieren springt in die Augen: die Lehre von der Nachahmung der Natur ist überwunden."

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothek*, 1757; printed in the *Philosophische Schriften* (1761) under the title *Über die Hauptgrundsätze der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften*; Werke, I, 279 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Laokoon*, 63. Blümner did full justice to Diderot on previous pages (45-49).

By way of supplement I should like to add that Daniel Webb's *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* appeared in 1760 (not 1764 as given by Blümner, p. 29); and that his *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry*, London, 1762, inaccessible to Blümner (*ibid.*), do little more than repeat the sentiments of the earlier book in respect to the similarity of painting and poetry. On p. 94 f. of the *Beauties of Poetry* Webb does indeed observe that the painter's subject is restricted to coexistence, and illustrates this proposition by the example of Imogen's speech in *Cymbeline*, I, sc. 3, ll. 14-22:

"Thou should'st have made him  
As little as a crow," etc.

"The circumstances in this description, which tend to heighten the beauty of the image in the last line, cannot be expressed by the Painter; he can have no advantage from a succession of ideas." And on p. 102 he says: "In this [i. e., the expression of thoughts and feelings] the Painter is extremely limited; for among the infinite turns and workings of the mind, which may be expressed by words, and become the springs of sentiment, there are so few to which he can give shape or being; and his indications of peculiar and characteristic feelings, are so vague and undeveloped, that his expressions, like their motives, must be obvious and general."



XXIII.—AMERICAN EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE:  
1753–1866.

American criticism of Shakespeare began in 1753 with a New York woman, Charlotte Ramsay, best known as Mrs. Lennox. Until fifteen years of age she lived in America with her father, Colonel James Ramsay, Lieutenant-Governor of New York City. Thence she went to London and, being thrown upon her own resources, supported herself, both before and after marriage, by her literary labors. During her long life of eighty-four years (1720–1804) novels, poems, comedies, memoirs, and translations flowed from her prolific pen. That her intellect was of no mean order is known from Dr. Johnson's testimony. He considered her ability equal to that of Hannah More or Fanny Burney.

In 1753 there appeared *Shakespeare Illustrated* in two duodecimo volumes, 17½ cm., whose title-page reads: "Shakespeare Illustrated: or the Novels and Histories, on which the plays of Shakespear are founded, collected and translated from the original authors, with critical remarks. In two volumes. By the author of the Female Quixote, London: Printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1753."

In 1754 appeared a third volume, evidently as an after-thought. Allibone, on Boswell's authority, asserts that the dedication was written by Johnson and that Malone attributes some of the observations to the same hand.

Mrs. Lennox's claim of being the first in this field is true only in so far as it refers to any extended, systematic attempt to translate or recapitulate the original stories and histories whence Shakespeare drew his plots. For Gerard Langbaine in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, published in Oxford, 1691, pp. 455–467, had mentioned the



... of the twenty-two plays treated by  
 ... of Hamlet (altho he refers the  
 ... and other historians),  
 ... of Virgil.  
 ... of the argument or fable  
 ... given by Charles  
 ... v. l. 7 ("")  
 ... had translated  
 ... carefully with the  
 ... standard of  
 ... century. To  
 ... and the  
 ... able to produce  
 ... in her eyes,  
 ... rather inconsistently  
 ... Part of the Repatri-  
 ... the naked Plot  
 ... Actions, Passions, and  
 ... however, as some-  
 ... Johnson, to reconcile  
 ... comments that follow.  
 ... Thus has Shake-  
 ... two Heroes instead  
 ... have been as well  
 ... (vol. 2, p. 272);  
 ... of Shakespear's  
 ... Compass of Time  
 ... of crowding  
 ... of three  
 ... III, vol. 3, p. 166);  
 ... Abuse of the  
 ... we find scattered  
 ... for them" (*ibid.*,

p. 16  
 p. 27  
 Reason  
 The  
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p. 169); *the lack of a moral*: *Measure for Measure* (vol. 1, p. 27); *the want of poetic justice*: "Shakespear has with Reason been censured for the Catastrophe of this Tragedy. The brave, the injured Hamlet falls with the Murderers he punishes" (vol. 2, pp. 270 f.), "Her [Cressida] not being punished is indeed an unpardonable Fault, and brings the greatest Imputation imaginable upon Shakespear's Judgment, who could introduce so vicious a Person in a Tragedy, and leave her without the due Reward of her Crimes" (vol. 3, p. 93). Even the characters are not spared: "Achilles, indeed, is a Character of his [Shakespeare's] own invention, ridiculous and inconstant to the last Degree, Brave, and a Coward; a Fool, yet a deep and accurate Reasoner" (*Troilus and Cressida*, vol. 3, p. 98). If Shakespeare changes, or adds to, the original it is for the worse: "Shakespear, by changing the Persons, altering some of the Circumstances, and inventing others, has made the whole an improbable Contrivance, borrowed just enough to shew his Poverty of Invention, and added enough to prove his want of Judgment" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, vol. 3, p. 261).

In the midst of this deluge of unfavorable criticism are found, here and there, a few bits of praise, principally for the historical pieces: "This Character [Holingshed's *Richard III*] is the very same with that drawn of him by Shakespear; but the latter is made more striking by the wonderful Propriety of the Manners and Sentiments he everywhere, throughout the Play, attributes to him" (*Richard III*, vol. 3, p. 165); "Shakespear improves this [Richard's death] into the following noble Description" (*ibid.*, p. 165). And, finally, in the true spirit of eighteenth century criticism she exclaims: "'Shakespear, Fancy's sweetest Child, Warbles his native Wood-Notes wild.' His true Praise seems to be summ'd up in those two Lines; for wild, though harmonious, his Strains certainly are". . . . he "seems



wholly a Stranger to the Laws of dramatic Poetry" (*Twelfth Night*, vol. 1, p. 241).

Mrs. Lennox lacks breadth of view, she keeps too near her subject and becomes entangled with details, a fault which might be attributed to her sex, if it had not been shared equally with Johnson and his cult. Still, in her generation she exerted a wide influence that penetrated even into Germany. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1754, pp. 233 f., a letter addressed to the Editor appeared, which well illustrates the effect of her publication: "Mr. Urban. Of all the criticisms upon Shakespear, that of a lady in a late work, intituled, Shakespear illustrated, is the most bold and comprehensive; she has not only remarked inaccurate expressions, mixed metaphors, broken scenes, or violated unities, but has attacked those powers for which his negligence has been overlooked, his invention, and his judgment; she has displayed the poverty of his invention, by shewing what he has borrowed, and the weakness of his judgment, by distinguishing the defects and incongruity of what he has added and changed. It has been generally taken for granted, that Shakespear improved every story which he made the foundation of a play, except where he was restrained by his regard to historical truth; but it will appear from this work, that he has degraded Italian novels by distorting natural characters, and substituting whimsical improbabilities, for natural events. I should, indeed, greatly rejoice to see my favourite author defended against this formidable Thalestris." Then follows an illustration, drawn from Mrs. Lennox's *Observations on Much Ado about nothing*, showing how Shakespeare "mangled the story of Ariosto" and then "pieced it with equal awkwardness and haste." "These, Mr. Urban, among many others in the same play, are brought as instances, that Shakespear has not deserved the veneration that has been paid to him. If he can be



defended, I hope some of your correspondents will attempt his defence, for which I confess myself to be unqualified. Yours, &c. T. B. Cambridge." (Pp. 233 f.)

Dunlop in his *History of Fiction* calls her "an acute and elegant critic" (3d ed., 1845, p. 216), and Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1838, speaks in her praise. But with other critics she has not fared so well: Francis Douce in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (London, 1807, vol. 2, pp. 104 f.), says in notes on *Cymbeline*: "This speech has exercised the talents of a certain ingenious female *illustrator* of Shakespeare, who has endeavoured to ridicule the character of Imogen, and indeed the whole of the play. She degrades our heroine into a mere kitchen wench, and adverts to what she calls her *oeconomical education*. Now what is this but to expose her own ignorance of ancient manners? If she had missed the advantage of qualifying herself as a commentator on Shakespeare's plots by a perusal of our old romances, she ought at least to have remembered, what every well informed woman of the present age is acquainted with, the education of the princesses in Homer's *Odyssey*. It is idle to attempt to judge of ancient simplicity by a mere knowledge of modern manners; and such fastidious critics had better close the book of Shakespeare for ever. In another part of her critique on this play, she condemns the giving of the drug to Imogen which Pisanio had received from the queen, from an idea that he was sufficiently warned of its soporific quality; and she positively states that the physician had, by a whisper, informed Pisanio of its property; not one word of which is to be found in Shakespeare. So much for the criticism and accuracy of a work to which Dr. Johnson condescended to write a dedication."

She fares still worse at the hands of Knight in his *Pictorial Shakespeare*, 1839-42 (vol. 5, p. 183), *Introductory Notice to Cymbeline*: "Mrs. Lennox has given, in her 'Shak-



spear Illustrated,' a paraphrase of Boccaccio's story; which she has mixed up with more irreverent impertinence towards Shakspeare than can be perhaps found elsewhere in the English language, except in Dr. Johnson's judgment upon this play, which sounds very much like 'prisoner at the bar.' It might have been supposed that the odour of Mrs. Lennox's criticisms upon Shakspeare had been dissipated long before the close of the last century; but, nevertheless, Mr. Dunlop, in his 'History of Fiction,' published in 1816, makes the opinions of Mrs. Lennox his own."

Verplanck speaks of her as "our unfortunate townswoman" (vol. 3, p. 10), and Hudson in vol. 2, p. 139, of his *Edition of Shakespeare*, 1851, says her "choice dropping of criticism, like many others vouchsafed by her learned ladyship, is too wise, if not too womanly to need any comment from us, save that the Poet can better afford to have such things said, than the sayer can to have them repeated."

Meanwhile, however, on American soil, Puritan and Cavalier had, in their struggle to win a livelihood from the unbroken earth, other things to do than busy themselves with literary pursuits. The theologians were scholars, to be sure, but they loved not the playwright, Shakespeare, who had written for the theatre, that instrument of the devil.

The first allusion to the theatre, according to Clapp in *A Record of the Boston Stage*, 1853 (pp. i f.), "is made by Increase Mather in 1686. In his 'Testimony against profane and superstitious customs,' he says: 'There is much discourse now of beginning Stage Plays in New England.' " But plays did not begin to be performed in the colonies until 1732, and then in New York City (*A History of the New York Stage*, by Thomas Allston Brown, New York, 1903, vol. i, p. viii). *Shakespeare* is first announced on March 5, 1750, when Thomas Kean and Murray appeared



in the First Nassau Street Theatre, in New York City, in *Richard III*, and continued to perform twice each week for five months (*ibid.*, pp. 2 f.). In Boston, where the opposition was so great that in 1750 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act against Stage-Plays and other Theatrical Entertainments, no kind of theatre was opened until August 10, 1792, and then under the name of the "New Exhibition Room" where, among other things, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* were performed as "moral lectures" (*Record of Boston Stage*, p. 8).

Legal proceedings were instituted by the horrified Puritans and arrests followed, but, in spite of all prosecution, a Boston theatre opened on the third of February, 1794, where Shakespeare, for better or for worse, was presented. Shakespeare on the American stage, however, is reserved for a future article, and only one fact more concerns us with reference to this playhouse, namely, that to the Boston theatre we owe the publication of the first plays of Shakespeare in the United States of America: "*Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*: a tragedy. In five acts. By William Shakespeare. As performed at the Theatre in Boston, and *Twelfth Night*; or, *What you will*: a comedy. In five acts. Written by William Shakespeare. As performed at the Theatre in Boston. With notes critical and illustrative. Both, Boston: Printed for David West, No. 36, Marlborough Street, and John West, No. 75, Cornhill." [1794] 16°, 16¾ cm.

The *Hamlet* has no annotation, but *Twelfth Night* has a few glossarial footnotes and stage directions. The text in both is much abridged. Doubtless Mr. Charles Stuart Powell, the manager of the Boston Theatre, and one of its leading actors, was responsible for these editions and comments.

The first American edition of Shakespeare's complete works was printed in Philadelphia in 1795-'96. The title-



page reads: "The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare. Corrected from the latest and best London editions, with notes, by Samuel Johnson, LL. D., to which are added, a Glossary and the Life of the author. Embellished with a striking likeness from the collection of His Grace the Duke of Chandos. First American Edition. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Bioren & Madan. 1795." 8 vols. 12°, 17½ cm.

The text of the plays is printed from Johnson and Steevens, corrected by Reed 1785. In order to ascertain whether any editorial work was done, the writer selected *Richard III*, as being one of the most corrupt, and collated it with that of the 1785 edition. Many changes in punctuation were found, a dozen or more changes of words, besides not a few misprints. There are also numerous changes in orthography. Steevens stated (vol. VII, p. 149) that in the text of *Richard III* he followed the folio. The American editor, on the contrary, often prefers the quarto readings. His emendations, on the whole, seem to be due to an effort to modernize the text. Who the American editor was is not known, perhaps Bioren and Madan themselves, as they give one to understand from the Preface. That some one, consciously, did make changes in the text seems evident.

The preface contains a criticism of Shakespeare, doubly interesting as being the first printed in America. It deals with the morality of his plays and defends them at some length against their Puritan enemies: Altho other playwrights of his day were highly immoral and produced works of the utmost depravity, Shakespeare "on this head has nothing to fear" (p. v); "as a moral writer he was infinitely superior to any one of them, and . . . the reproaches which have been thundered from the pulpit against the stage, cannot reasonably be applied to the stage of Shakspeare" (p. vii). "For the inequality of composition in this poet,



a satisfactory apology may be made :” “Shakspeare never supervised an edition of his own plays and their imperfections have arisen in the process of transmission to us” (pp. viii f.). Annotation is brushed away with a sentence : “An American reader is seldom disposed to wander through the wilderness of verbal criticism,” hence “The present edition contains no notes of any kind, except one by Dr. Johnson at the end of each play” (p. x).<sup>1</sup> The preface closes with a quotation from Dr. Blair, which altho written about Ossian, the editors think applies “with equal justice to Shakspeare :” “Uncouth and abrupt, Shakspeare may sometimes appear,—But he is sublime, he is pathetic, in an eminent degree. . . . Of art too, he is [far] from being destitute, and his imagination is remarkable for delicacy as well as strength” (p. xi).

Some judicial criticism is shown in the printing of the Poems, taken, according to the publishers, from Malone’s text of 1790 : “Candour compelled us to receive two Poems not to be found in Mr. Malone’s Edition, but which have appeared in all the Copies since 1640. As they have not been by any Editor attributed to another hand, and seem only to have been rejected by Mr. Malone on account of their first appearing in a post-humous publication ; we have not deemed that sufficient reason for considering them spurious, and have given them a place at the conclusion of the work” (vol. VIII, p. iv). These two poems, “Come live with me and be my dear,” and “Why should this a desert be,” follow the sonnets without title as if forming one continuous poem with them. The numbering of the sonnets is omitted, many changes in punctuation (Amer. ed., vol. 8, p. 117 : “Alas !”—Malone’s, 1790, vol. x, p. 332 : “Alas,” etc.) and a few other evidences of editorial work appear :

<sup>1</sup> One end-note to the *Comedy of Errors* (vol. 1, pp. 383 f.) is by Steevens.



e. g., vol. 8, p. 117: *Passionate Pilgrim*, "lordling's,"—Malone, vol. x, p. 332: "lording's."<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from the above investigation is that, contrary to the opinion hitherto held, the first American edition of Shakespeare 1795–96, gives evidence of some slight textual, philosophical, and judicial criticism.

Boston, not to be outdone by Philadelphia, seven years later brought out "The Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare. Printed complete, with Dr. Samuel Johnson's preface and notes. To which is prefixed the life of the author. Boston: Printed by Munroe & Francis," 1802–4. 8 v. Portrait, 12", 17½ cm. Vol. 1 is dated 1802; vols. 2–6, 1803; 7, 8, 1804. The Barton Catalog, No. 40, says it is "The first edition published in Boston. It passed through three editions. In a copy of the third edition, formerly belonging to his son, C. S. Francis, and now in the Lenox library, is the following memorandum of D. Francis, the publisher: 'In 1802 Munroe and Francis issued proposals for publishing an edition of Shakspeare in serial numbers, two to a vol. at 50 cts. per no.—16 numbers [about 3000 copies]. Two editions were printed of the above. A third edition was demanded, and we added the *Poems*, making 18 nos. These editions were all printed from types; of course reset every edition, as stereotype was not then known. The presswork was mostly done by Munroe and Francis personally, on a hand press with inking balls of sheep skin, the ink distributed by the hand. . . . Paper demy-size (19 x 20) costing 5 dolls. a ream; made by hand. Ink and type imported, none worth using being made here.' The title-pages of this edition, which is evidently a copy of the

<sup>1</sup>This is contrary to the Cambridge editors' statement that *lordling's* appears first in an edition of 1806: Cambridge ed., 1892, vol. ix, p. 404.



Edinburgh edition, published in 1792, have vignette portraits and each play is separately paged.”<sup>1</sup>

The same Catalog adds: “The editing was probably done by one of the printers, David Francis, ‘all his life a lover and careful reader of Shakespeare.’” But William Warland Clapp, Jr., in his *Record of the Boston Stage*, 1853, p. 78, asserts: “The notes were rewritten and condensed by Mr. Munroe from an English edition, and subsequently adopted by several publishers.” And, he continues, “The publishers, we are happy to say, were repaid for their arduous labors, and the firm was only dissolved in 1853, by the death of David Francis, which occurred on the 20th of March. He died respected by the residents of a city whose early literature he was instrumental in forming.” This contemporary testimony from a resident of Boston, himself an editor, and one who doubtless was personally acquainted with both Munroe and Francis, has far more weight than the guess, in 1880, of even so reliable a man as James Mascarene Hubbard. Hence it is safe to assume that Mr. Munroe is the American editor of the first Boston edition. Mr. Munroe differs from the Philadelphia editor of 1795 in that he introduces *Observations* at the beginning of each play and a fair sprinkling of footnotes, mainly explanatory and judicial, all selected from preceding editors and commentators, especially Johnson, Steevens, Warburton, Theobald, and Pope, and each carefully assigned to its respective author; for Mr. Munroe’s work was honest, if not original. The sources of the plays are dwelt upon in the introductions. The other comments are culled seemingly with a desire to bestow as much praise and as little blame as possible. Mrs. Lennox and the eighteenth century are

<sup>1</sup>The writer has been unable to secure the said 1792 edition and hence cannot verify the above statement.



fading away, the dawn of the new era glimmers, tho faintly.

A second edition was published in 1807 in Boston by the same publishers with the addition of a ninth volume, altho above it was said the ninth volume was printed for the third edition. There are no notes nor observations on the poems. Each sonnet and poem has its arrangement and title as in the edition of 1740, except two: "Take, O! take thou the sun" and "Let the bird of lowest lay," which is the edition of 1740 and all others that the writer has seen and a volume have no heading, here are called Sonnets and Poems on the Poem.

A third edition was after appeared: "The works of William Shakespeare. 12 & 8. With the corrections and illustrations of Samuel Steevens, and others, revised by J. Reed. 5th London edition. Boston: Blinn, Brown and Parker. 1810-12. Portrait. Illustrations. Contents i-8. Same as in the first edition. "Poems. Illustrations and notes; Poems." According to Reed's Pref. 49. "Each play is illustrated by a wood-cut engraved by Alexander Anderson, the first person in America to have used wood-engraving as a profession." This is the first illustrated edition of Shakespeare in America. The editors are at nothing but accuracy in reprinting Reed's edition, secured from "William S. Shaw, esq. of this town, who owned the copy, when none was to be purchased," "though many errors doubtless have passed, we believe we remained to literals, and venture to say that few, if any words vary from the text we followed, which is the second and last edition, in 21 vols. 8vo." 1803.

A fourth edition, in Philadelphia, were issued: "The Plays of

which edition that the writer has not seen the edition.



William Shakspeare. In seventeen volumes. With the corrections and illustrations of various commentators. To which are added, notes, by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. Revised and augmented by Isaac Reed, esq. with a glossarial index. C. and A. Conrad & Co. Philadelphia, 1809." No portrait, 12mo, 18½ cm. Vols. 2-6, Published by H. Maxwell and T. S. Manning, 1805; 7, 8, *ibid.*, 1806; 9, 10, J. Morgan and T. S. Manning, 1807; *ibid.*, 1808; 12, 16, *ibid.*, 1809; 13-15, 17, and 1, C. and A. Conrad & Co., 1809. This edition is printed from Reed's *Variorum*, 1803, with some changes. According to Verplanck (Barton Cat. 48) the American editor was Mr. Joseph Dennie (1768-1812), one of the leading scholars of his day, in fact the only one for a time who made literature a profession. Born in Boston, graduated from Harvard in 1790, an unsuccessful lawyer, then editor and author in Boston, in 1799 he removed to Philadelphia to accept a clerkship under Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State. Here he remained until his death. Allibone calls him the American Addison and speaks of the "melodious cadence" and "liquid flow" of his sentences.

In order to ascertain what, if any, editorial work was done with the text, *Richard III* has been collated with Reed's 1803. There are many variations in punctuation, those of any importance agreeing with Ayscough's edition, Dublin, 1791. There are also many differences in orthography and contractions of proper names, and a few changes in words, likewise as in Ayscough. A few, altho some of them are not without precedent, are probably typographical errors. Dennie claims but one independent emendation: Act IV, Sc. 4, p. 153: "*Two* deep and dead." In a footnote he says: "I have restored the true reading. . . . The eye of the compositor must have been led astray, by the



frequent repetition of the word *too*, and the ear of the proof-reader could not detect the error. Mr. Ayscough's edition, which deservedly ranks with the most correct, countenances the reading which I have taken the liberty to adopt. *Am. Ed.*" From this collation it seems that Dennie followed, in the main, the text of Reed's variorum, 1803, but made several changes after Ayscough.

Dennie offers some conjectures of his own, both good and bad, and does not hesitate to express his opinion vigorously on the merits of others' suggestions, as in vol. 10, *Henry VI*, part I, Act III, Sc. 1, p. 60, note 9—"the *protector*:" "I have added the article—*the*, for the sake of metre. *Steevens*.' Mr. Steevens is extremely fond of restoring, adding and supplying words for the sake of the *metre*, and very frequently does so to the great injury of our author. This is one of the numerous instances in which his interpolations are unpardonable. He has here sacrificed to his love of metre the strength and boldness of the interrogation.—The emphasis ought certainly to rest on 'Protector,' but Mr. Steevens's amendment has placed it on the article '*the*.' *Am. Ed.*" In vol. 3, *Twelfth Night*, Act II, Sc. 3, p. 209, Dennie makes the following attempt to emend a perfectly lucid line: "The meaning of our author undoubtedly is 'Come and kiss me, sweet and young.' I think it highly probable, that this line has undergone some alteration, which renders it so obscure as not to be understood by any of the Commentators. In place of 'Then come kiss me, *sweet and twenty*,' I would read 'Then come kiss, *sweet one-and-twenty*.' Come, enjoy pleasure while blest with the charms and vigour of youth. *Am. Ed.*" In vol. 11, *Henry VIII*, Act I, Sc. 3, p. 227, he says: "I am satisfied the text is erroneous; Shakspeare must have known, that the *spavin* and *springhalt* were distinct diseases. . . . In place of the alteration made



by Mr. Pope I would prefer to read, 'the spavin, *or*<sup>1</sup> springhalt reign'd among them.' *Am. Ed.*"

Reed's variorum of twenty-one volumes, 1803, is so loaded with notes that they often far over-balance the text. Dennie retains the majority of these notes verbatim, also the introductions and lengthy end remarks, and even that false statement of Steevens: "This Account of the Life of Shakspeare is printed from Mr. Rowe's second edition, in which it had been abridged and altered by himself after its appearance in 1709."<sup>2</sup> Occasionally the notes are abridged, and then the signature is apt to be forgotten. Otherwise every note is carefully accredited to its rightful owner. The American editor has also added many comments of his own, glossarial and illustrative. The original notes are always marked with an asterisk or dagger and signed *Am. Ed.*, the others are numbered. The writer has read every note and finds only one Americanism, that line of comment carried to such an extent, later, by Verplanck: vol. 12, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act III, Sc. 2, p. 105, "as plantage to the moon." "This opinion governs the practice of the generality of the farmers, in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, especially those of German descent, at the present day. *Am. Ed.*"

There is no original annotation on sixteen of the plays: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Measure for Measure*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Winter's Tale*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Mac-*

<sup>1</sup>The Cambridge editors wrongly assign this emendation to Verplanck (Collier's conjecture), vol. v, p. 629, l. 13.

Verplanck, 1847 edition, vol. i, *Henry VIII*, p. 17: "the spavin *And* springhalt" and in the notes, p. 54 f., Verplanck discourses at length on the subject, favoring the reading of *And*.

<sup>2</sup>The truth is "This Account of the Life" is exactly the same in both editions of Rowe, 1709 and 1714. The abridgment and alteration were made by Pope and first appeared in vol. i, pp. xxv-xli, of his edition of 1725.



*beth, King John, Richard II, Henry IV* (parts 1, 2), *Hamlet, Timon of Athens, and Pericles*. The editor has commented most voluminously on *Troilus and Cressida, Richard III, and Henry V*.

It is interesting to observe the difference between the two Philadelphia editions. In 1795 we are informed that the American public cares nothing for annotation ; in 1805–9 the text is almost lost under the mass of comment. Nor had any previous edition in America shown so much editorial work, both in text and annotation. Many of the emendations and suggestions are unnecessary, to be sure, some are poor. In the notes, Mr. Dennie,—and we have no doubt it was Mr. Dennie, for what other scholar handled the pen in Addisonian style in Philadelphia or in any other city of the United States from 1805–9 ?—in the notes, Mr. Dennie has shown himself an independent, sensible thinker and a clear and graceful writer, who, however, never ventured beyond the field of verbal criticism.

In Boston, in 1813, next appeared two editions of Shakespeare, one in six volumes, the other complete in one volume, both printed by the same workmen and from the same type : 1. “The Plays of William Shakspeare. In six volumes. Printed from the text of Isaac Reed, Esq. Boston : Published by Charles Williams ; and by Joseph Delaplaine, Philadelphia. J. T. Buckingham, Printer, 1813.” Portrait, the Felton, engraved by J. Boyd. 24mo, 13½ cm. Each volume has an engraved title-page with a vignette and “Published by Charles Williams. Boston & Joseph Delaplaine Philadelphia, 1813 ” (see Barton Cat., 52).—2. “The Plays of William Shakspeare. Complete in one volume. Accurately printed from the text of Isaac Reed, Esq. Boston : Published by Charles Williams ; and by Joseph Delaplaine, Philadelphia. Joseph T. Buckingham, Printer, 1813.” 8vo, 22½ cm. The engraved title-page has “Published by Charles Wil-



liams, Boston & Eastburn, Kirk & Co. New York, 1813." The printer's postscript is dated February, 1814. Both editions are entirely without introductions or annotation of any kind. They claim to be accurately printed from Reed's text, but a collation of *Richard III*, alone, brings to light over one hundred and seventy-five deviations in punctuation, orthography, contractions, etc., not counting repetitions of any one change. Only one variation in words has been observed: Williams' ed., Act IV, Sc. 1, p. 548, "on *my* peril;"—Reed's 1803, vol. XIV, p. 427, "on *thy* peril." If this be accurate printing, one might well ask what would the contrary be!

Not until 1817–18 were Shakespeare's plays published in New York: \* "The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare Revised by I. Reed, Esq. New York: H. Durell 10 vols. 8vo. 1817–18." A copy of this edition is in the Birmingham Shakespeare Memorial Library.

Again in New York in 1821 appeared:<sup>1</sup> "The dramatic works of William Shakespeare in 10 v. With the corrections and illustrations of Johnson, Steevens, and others. Revised by I. Reed, New York: Collins and Hannay, 1821." 12mo, 19½ cm. Each volume is embellished with a steel engraving by P. Maverick, Durand, etc. Is this another issue of the 1817–18 edition? A second edition of the same was published in 1823, another in 1824, and again in 1826, 12mo, 18½ cm., all by Collins & Hannay, New York.<sup>2</sup> Is this edition a copy of the third Boston edition, 1810–12? At least volume ten of the 1823 edition is an exact reprint of volume IX, 1812, which is the only one of the latter edition that has been seen by the writer. It is copied word for word, note for note, even to the Addenda,

<sup>1</sup> The writer has seen only vols. 8 and 9 of this edition.

<sup>2</sup> The writer has seen the 1823 and 1826 editions, not that of 1824.



except that volume x omits the poems of the 1812 volume. The footnotes of the other volumes, fortunately comparatively few, were selected and abridged from Reed's variorum, 1803, and are assigned, as a rule, to their rightful owners. The *Observations* preceding each play are usually copied verbatim from the same source. However, about one-fourth of them show a process of selection from both the introductory and end notes. There is no original annotation. A collation of the text of *Richard III*, 1823 ed., with that of Reed's variorum, 1803, from which it is eventually taken, shows in punctuation, capitalization, orthography, etc., more than 180 variations, on the whole unimportant. Characteristic of the 1823 and 1826 editions is the contraction of *the* with the following word. The differences in words are very few, and these may be set down to careless proof-reading and the printer's charge. Certainly there was no editorial work worthy of the name.

In 1835 Dearborn published in New York: "The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, with the corrections and illustrations of Dr. Johnson, G. Steevens, and others. Revised by Isaac Reed, Esq. In six volumes. New York: George Dearborn, Publisher, 1835," 8vo, 20½ cm. It is the 1821 edition of Collins & Hannay of New York, printed in six volumes insted of ten, with the contents exactly the same: I. The *Author's Life* by Rowe; Dr. Johnson's *Preface*; Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*; the plays in the order of the 1821 edition and addenda. Only the steel engravings of the 1821, '23, '24 and '26 editions have been omitted. The observations prefixed to each play, the occasional end-notes, the selected footnotes are reproduced verbatim from the same edition. In truth, it is so exactly copied that the editor is misled into making false statements: 1835 edition, vol. 6, pages 346, 378, 380, 425, etc., refer to "Illustrations, vol. x." But there is no volume ten. How-



ever, in four places the number has been properly corrected to read "Vol. 6," pages 451, 499, etc. The text of *Richard III* follows the 1821, 1823 model even to its mistakes.

Here is found, then, no editorial work, nor is there any, probably, in the following : \* "The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare Harper's Fine Edition. Revised by I. Reed, Esq. New York 6 vols. 8vo, 1839," in the Birmingham Library, which must be only another edition of this 1821 Collins & Hannay edition. For Harper's Fine Edition,—“Numerous Steel Engravings. The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, with the corrections and illustrations of Dr. Johnson, G. Steevens, and others. Revised by Isaac Reed, Esq., in six volumes. New York : Harper & Brothers, 1846,” 12mo, 19½ cm.,—doubtless the same as the above, is but a reprint of the 1835 Dearborn edition and hence indirectly of the 1821-'23 editions. In every deviation given above the 1846 edition corresponds to the 1821-'23 editions except that in a few insignificant differences in orthography and abbreviations it follows the 1835 edition. Even the inappropriate references to volume ten and the four corrections to “volume six” of the Dearborn edition are faithfully reproduced. The pagination in all these editions is the same as in the 1821 edition, and the 1846 edition has also the same numbering of leaves as the 1835 edition, so that a reference to one holds good for the other. Harper's 1846 issue has the outline illustrations by Harvey, Roetzsche, etc., taken from Harper's 1841 edition of Singer.

In 1823 was started in Philadelphia another long series of editions, still from Reed's variorum of 1803, but through the medium of a ten-volume edition of the same year : “The Plays of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late George Steevens, Esq., with glossarial notes, and a sketch of the life of Shaks-



peare in eight volumes. Philadelphia: Published by M'Carty & Davis, 1830, being a second edition of that published in 1823." The engraved title-page reads, "Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea & McCarty & Davis 1823." Plates, 32mo, 12 cm. In 1824 the same publishers brought out in Philadelphia the same text and notes in two volumes, 8vo, 20½ cm., illustrated with engravings by George B. Ellis from the designs of R. Smirk, R. A.

In 1825, King published in New York the same two-volume edition, minus the Ellis engravings: "The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, from the text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed; with glossarial notes, his life, and a Critique on his genius and writings, by Nicholas Rowe, Esq. New-York. Published by S. King, 1825. Portraits, engraved by Maria A. and Emily Maverick," 4°, 25 cm. According to the Birmingham Library catalog the same was again issued in 1828. Again in 1829, the same appeared under the auspices of the Harpers: "The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late George Steevens, Esq., with a Glossary, and notes, and a sketch of the Life of Shakspeare. In two volumes. New-York: Printed and published by J. & J. Harper, 1829. 8vo, 22 cm. Portraits. Also every play is illustrated by a wood-cut." There follow:—

The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare, from the text of Johnson and Steevens. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Printed for Thomas Wardle. 1831. 8vo, 20½ cm.

\*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare from the text of Steevens. Hartford, Ct.: Silas Andrus, 2 vols. 8vo. 1832. In the Birmingham Library and presumably the same as the above 1831 edition.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late George Steevens, Esq., with a glossary, and notes, and a sketch of the life of Shakspeare. In two volumes. Hartford, Ct.: Andrus and Judd, 1836." 8vo, 22½ cm. Plate medal.



\* The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare from the text of Johnson and Steevens. Philadelphia : T. Wardle, 1 vol., duo, 1836. In the Birmingham Library, doubtless the 1831 Wardle edition in one volume instead of two.

\* The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late George Stevens. With a glossary and notes, and a sketch of the life of the poet. With 40 illustrations. In 2 v. Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1850. 2 v. in 1. Portrait, the Chandos. 8°. Contents I, Life ; the 37 plays ; Glossary (Barton Catalog, 79). This is probably the same as the Harper 1829 issue.

\* The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare. From the text of Johnson and Steevens. With a complete glossary. Complete in one volume. Illustrated. New York : Leavitt and Allen. 1852. xii, 1062 pp. 8°. Contains Life by Rowe (Barton Catalog, 84).

\* The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare. With life, glossary, and poems, 42 illustrations on steel. In 8 v. Philadelphia : J. B. Smith and Co. (1855?) Portraits. 16°. There are neither introductions nor notes (Barton Catalog, 95). Does this edition belong to this series?

\* The complete works of William Shakspeare, dramatic and poetic : the text from the corrected copy of the late G. Steevens. With glossarial notes, and a memoir, by A. Chalmers. 40 illustrations. Complete in one volume. New York : Miller, Orton and Milligan. 1856. 7—988 pp. Portrait, the Chandos. 8°. (Barton Catalog, 98.) Probably the Harper's 1829 edition.

These thirteen, possibly fourteen, editions are treated together, because a collation of the text of *Richard III* and of the entire body of notes proves that they have a common source: "The Plays of William Shakspeare, Accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late George Steevens, Esq., with glossarial notes. In ten volumes. London : Printed for J. Johnson, etc. 1803." 16mo, 16 cm. The advertisement to this edition says the text is carefully printed from that of Reed's twenty-one volume variorum and the notes are by *W. H.*, whoever he may be. The collation proves that these editions were not all copied directly from Reed's ten-volumes (of course those editions not seen by the writer must be omitted from this discussion). The Philadelphia text of 1824 and 1830 is reprinted from that of 1823, for its every variation is reproduced. The New York 1829 issue is copied from the 1824 edition, for it has



not only the same differences, but also a few changes in the notes found only in the 1824 volumes. The Hartford edition of 1836 is an exact reprint of the 1829 edition, following even its pagination, omitting only the illustrations. The 1824, 1829, and 1836 editions contain the typographical errors in the notes of the 1823, 1830 edition. The 1825 and the 1831 editions, however, share in none of these variations; but in every case follow the source, each having been taken directly from the Reed's 1803 edition. Neither does the one evidence any dependence upon the other, the 1825 edition being carelessly printed and abounding in typographical errors. Shakespeare's *Life* in the Philadelphia 1823, 1830 edition is a short sketch, abridged and condensed from Chalmers' *Life*, prefixed to Chalmers' variorum of 1805. The 1824, 1829, 1830, and 1836 editions reprint the same. Instead, the 1825 and 1831 copies have Rowe's *Life*, as in the 1803 edition. All have retained the short notes of Johnson and Steevens at the end of each play and the glossarial footnotes of *W. H.* as found in Reed's ten-volume edition 1803,—all, that is to say, except the 1825 edition, which omits every end-note, and the 1831 edition, which, seemingly for lack of space, omits the end-notes from *Merchant of Venice*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth*, *Richard II*, *Antony and Cleopatra*; and *Titus Andronicus*, and *Collins' Song*, after *Cymbeline*. In a very few instances, only, has the 1823 edition omitted an unimportant footnote, wherein it is sure to be followed by the 1824, 1829, 1830, and 1836 editions. Very rarely there occurs an abridgment or a correction. The careless proof-reading of the 1825 edition is obvious, also, in the notes. Only in the 1825 edition are any new notes inserted, and these are valueless.

The 1829 and 1836 editions have also appended a glossary, and all have followed the 1803 ten-volume edition in placing the numbers of the acts and scenes at the top of each page,



an admirable time-saving aid for reference, first found in Blair's Edinburgh edition of 1769. The number of the act had often before headed the page (even the first American edition of 1795 has that), but to the McCarty and Davis edition of Philadelphia 1823 is due the credit of introducing into America the printing of the number of the scene at the top of the page.

Finally, to recapitulate, it may be said these thirteen or fourteen editions have a common source, Reed's ten-volume 1803 edition, and fall into groups, the 1824, 1829, 1830, and 1836 issues depending upon the 1823 edition, the 1825 and 1831, separately, upon Reed's. And in none is there any editorial work, beyond a slight effort to rectify errors in the notes.

Up to 1831 only the Reed's Johnson and Steevens text had been printed in America. But in this year an innovation was made, and New York started another long series from Singer's text: \* "*The Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakspeare* with Notes by S. W. Singer and Life by C. Symmons, (New York). 2 vols. 8vo, 1831." And again in 1834: \* "*The Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakspeare* with Notes, etc., by S. W. Singer, and Life by C. Symmons. New York: G. Dearborn. 2 vols. 8vo, 1834."

The above are both in the Birmingham Library. In 1835 James Conner brought out a one-volume edition: "*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare*. From the text of the corrected copies of Steevens and Malone, with a life of the poet, by Charles Symmons, D. D. The seven ages of man; embellished with elegant engravings. And a glossary. Complete in one volume. New-York: Published by James Conner. 1835." 16mo, 17 cm., xx; 844 pp. Plate of medal. Contents: Life by Symmons [abridged from that in Chiswick ed.]; commendatory verses; *Preface*



of the players; *Seren Ages of Man* (with wood-cuts); the plays in the same order as the Chiswick edition. Glossary. All annotation and preliminary remarks are omitted and the print is objectionably small. The Birmingham Library has also: \* "*The Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakespeare* with Notes by S. W. Singer and Life by C. Symmons. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo, 1837," and the same dated \* 1839.

What is probably the same was published again in 1841: *The Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakespeare*, with notes, original and selected, and introductory remarks to each play, by Samuel Weller Singer, F. S. A., and a life of the poet, by Charles Symmons, D. D. In two volumes. New-York: Published by Harper & Brothers, 1841," 8vo, 24½ cm. This is a reprint, with a few changes, of the Chiswick edition of 1826. *The Seren Ages* are omitted, the *Preliminary Remarks* and end-notes are retained verbatim, but many of the footnotes are abridged. There are no original notes and there is no evidence of any textual criticism. There are nineteen illustrations in outline by Harvey, Retzsche, Northcote, etc., after the style of those in Valpy, 1832-34. The engraving to Hamlet and the engraved title-page in volume II bear the date 1837. In volume I are to be seen traces of an erased 1837 on the two engraved title-pages. The *Miscellaneous Poems* have been added: *Venus and Adonis*; *The Rape of Lucrece*; *Sonnets*; *A Lover's Complaint*; (all with scattering footnotes selected from Malone and Steevens); *The Passionate Pilgrim* (without notes). These poems have evidently been reprinted from Valpy's fifteen volume edition, 1832-34, judging by the order of stanzas in the *Passionate Pilgrim* and the peculiar manner of signature at the end, "Wm. Shake-speare," which are the same in both.

In 1843 Harper issued another edition of the same, but



in a misleading manner. It was published weekly at twenty-five cents a number and advertised on the first title-page as, "The only perfect edition. To be completed in eight numbers, with nineteen illustrations . . . etchings on steel." It is in every way, even to pagination, the same as the 1841 edition above described. The edition has one peculiarity: the weekly numbers are not complete in themselves but lack a few scenes or an act which is found in the next issue, as if to insure the sale of the following copies.

The Barton Catalog No. 74 reports a volume published in 1843 in Hartford, which is doubtless merely a reprint of Conner's 1835 edition: \* "*The dramatic works of William Shakspeare*. From the text of the corrected copies of Steevens and Malone, with a life of the poet, by C. Symmons. The seven ages of man; embellished with elegant engravings. And a glossary. Hartford: W. Andrus. 1843. xx, 844 pp. Plate of medal. Sm. 12°, Contents. Life; Verses; Preface of the players; Seven ages of man (with wood-cuts); Plays." And the Birmingham Library records another dated 1846: \* "*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare with Life*, by C. Symmons (Hartford, [U. S.]): Andrus. I. vol. duo. 1846."

It is safe to infer, then, that in this series of nine editions, reprinted, more or less correctly, from the Chiswick of 1826, with its text founded upon Steevens and Malone and mutilated by Singer, there is no original editorial work.

Of this series, in so far as it is founded upon the same edition, and yet outside of it by virtue of its acknowledged editorial work, is an edition of 1836: "*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare*; with a life of the poet, and notes, original and selected. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and company. 1836. 7 vols. Illustrated. 8vo, 22 cm." "The accomplished scholar" mentioned in the Advertisement (vol. I, p. 6), who prepared the work for the press anonymously,



was Oliver William Bourn Peabody (1799–1848), a Harvard graduate and successively lawyer, editor, professor, and Unitarian preacher. It was during his residence in Boston and while editing *The North American Review* in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Alexander H. Everett, that he made this his first venture into the editorial field. This edition, rather than Richard Grant White's of twenty years later, deserves to be called epoch-making, for the publishers claim to follow, in general, the readings of the folio of 1623. Up to this date, in America, editors had paid no attention to the original sources, but had been content to reprint Reed's Johnson-Steevens or Singer's Malone-Steevens "accurately" or with some changes by aspiring critics. That the text, on the whole, remains Singer's and that the original work is meager, in no wise impairs the fact that here, for the first time in America, is sounded the true note for a correct editing of the Shakespearian text.

The writer has not regarded it necessary to collate Peabody's text with that of Singer, but has accepted the former's own statement of the emendations made. The avowed textual emendations number scarcely two dozen in all ; and eight, or about one-third of them, do *not* follow the folio, although they would better have done so. Throughout the text Peabody writes *ed*, instead of 'd, in the past participle, following the Magnet edition of 1834–35, the first to pursue this course. Of the few conjectural readings offered, no one is original, altho they are not assigned to any author. The *Preliminary Remarks* and the footnotes are taken from Singer, often abridged, occasionally condensed. Those not from Singer are nearly all from the Variorum of 1821 and, as a rule, without signature, so that a laborious collation is necessary to determine which comments are original. The writer performed this labor only to find Peabody's own notes comprise an exceedingly small number and deal almost



exclusively with textual criticism. In abridging, he studiously omits any derogatory personal criticism of other commentators. Such omissions are interesting as showing the upward tendency to a higher plane of criticism than that of personal vituperation which flourished in the eighteenth century. When he condenses,—and it is here that Peabody is at his best,—there is a great gain over Singer in clearness and directness: *e. g.*, vol. 2, p. 222, note 2, “This term was anciently synonymous with friend; cf. Singer, vol. 3, p. 66, “This word was anciently applied to those of the same sex who had an esteem for each other,” etc. The choice of notes seems arbitrary, for easy words are defined, difficult ones passed over and vice versa. Some typographical (?) errors are to be noted: vol. VII, p. 131, note 4. “The quarto reads *says*” when in fact the quarto reads *sees*.

Peabody's chief service as an editor lies in the line of textual criticism, and his merit therein consists not in what he did, so much as in what he aimed to do: restore original readings. Hence from this avowed policy with reference to the text, Peabody must be regarded as the father of textual criticism in America. According to the Barton Catalog, No. 68: “This edition was reprinted in 1837 and 1839 and frequently since without change save in date and publishers.” The Birmingham Library has \* “*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare*, Phillips and Sampson, Boston [U. S.], 7 vols. 8vo. 1848,” which is doubtless also a reprint of the 1836 edition. Another edition appeared in 1849: \* “*The dramatic works of William Shakspeare; with a life of the poet, and notes, original and selected*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1849. 7 v. Portrait 8°, with the same contents as the first edition of 1836” (Barton Catalog, 78).

The Birmingham Library reports a similar edition of 1849–51, but of eight volumes. What is probably the same came out in 1850–57, every play illustrated with a beautiful



engraving, and prefixed to volume VIII Mrs. Siddons as the tragic muse, from the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The title-page of volumes I and II reads: "*The dramatic works of William Shakspeare; illustrated: embracing a life of the poet, and notes, original and selected.*" Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1850. 4°, 26 pp. The title pages of the other volumes omit the word *dramatic*. The third volume is dated 1854, the remainder 1857. The only difference in volumes I-VII from the edition of 1836 is in a slight variation in the *Advertisement*, which closes thus: "in its combination of accuracy and elegance, they [the publishers] flatter themselves this will be found to be the most splendid edition ever presented to the American public." Neither was this an empty boast, for up to that time no edition could compare with it in elegance. Volume VIII, "*The poetical works of William Shakspeare: with notes illustrative and explanatory; together with a supplementary notice to the Roman plays.*" Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and company. 1857," is copied almost verbatim from volume six of Knight's Pictorial edition of *Shakspeare*, London, 1841 [or 1838-43] without one word of acknowledgment.

How slavishly Knight is followed may be seen on p. 155, Note 1. "See *Cymbeline*, Illustrations of Act II," but in Peabody there are no *Illustrations* to which to refer. There is one emendation of the text: Peabody, vol. 8, p. 14, "Like a *dive-dapper*," cf. Knight, vol. 6, *Venus and Adonis*, p. 10, "Like a *dive-dapper*;" and thereon Peabody makes his only original note in the entire volume (p. 14, 2): "This is generally printed *dive-dapper* without any authority." But Peabody is mistaken, for the edition of *Venus and Adonis* of 1600 (besides others) has *Dire-dapper*. About one-third of Knight's note on Sonnet CXXV, p. 86, is omitted, and some unimportant changes in punctuation are made, otherwise



Knight is exactly reprinted. This volume of poems 8°, 20½ cm., was reissued in the same year, the only difference being the substitution of the Chandos portrait engraved by McCarty for that of Mrs. Siddons as Tragic Muse.

Perhaps this edition was completed in 1854 and the volumes dated 1857 were later reprints therefrom, for the Barton Catalog 92 reports a complete set of eight volumes dated 1854: \* "The dramatic works of William Shakspeare; with a life of the poet, and notes, original and selected. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and co. 1854. 8 v. Portrait, the Chandos. 8°. Contents, 1-7. Same as in the first edition [1836] 8. Poetical works. This edition seems to be printed from the plates used for the edition of 1836. A portrait has been inserted and the engravings in that edition have been omitted."

To which series a certain six-volume edition, published in 1838, belongs, the writer does not know, having as yet had no opportunity to examine it: \* "*The dramatic works of Shakspeare*, Embellished with plates and vignettes. In 6 v. Philadelphia: T. T. Ash and H. F. Anners, 1838. Portrait, the Chandos. 32°. There are neither introductions nor notes. The plays are independently paged" (Barton Cat., No. 69).

Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786-1870) was the next American editor of Shakespeare. He was born in New York City, graduated from Columbia as the youngest of her alumni, was lawyer, professor, author, and, with William Cullen Bryant and Robert C. Sands, joint editor of the *Talisman*, from 1827, for three years. The title page of his edition reads: "*Shakespeare's Plays*: with his life. Illustrated with many hundred wood-cuts, executed by H. W. Hewet, after designs by Kenny Meadows, Harvey, and others. Edited by Gulian C. Verplanck, L. L. D., with critical introductions, notes, etc., original and selected. In



three volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1847. Portraits. 4°, 27 cm." "The first number of the parts in which this edition was published, appeared in 1844, H. W. Hewet publisher and engraver of the wood-cuts. It is an imitation of Knight's Pictorial edition, the most of its illustrations being used, with others of an inferior quality. Some of the covers to the original numbers read 'The illustrations designed, selected and arranged by Rob. W. Weir.' The title was afterward changed to 'Harper's illuminated and illustrated Shakespeare'" (Barton Catalog, 76). The text is founded upon Collier, but with numerous changes made in agreement with the sound principle, advocated by Knight and Peabody, of adherence to the first folio. In a few instances only, has Verplanck deviated from this rule to follow Dyce's or others' suggestions, or his own judgment. In an original way, however, Verplanck seems to have done next to nothing. The only new reading offered is in *Troilus and Cressida*, vol. 3, Act V, Sc. 3: "For we would give much, to so count violent thefts." And Richard Grant White, edition 1, vol. 2, p. 86, calls attention to the fact that Verplanck first restored the old word, "Cherubin," in Act I, Sc. 2, of the *Tempest*. Still, how many changes were made may be inferred from Verplanck's own statement in the Introductory Remarks to *Hamlet*, vol. 3, p. 9: "He [Verplanck] has departed from Mr. Collier's text in more than twenty places, chiefly by restoring the old folio readings, where Mr. Collier has preferred those of the quartos."

The numerous notes, unsigned, are not placed at the foot of the page, as in former editions, but inconveniently collected at the end of each play. and, worse still, unnumbered. They were selected principally from the Variorum of 1821 and from Singer, 1826. Collier and Knight were also freely drawn upon and Verplanck has taken bodily nearly every thing, even to the illustrations, found in Knight's Pictorial



edition. Verplanck, however, has not been so slavish in his methods as Peabody, but has shown some independence, if not originality, and a clear and virile mind that breathes at times thro' the dreary wastes of European criticism like a fresh western wind. The several notes due to Verplanck deal generally with Americanisms and betray the lawyer. See notes on *Julius Caesar*, Act V, Sc. 1, vol. 3, p. 49: "Warn was the old word, both technical and colloquial, for *summon*, of which the English editors give various examples from old writers, as of an obsolete word. It is, however, in the United States, one of those words brought over by the generation next after Shakespeare's, which has preserved its ancient sense, especially in New England, there *town meetings*, *jurymen*, etc., . . . are still said to be 'legally warned.'" Also Notes on *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, Sc. 2, vol. 3, p. 61: "They traveled in pairs, says Barette, that one might be a check on the other; a shrewd piece of policy, which has been adopted by our American Shakers."

Imitating Knight, Verplanck has prefixed to each play voluminous *Introductory Remarks*, re-cast from those of preceding editors, containing besides "many of the more curious notices of costume, arms, architecture, etc., contributed to the English Pictorial edition by Mr. Planché, some brief critical notices of their several characteristics of style, versification, design, and of tone and colour of thought" (vol. I, p. ix) and a dissertation on the chronology of each, wherein the editor sets forth his views on the nature of Shakespeare's genius. He does not believe that it sprang, Minerva-like, into being fully developed, but that it grew and unfolded with time and cultivation. This opinion, in direct opposition to that held by Rowe and his followers, was not original with Verplanck, but first suggested by Johnson. In the *Introductory Remarks* to the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (vol. 2, p. 5), Verplanck says: "Johnson (probably on the



authority of his friend, Sir J. Reynolds) has well replied to the objection raised by Upton to Shakespeare's right of authorship to this piece [*Two Gentlemen of Verona*], founded on the difference of style and manner from his other plays, by comparing this difference to the variation of manner between Raphael's first pictures and those of his ripened talent." Altho Pope, Dryden, and Malone, in common with Coleridge and the German school held to the same doctrine of growth, still Verplanck seems to believe in his own originality. He certainly did dwell upon the theory to a much greater extent than any of his predecessors. "As the part of the work," he says, "is that which has most exercised the author, and on which he has bestowed most study and thought, it is of course, that part of his own Shakespearean Literature which he regards as a conclusion" (vol. 1, p. x).

It is not surprising to find Verplanck, in the manner of his hobby, explaining away inequalities and other difficulties in a play by calling it a revised production, revised in later years, and claiming that the quartos contain the youthful efforts, the folios the refining touch of the master's hand. Thus *Henry V* goes from quartos to folio with thoro revision and many additions (Int. Rem., vol. 1, p. 6). *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Int. Rem., vol. 2, p. 6), *Romeo and Juliet* (Int. Rem., vol. 3, p. 5), etc., were early productions, now revised and improved. A small volume could be filled with Verplanck's comments in support of this theory, but an extract must suffice: "Its [*Richard III's*] diction and its construction are in a transition state between those of his earlier works and those of *Henry IV* and the *Merchant of Venice*. From these indications, I should not hesitate to conclude that it was written soon after the two parts of the *Tempest* and before *Henry IV*, *King John*, or even the



first form of *Romeo and Juliet*. Thus we may here trace the varied, but nevertheless progressive development of the Poet's mind; the three parts of *Henry VI* successively rising each above the other, and preparing us for the higher dramatic excellence of *Richard III*, far superior to any of them, yet superior, chiefly, in the same class and kind; while *Richard III* again, in Clarence's dream and other scattered passages, shows the dawn of that poetic splendour, and the early gushings of that flood of thought, which was thenceforward to enrich all the Poet's dramatic conceptions" (*Rich. III*, Int. Rem., vol. 1, p. 6).

Following the folio, Verplanck preserves the general division of comedies, histories and tragedies; but, deviating from that authority, seeks to group the plays "according to the several progressive stages of their author's style, taste, and general cast of thought. In this way, the growth of the author's mind, the ripening of his taste, his formation of diction and of versification for himself, may all be made more prominent, so as to be perceptible even to the careless reader" (vol. 1, p. xiii).

As an editor Verplanck far surpasses Peabody. His edition, altho cumbersome in arrangement, (notes unnumbered and unsigned, collected at the end of the plays, plays separately paged, etc.), is based upon sound principles. The author classes himself with the subjective critics and avows that he is a transmitter of the "higher Shakespearian criticism in which this century has been so prolific" (vol. 1, p. ix), a disciple of Coleridge, Schlegel, Mrs. Jameson, Hallam, etc. His greatest merit in his own eyes is to have developed at length the doctrine of the gradual development of the wonderful mind of Shakespeare.

Verplanck's work was favorably regarded by his contemporaries. In 1851 Hudson calls him "a critic of rare taste and judgment" (*Hudson*, vol. 1, p. 4). Whipple in the



same year says: "His introductions to the plays are really additions to the higher Shakspearian criticism, not so much for any peculiar felicity in the analysis of character, as in the view, partly bibliographical, partly philosophical, which he takes of the gradual development of Shakspeare's mind and the different stages of its growth. It is the first connected attempt to trace out Shakspeare's intellectual history and character. . . . In this portion of his labors, Mr. Verplanck has shown a solidity and independence of judgment, and a power of clearly appreciating almost every opinion from which he dissents, which give to his own views the fairness and weight of judicial decisions. His defects as a critic are principally those which come from the absence in part of sensitive sympathies, and of the power of sharp, minute, exhaustive analysis. He is of the school of Hallam, a school in which judgment and generalization rule with such despotic control, that the heart and imagination hardly have fair play and strongly marked individualities too often subside into correct generalities" (*Essays and Reviews* by Edwin P. Whipple, 1851, vol. II, pp. 215 and 216). Richard Grant White in his *Shakspeare's Scholar*, 1854, p. 80, thus justly sums up Verplanck's merits: "Mr. Verplanck's labors were more eclectic than speculative. Forming his text rather upon the labors of Mr. Collier, Mr. Knight, and Mr. Dyce, than upon original investigation and collation, and exercising a taste naturally fine, and disciplined by studies in a wide field of letters, he produced an edition of Shakspeare, which with regard to texts and comments, is, perhaps, preferable to any other which exists."

In 1848, in New York, there appeared a reprint of the Harness edition of Shakspeare: "*The complete Works of William Shakspeare*: with a glossary, and a memoir of the author, by the Rev. William Harness, M. A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, and minister of St. Pancras Parochial



Chapel, Regent Square. With a portrait from the Chandos picture, engraved by Cochran, and forty beautiful illustrations, from designs by Smirke, Westall, Corbould, Stephanoff, and Wright. To which is appended a supplement, comprising the seven dramas which have been ascribed to his pen, but which are not included with his writings in modern editions. Edited, with notes, and an introduction to each play, by William Gilmore Simms, Esq. In two volumes. London: Scott, Webster & Geary. New York: George F. Cooledge & Brother. 4°, 25½ cm." The title-page to the supplement reads: "A supplement to the plays of William Shakespeare: comprising the seven dramas, which have been ascribed to his pen, but which are not included with his writings in modern editions, namely: The two noble kinsmen, The London prodigal, Thomas Lord Cromwell, Sir John Oldcastle, The Puritan, or the widow of Watling Street, The Yorkshire Tragedy, The tragedy of Locrine. Edited, with notes, and an introduction to each play, by William Gilmore Simms, Esq. The first American edition. New York: Published by George F. Cooledge & Brother. 1848. 4°, 25½ cm."

The first part follows the Harness edition, London, 1825, with the omission of part of the appendix and Rowe's and Pope's prefaces. The order of the plays is the same, but the poems have been transferred from the beginning to the end of the plays. The introductions and short end-notes have been retained, but all the footnotes have been omitted. Instead of the portraits is the Chandos picture, engraved by J. Cochran. Poor wood-cuts have been made from the steel engravings of the Harness 1833 London edition.

In the supplement by Simms the illustrations are taken from Knight's *Pictorial edition*. *The two Noble Kinsmen* is reprinted from the same and all the introductions and also the footnotes to *The two Noble Kinsmen* are founded upon



those of Knight. The remaining plays have evidently been taken from Malone's *Supplement*, 1778, from which some of the signed notes have been copied, whence others, merely abridged, have been taken without credit. The original work of Simms deals with textual and verbal criticism, except in the *General Introduction*, where he states his reasons for printing these doubtful plays. Altho he expressly says his object is "not to assert, or even to assume, that the writings in question are those of Shakespeare, or so to argue as in any wise to give a direction to the question which denies their legitimacy, but simply to enable the reader to be sure that he loses nothing, even of what is puerile and immature, in the writings of so great a master (*Gen'l Int.*, p. 12, vol. 2), still he himself evidently believes them to be largely genuine youthful productions and evidences of the intellectual growth of the great master's mind. "We are pleased to see how, feebly, step by step, he has continued to struggle, onward and upward, until, from awkwardness, he arrives at grace; from weakness, he has grown to strength; from a crude infancy, he has risen into absolute majesty and manhood" (*Gen'l Int.*, vol. 2, p. 4). Thus he ranks himself under Verplanck's banner. This William Gilmore Simms, born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1806, was one of the most popular and prolific writers of his day. He altered Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* for the stage and delivered a course of three lectures on *The Moral Character of Hamlet*, which placed him among the philosophical critics. His editorial work was of no special worth.

In 1850, J. O. Halliwell began an edition of Shakespeare in New York, in numbers, which was soon discontinued. Why, is explained in the following preface. This preface to a volume of comedies published in London in 1854 is here reproduced entire, principally because of its rarity, only



twenty copies having been printed, and because of its reference to one of our esteemed American editors :

“The publication of the present work commenced in numbers in New York, in the year 1850, and the first number was also published in October, 1850, by Mr. Vickers, of Holywell Street, London, the latter issue being wholly unauthorized by me, as may be seen from a correspondence which appeared in the *Times* in that month. The *Comedies* were completed in the following year (1851), and soon afterwards a portion of the *Histories* was printed, when, owing to the work being pirated by other parties, and the fact of its original publication in the United States precluding any expectation of obtaining redress, it was discontinued.

“I have only the opportunity of issuing *twenty* copies in the present form, by attaching a title-page and these few lines to that number of sets of the *Comedies* obtained from the original publisher ; and although there is much in the following notes and introductions I could desire to elaborate or alter, yet I somewhat regret my inability to make a more extensive publication, not merely from the fact of the pirated edition by Messrs. John Tallis & Co. being replete with oversights not to be ascribed to myself, but also because many of my notes have been almost literally adopted by an American editor,—the Rev. Mr. Hudson,—without the slightest acknowledgment. The system of editors of Shakespeare adopting the notes of their predecessors, and availing themselves of the results of their reading, as if it were their own, cannot be too strongly deprecated. Whatever is worth taking does, at least, also deserve a line of recognition.

“Any student of Shakespeare into whose hands a copy of the present volume may chance to be placed, will particularly oblige by considering it to contain all really belonging to me to be found partially repeated in the pirated cheap editions hitherto issued under my name ; especially in that published in three volumes of this size, by Messrs. John Tallis & Co.

J. O. Halliwell.

Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill. 3rd February, 1854.”

The pirated edition has the following title page : “The complete works of Shakspeare, revised from the original editions with historical and analytical introductions to each play, also notes explanatory and critical, and a life of the poet : by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A., member of the council of the Shakspeare society, etc., etc. ; and other eminent commentators. Elegantly and appropriately illustrated by portraits engraved on steel, from daguerreotypes of the greatest and most intellectual actors of the age, taken



in the embodiment of the varied and life-like characters of our great national poet. Printed and published by John Tallis and company, London and New York [1850-'53]. 4 v. 4°, 28 cm."

It was finished in four volumes by Henry Tyrrell, is a London edition, and therefore has nothing to do with American criticism.

The reverend gentleman so unfavorably mentioned in the above preface by Halliwell was Henry Norman Hudson (1814-1886), born in Vermont and bred in early life as farmer and coach-maker. Finally, in 1840, he succeeded in completing a course of study at Middleton and afterward taught school in Kentucky and Alabama. There is a story current that in Kentucky, thro' the influence of a New England woman, also a teacher, he was first instigated, at the age of thirty years, to read Shakespeare. Hudson, however, unconsciously contradicts this report in his edition of Shakespeare, 1851, vol. 3, p. 142, in the Introduction to *As you like it*, when he writes, "Rosalind was in love, as I have been with the comedy these forty years." This is, of course, an exaggeration. Hudson was, in 1851, but thirty-seven years of age; still it implies a life-long acquaintanceship with Shakespeare.

After leaving the South, he edited for a few years the *New York Churchman*, later the *American Church Monthly*. He was ordained priest in the Episcopal church in Litchfield, Conn., 1858-1860, went as chaplain during the Civil War and finally became Professor of Shakespeare in Boston University. In 1844 he began writing lectures on Shakespeare, which he is known to have delivered in many parts of the country: in Baltimore in 1846, as reported in *The Western Continent* of that year; in New York, according to the *New York World*, Dec. 14, 1860, Feb. 9, 1861 (Barton Catalog under Hudson, p. 131).



In 1851-1856 he brought out: "The works of Shakespeare: the text carefully restored according to the first editions; with introductions, notes original and selected, and a life of the poet; by the Rev. H. N. Hudson, A. M. In eleven volumes. Boston and Cambridge: James Monroe and Company. 1851-'56." Portrait: the Chandos. Woodcuts. 12°, 18½ cm. The editor announces in the Preface (vol. 1, p. vii), that this is an American issue of the Chiswick edition of 1826, retaining its advantages without its defects. He also says (p. vii) that the Chiswick edition had never been reprinted in this country, a rather astonishing statement when we remember that we have above counted up to 1850 some fifteen editions reprinted from the Chiswick, in New York, Hartford, and Boston, including Peabody's, which takes Singer for the basis in both notes and text, changing the latter only to restore the first folio readings (Peabody, 1836, vol. 1, *Advertisement*). Hudson likewise asserts that the chief standard of the true text is the folio of 1623, and makes the presumptuous statement: \* "If a thorough revisal of every line, every word, every letter, and every point, with a continual reference to the original copies, be a reasonable ground of confidence, then we can confidently assure the reader that he will here find the genuine text of Shakespeare" (vol. 1, p. viii).

It would not be practicable, even if worth while, to give a list of the many textual changes introduced by Hudson, most of them unnecessary or unimportant and most of them not from the first folio or quartos, but from other critics. His original emendations have little force. The Cambridge edition records Hudson's recklessness in this line. In the *Tempest* there are 22 emendations, aside from those of the first folio, six of them original, the remaining from Daniel, Wright, Spedding, Crosby, etc. Many of the other plays have an equal or greater number of unwarranted changes.



The termination *ed* of the verbs, participles and participial adjectives, because it affects the rhythm, is printed with scrupulous adherence to the original text. "In size of volume, in type, and style of execution" (vol. 1, p. vii), the Chiswick edition has been exactly followed. Even the wood-cuts have been reproduced. Many of Singer's foot-notes have been omitted as superfluous, many abridged and condensed, and others added, drawing "with the utmost freedom from all the sources accessible" (vol. 1, p. xii). "The notes written or compiled by the American editor are discriminated by the signature 'H'" (vol. 1, p. xi).

As a good specimen of the notes signed "H," two are quoted out of a large number of similar ones:—Singer, 1826, vol. 1, *Tempest*, p. 70: "5. That is, bring *more than are sufficient*. 'Corollary the addition or vantage above measure, an *overplus*, or *surplusage*.'—Blount;" Hudson, vol. 1, p. 81: "6. *i. e.*, bring more than enough; *corollary* meaning a surplus number. H."—Singer, vol. 1, p. 70: "6. *Stover* is fodder for cattle, as hay, straw, and the like; *estovers* is the old law term, it is from *estourier*, old French;" —Hudson, vol. 1, p. 81, note 7: "Stover is fodder for cattle, as hay, straw, and such like; still used thus in the north of England. H."

In spite of the expressed desire "to encumber his [Shakespeare's] language with no more, in the shape of comment, than is necessary to render the text intelligible" (vol. 1, p. xii), there are many notes like the following:—vol. 1, *Tempest*, Act I, Sc. 1, pp. 17 f.—"Play the men, note 3. That is, act with spirit, behave like men. Thus Baret in his *Alvearie*: 'To play the man, or to show himself a valiant man in any matter;' " vol. 1, *ibid.*, Sc. 2.—"Not a soul but felt a fever of the mad, note 23. That is, such a fever as madmen feel when the frantic fit is on them."

Hudson's most valued work was done in the lengthy



*Introductions* to each play, wherein he disavows any claim to originality. His "leading purpose is to gather up all the historical information that has yet been made accessible" (vol. 1, p. xii), especially the results of the "indefatigable labours" of Collier and others. In these introductions the state of the original text, the date of the play, when printed, and the source are discussed, together with analyses of and criticisms of the plays, the latter founded mainly upon his lectures, published in two volumes in New York in 1848. These lectures are frequently merely rearranged and then incorporated verbatim in the introductions, so that it is almost impossible to treat them separately. It is in this field that Hudson has done his best work. He is of the school of Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Lamb, a philosophical, or, better, a subjective critic, representing himself as a mere mouth-piece of their opinions. "If I know my own mind," he says, "I have rather studied to avoid originality than to be original" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. vi). And again (vol. 2, p. 143), "whatever may be their [his remarks'] demerits, I am sure they have not the demerit of originality." This recalls *Richard III's*, "I thank my God for my humility."

To the Chiswick edition, which omitted the poems, a supplementary volume was added containing a life of Shakespeare, an historical sketch of the English drama before Shakespeare, poems and sonnets. Rowe's account of the poet's life forms an introductory chapter to *The Life of Shakespeare*. That "Rowe's account" is reprinted from Verplanck's edition rather than from the original source is evident from the following agreements: Verplanck, 1847, vol. 1, *Life*, p. 6, "in the times of Henry V and Henry VI;" Rowe, 1709, vol. 1, p. ix, and all the others: "*Henry the Fifth's* and *Henry the Sixth's* Times;" but Hudson follows Verplanck. Again Verplanck, vol. 1, p. 7, "gave him these four lines of verse;" Rowe, vol. 1, p. xxxvi,



and others, "gave him these four verses ;" Hudson the same as Verplanck.

Of Hudson's *Life of Shakespeare* (vol. XI, pp. xix-clxxviii), he himself says : "The labours of Rowe, Malone, Collier, and Halliwell are all before us. . . . Of course no means of adding to the stock of matter lie within our reach, even if we had ever so much time and skill to prosecute such researches ; so that the most we can hope for is, to put into a compact and readable shape what others have collected." And of his sketch of the Drama he writes (vol. XI, p. clxxx) : "Ample materials for the work are furnished to our hand in Warton's *History of English Poetry* and Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, so that the only merit or demerit we can claim is in selecting and condensing the matter as may best agree with our judgment and our space." Also nearly one-half of the last chapter of his *History of the Drama*, entitled *General Criticism*, is quoted directly from Coleridge.

Hudson's criticisms of Shakespeare are at once a defense and a song of praise. Replying to the eighteenth century, which affirmed that the Poet was the product of a rude age and without art, he says : "The ages of Pericles, of Augustus, and of Leo, all together, can hardly show so much wealth of genius and of culture, as the single age of Elizabeth" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. 99). And in some twelve pages (vol. 1, pp. 147-159) he discusses the difference between the classic and the romantic drama : the characteristic of the classic drama is simplicity ; that of the romantic is complexity ; each contains its laws within itself. "It is vain, therefore, to quarrel with the Shakspearian drama for departing from the classic models. The spirit of modern culture could no more have organized itself into the classic form than the soul of an eagle could organize itself into the form of a fish" (vol. 1, p. 158).



“In the romantic drama, therefore, the unities of time and place must obviously give way to higher and more important relations;” they “have nothing whatever to do, save as an altogether subordinate concern” (vol. 1, p. 164). “He [Shakespeare] showed himself the skilfulest of artists as well as the profoundest of philosophers; and his achievements are not more astonishing than his plans were judicious” (vol. 1, p. 166). “Shakspeare understood them [the unities] perfectly. He was the intimate friend of Ben Jonson, who understood the unities as well as Aristotle himself did” (vol. 1, p. 164). “I endeavored to vindicate Shakspeare from the criticisms of the dissecting school. . . . That Shakspeare developed his subjects organically and according to their innate laws, not according to any system of external rules, was spoken of as the crowning excellence of his works” (vol. 1, p. 167). Moreover Shakespeare lacked neither taste nor judgment (vol. 1, pp. 167–192). Shakespeare’s so-called ignorance is thus excused: “But, inasmuch as Shakespeare’s geography and chronology are always accurate enough when such accuracy will serve the purpose of his art, it seems rather questionable whether in this case his inaccuracy should be set down to ignorance. Perhaps, after all, he showed as much knowledge here as he meant to show; and he must have been ignorant indeed, not to know that his geography was incorrect. It should be borne in mind that his purpose was art, not science (vol. 1, p. 113, Introduction, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*). Neither does he agree with the utilitarian views held by some critics with reference to Shakespeare’s aims, altho his utterances upon this subject became entangled in contradictions. Shakespeare did not toil for “money and bread, altogether thoughtless and reckless of fame” (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. 39). With reference to Shakespeare’s marriage he says in 1848 (vol. 1, p. 8), “though no stain appears on the private character of



either Shakspeare or his matron bride the union did not prove a fortunate one." But in 1856 he has changed his opinion: "Some of the Poet's later biographers and critics have taken it upon them to suppose that he was not happy in his marriage" (Edition 1856, vol. xi, p. lxxiii). But there is no proof of this: "The darling object of his London life evidently was,—that he might return to his native town with a handsome competence, and dwell in the bosom of his family" (*ibid.*, p. lxxiv). Shakspeare he regards as a great moral teacher: "For my part, I dare be known to think Shakspeare's works a far better school of virtuous discipline than half the moral and religious books which are now put into the hands of youth" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. 79). "His [Shakspeare's] choice of a subject [the plot of *Measure for Measure*] so ugly in itself is amply justified by the many sweet lessons of virtue and wisdom which he has used it as an opportunity of delivering. To have trained and taught a barbarous tale of cruelty and lust into such a rich mellow fruitage of poetry and humanity, may be safely left to offset whatsoever of offence there may be in the play to modern taste" (Edition 1851, vol. 2, Int., p. 9). Even the poems can do no harm: "The vapours of sensual emotion are constantly blown away by the strong gale of thoughts and images, which rushes through the reader's mind, and the triumph of the author's genius over the impurity of the subject is rendered complete. One has little motive to read it for an ill purpose, he has to work so hard in order to follow it" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, pp. 27 f.). Again "The poetry—or the philosophy which represents virtue and vice as sure of present recompense, is a lie, and as such can only come directly or indirectly, of the father of lies. And Shakspeare was just as far from stealing the robes of Satan to serve heaven in, as from stealing the robes of heaven to serve Satan in. Accordingly he gave his characters, good and bad,



a sphere wherein to develop themselves, and then dismissed them, as nature and as God dismisses them, into a higher order of things, to receive their reward or suffer their retribution" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, pp. 83 f.).

Shakespeare also probably wrote history with a purpose. Hudson finds nothing incredible in the tradition handed down by Gildon that Shakespeare "in a conversation with Ben Jonson, said that, 'finding the nation generally very ignorant of history, he wrote his historical plays in order to instruct the people in that particular.' That he cared to make the stage a place of instruction as well as of pastime, appears in his Prologue to *Henry viii*, where he says—'Such as give their money out of hope they may here find truth too'" (Edition 1852, vol. VI, *Int. Henry vi*, part 1, p. 6).

The doctrine of the intellectual growth of Shakespeare's mind, so elaborated by Verplanck, is upheld by Hudson, in spite of one statement which seems to indicate the contrary: "That harmony and completeness of mind, which others attain only by the longest and hardest labor, they [Homer and Shakespeare] seem to have brought into the world with them. A Milton and Schiller, however, struggle forth slowly and painfully into development, by parts and degrees" (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. 113). But elsewhere (*Lectures*, vol. 1, p. 220) he states in no indefinite terms: "I should be tempted to call this play [*Two Gentlemen of Verona*] the infant smile of Shakspeare's genius; it proves, what many seem to have doubted, that his genius had an infancy; that it was not born full grown, ripe, and ready for service, but had to creep, totter and prattle; much observation, study, practice, experience, being required to develop it into manhood and maturity."

Hudson dwells especially upon the *organic unity* of Shakespeare's dramatic composition and characterization. "Inci-



dents and characters were to be represented, not in the order of sensible juxtaposition or procession, but in that of cause and effect, of principle and consequence" (Ed., vol. XI, p. cccxxiii). "Organic structure" means "vital unity" like that of a "tree, which is in truth made up of a multitude of little trees, all growing from a common root, nourished by a common sap and bound together in a common life" (vol. XI, p. cccxxviii). "The organic fitness and correspondence of part with part . . . is equally maintained in his individual characterization; . . . in his works, far more than in almost any others, everything appears to come, not from him, but from the characters. . . . The reason of which must be, that the word is most admirably suited to the character, the character to the word" (*ibid.*, p. cccxxxvi). Other authors "began at the surface, and worked the other way." Shakespeare "begins at the heart of a character, and unfolds it outwards, forming and compacting all the internal parts and organs as he unfolds it" (*ibid.*, p. cccxxxii).

In the *Lectures* of 1848 Hudson's style is often high-flown, witty, sarcastic, brilliant, exceedingly addicted to the antithetical balanced structure, on the whole pleasing and popular. But in the *Introductions* to the plays of his edition of Shakespeare 1851-56 the diction is smoother and more dignified. The wit and excessive antithesis of those first efforts are not so evident and scarcely appear except where the lectures have been bodily transferred to the *Introductions*.

Finally, in Hudson, the new criticism of the nineteenth century appears in full swing, the subjective criticism, under the guidance of Coleridge and Schlegel, determined to praise and pardon and intolerant of any unfavorable comment of one whom they delight to call not only the greatest of all poets, but also the greatest of all dramatic artists.

Hudson's edition met with the approbation of the critics



of his day. In the *North American Review*, vol. 84, 1857, p. 203, Edward S. Gould says that *Redfield's Collier's* has the best of all texts. "On the other hand, as to the size of volume, typographical arrangement, completeness of explanatory notes, and full analysis of the characters of the plays, with their histories, Mr. Hudson's work may safely challenge competition with the long array of his predecessors." "Chronologically speaking, this method of analyzing the poet's characters is *after* that of Coleridge and of Mrs. Jameson; but Mr. Hudson has so improved on his models, that he is but little more indebted to them, than Shakespeare was to his predecessors for the plots of his plays" (*ibid.*, p. 201). And Richard Grant White in his edition of *Shakespeare*, 1857-66, vol. 1, footnote, p. cclxxix, writes: "Two editions of remarkable merit were afterwards published in the United States: one by the Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck, and the other by the Rev. Mr. Hudson. These editors, however, formed their text rather upon an eclectic study of the labors of their immediate predecessors than upon a collation of the old readings, or even a thorough investigation of the whole field of Shakespearian textual criticism. Mr. Verplanck's edition is distinguished by the judgment, taste, and scholarship which guided his editorial labors; Mr. Hudson's by the originality of thought and vigor of style in the critical essays which precede each play."

Meanwhile had appeared: "*The Works of Shakespeare*, the text regulated by the recently discovered folio of 1632, containing early manuscript emendations, with a history of the stage, a life of the poet, and an introduction to each play by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F. S. A. To which are added, glossarial and other notes and the readings of former editions. Redfield: New York, 1853, i-cvii, 1-968 pp. Portrait, the Droeshout. Illustrations. 1 vol. 4°, 25 cm." The editor, Mr. George Long Duyckinck (1822-63), an accom-



plished scholar of New York city, says in the preface that the text of the plays is from J. Payne Collier's edition published in London a few months previous, "embodying the manuscript emendations recently discovered by him in a copy of the second folio edition of 1632. The text of the *Poems*, the *Life of Shakespeare*, the account of the early English Drama, and the separate prefaces [printed all together at the beginning of the plays] are from the octavo edition in 1844, by the same editor." New footnotes were added "illustrative of obsolete words, expressions and customs . . . derived from . . . Collier, Knight's *Pictorial Shakspeare*, . . . Dyce, Douce, Halliwell, Hunter, Richardson, . . . Verplanck and Hudson, with such aid as a long acquaintance with the Dramatic and general Literature of the age of Elizabeth and James could furnish." "Notes, pointing out or commenting upon the sentiments expressed in the text, have been purposely avoided, it being presumed that the reader having been furnished with every material for the employment of a correct taste and judgment, will prefer to exercise these faculties for himself." "Comment of this description, which has often been carried to an impertinent or tedious extreme, has also been avoided in noting the variations between the text of the present and that of previous editions. The reader has been placed in possession of the old by the side of the new readings, and left to an unbiased choice between them" (*Preface*, pp. 3, 4). This recalls the tone of protest heard against verbal criticism in the *Advertisement* to the 1795 edition.

The editor's principal merit, little as it was and long since out of date, was stated in a complimentary notice by Edward S. Gould, which appeared in the *North American Review* of January, 1857, pp. 202 f.: "So far as the text of Shakespeare is concerned, we consider Redfield's reprint of *Collier* altogether the best edition that ever has been published.



Collier's volume was incomplete in this respect,—that while it contained all the ms. annotator's corrections, it did not designate where the corrections were made. In Redfield's edition these are all, or nearly all, pointed out by footnotes at the bottom of each page."

The same edition without the portrait and illustrations, and with the *Introductions* placed before the respective plays, was also issued in eight volumes by Redfield, in the same year, 1853, 16°, 17 cm., and the Barton Catalog 101 records what is doubtless but another edition of Redfield's one volume publication: "*The works of Shakespeare. The text regulated by the recently discovered folio of 1632, containing early manuscript emendations. With a history of the stage, a life of the poet, and an introduction to each play by J. P. Collier. To which are added, glossarial and other notes and the readings of former editions. Redfield: New York, 1857 (1) 4, (1) cvii, 966 pp. Portrait, the Droeshout. Illustrated. 8°. The engraved title-page is dated 1853*" (Barton Catalog, 101).

Charles Knight's edition, "*The comedies, histories, tragedies, and poems of William Shakspeare, with a biography, and studies of his works by Charles Knight. Pictorial and national edition. In 8 v. Boston: Little Brown, and co. 1853, 8°*," is "the London edition with a new title page" according to the Barton Catalog, 89.

In 1854-56, Martin and Johnson brought out a pretentious three-volume edition: "*The complete works of Shakespeare, from the original text: carefully collated and compared with the editions of Halliwell, Knight, and Collier: with historical and critical introductions, and notes to each play; and a life of the great dramatist, by Charles Knight. Illustrated with new and finely executed steel engravings, chiefly portraits in character of celebrated American actors, drawn from life, expressly for this edition. New York:*



Martin, Johnson, and company. [1854-1856.] 3 vols. i-liv. 1725 pp. Portrait, the Chandos. 4°, 28 cm." The engraved title-pages of vols. two and three are dated 1856. The illustrations are dated 1854-1856. The publishers announce in the preface that "this is the first illustrated quarto edition that has appeared for many years, and the first that has ever been issued in this country" (vol. 1, p. v). "The text was . . . carefully collated by a competent Shakespearian scholar with the editions of the three most distinguished Shakespearian editors of the day—John Payne Collier, Charles Knight, and James Orchard Halliwell; and the notes are from the pen of the latter gentleman and of other eminent commentators [without credit]. . . . The same care was taken with the historical and critical introductions, which contain the united judgments of the most distinguished Shakespearian critics and antiquaries of the past and present times. . . . The result is . . . an edition which unites elegance of form, richness and interest of illustration, purity of text, and valuable editorial matter, in a greater degree than any other that has ever been offered to the American public" (vol. 1, pp. v f.).

A collation of all the *Introductions* and notes (inconveniently collected at the end of each play) and the text of one play, *Richard III*, proves conclusively that Tallis's pirated copy of Halliwell, London and New York, 1850-53, has been the basis. *Richard III* is reprinted exactly even to punctuation and peculiar divisions of the lines. The textual deviations are from the Perkins folio as found in Collier, 1853. The introductions and notes of *The Tempest*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Measure for Measure* are reprinted verbatim from Tallis. The introductions and notes to all the historical plays and the tragedies are taken from Tallis changed only in the introductions by abridgment, often three pages of Tallis



appearing as one page in Martin-Johnson; see *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, the omissions being usually the character-analyses. In the introductions to *Titus Andronicus* and *Cymbeline* alone are sentences re-worded, one in each. Only about one-half of the notes to most of the plays are retained, and the others are often abridged. Once only has Martin's editor forgot himself and assigned the notes to their rightful owner, H. T. [Henry Tyrrell], the notes to *King Henry IV*, part 1, being signed "H. T."

But the introductions and notes to *Comedy of Errors*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As you like it*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *All's well that ends well*, *Twelfth Night* and *Winter's Tale* are not from Tallis but seem composed by a different and more independent hand, altho they are compilations from Collier, Knight, the 1826 Variorum, etc., dealing mainly with the sources and dates of the respective plays and very little with subjective criticism. Possibly they are reprinted from some edition which the writer has not seen. The order also of these last mentioned comedies differs from that of Tallis, to follow Collier. Hence we see that whatever merit this edition may have lies in the textual emendations made, according to the Preface, "by a competent Shakespearian scholar." But, judging of the text from *Richard III*, what is not Tallis's is from the Perkins folio. However, the other plays may offer bolder changes, for in the first and second acts of *Much Ado About Nothing*, Imogen is given "a few unimportant speeches, hitherto assigned to Leonato" because it seems unlikely to the editor that Imogen should be twice introduced in the stage direction in the original, "had she not been intended by the poet for one of the characters" (vol. 1, note 1, p. 257). The suggestion for illustrations was taken from the Tallis edition. The latter has steel engravings of the greatest actors of the world; Martin-



Johnson & Co. have steel engravings of the most celebrated American actors.

In 1855 appeared another one-volume edition of the great poet, called "*Jewett's Collier's Edition : The complete works of William Shakespeare*, comprising his plays and poems, with a history of the stage, a life of the poet, and an introduction to each play ; the text of the plays corrected by the manuscript emendations contained in the recently discovered folio of 1632. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., F. S. A. To which are added, glossarial and explanatory notes, and notes to the emendations, containing the readings of former editions, by John L. Jewett. With new and original designs by T. H. Matteson, Engraved by Alexander Anderson. New York: Published by George F. Cooledge & Brother. [1855]. 4°, 25 cm." Portrait, the Chandos, engraved by J. Cochran, the same as in the Harness 1848 edition of Cooledge & Brother. The "new and original designs" are wretched wood-cuts. The Preface (pp. v f.) says: "Convinced from the conclusions of able critics, and from our own examination, that Mr. Collier's text of Shakespeare, embodying the emendations of the folio of 1632, is far the most perfect extant, it has been made the basis of the present edition." "Being without notes, or any means of distinguishing the new readings, for the present work we have collated it with the best modern editions, principally with those of Verplanck and Singer, and denoted its variations from them by figures, which are placed before the word or passage referred to. The reading of former editions is inserted under corresponding figures, in the 'Notes to the Emendations' at the close of the volume. The means are thus furnished not only of comparing this edition with previous ones, but of restoring the former reading whenever desirable. Our text of the Poems is from Collier's edition of 1844." Collier's *History of the English Stage to the Time of Shakespeare*, the *Life of Shakespeare*, and the introductions



to the plays, all abridged, are also from Collier's edition of 1844. The introductions are bunched together after the *Life*, as previously by Redfield in 1853, who had likewise noted the MS. emendations (p. vi). "More than ordinary pains have been bestowed upon the footnotes of this edition, in order to obviate the necessity of looking beyond the volume itself for anything needful to its proper elucidation" (p. vi). The editorial work, eclectic and devoted entirely to textual and glossarial criticism, is of no especial value.

We now come to one who has been heralded as the greatest of American editors and one with whom the present investigation must close. From 1857 to 1866 there appeared: "*The Works of William Shakespeare*, the plays edited from the folio of MDCXXIII, with various readings from all the editions and all the commentators, notes, introductory remarks, a historical sketch of the text, an account of the rise and progress of the English drama, a memoir of the poet, and an essay upon his genius. By Richard Grant White. Boston: Little Brown and Company. 1857-1866. 12mo, 20 cm. Portraits, Illustrations, Facsimiles. The portraits are, in vol. 1, the Felton, in vol. 2, the Droeshout" (Barton Cat., 102). The *Memoirs* are illustrated with seven wood-cuts. "The utmost care has been taken to present Shakespeare's words as nearly as possible with syllabic faithfulness to the form in which he and his contemporaries used them; such faithfulness, it need hardly be said, not requiring, except in extremely rare instances, a conformity to the irregular orthography of the Elizabethan period" (vol. II, p. 5). "The edition has thus far been punctuated with great care;—the first time that that by no means trifling task has ever been performed for these works, except with regard to passages which have been discussed as obscure, or which are entirely deformed by the punctuation of the first folio." "The editor has confined his labors



to the text and to subjects directly connected with it . . . Such views as he may wish to express of any particular work, passage, or character of Shakespeare's . . . he will hereafter present by themselves" (vol. II, p. 5). White insists, as Hudson before him had done, upon the importance of exactness in reprinting the text of the folio, especially in final *ed* and contractions. "I am, however," he remarks, "no champion of the readings of the first folio, as such; . . . in those cases [where it is corrupt] it is to be corrected boldly" (vol. I, p. x).

Hence it is to textual criticism alone that this edition, called epoch-making [Knortz, p. 43], owes its main value. A table printed in volume XII shows in convenient form the textual changes made by White, some fifteen pages of them, enough surely "to awaken some solicitude in the editor, . . . were he not conscious of the reverent spirit in which the corrections have been made, and the logical conditions to which he held himself inexorably bound, even after perception and judgment had done their work" (vol. II, p. 2). An investigation of the emendations, however, reveals the fact that he, like many of his predecessors, fell short of his high aims. For many of the changes are unnecessary, and some of them, to say the least, no improvement; *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, Sc. 1, "You three, Birone, R. G. W.;" Act I, Sc. 2, "*Mote* (not moth) the name of the page, R. G. W.;" Act IV, Sc. 3, "and so say I, and *ay* [I, f.] the fool;" *ibid.*, "it kills me, ay [I, f.];" *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Sc. 2, "*Though* the house give glimmering light, R. G. W." [The folio *Through* is better]. His "Table of Readings, etc.," exhibits several inaccuracies: *e. g.*, *Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Sc. 3, "*land*-thieves and *water*-thieves, R. G. W.;" but *land* thieves and *water* thieves, *Singer edition* 2. Eccles conjecture, (*Cambridge ed.*, p. 348). On the other hand, most of the emendations are made sanely,



wild guesses are avoided, and there is an effort, even if not always successful, to be conservative, *i. e.*, to follow, whenever possible, the first folio or the best quartos.

The introductions and the notes, collected at the end of each play in the inconvenient fashion started by Verplanck, are brief and deal only with "the formation and maintenance of a sound text, and the explanation of obsolete phrases and customs" (vol. 1, *Preface*, p. xxviii). He resists "all temptations to expressions of individual admiration and to esthetic criticism. Neither the Antony nor the Brutus of my hero, I come neither to bury nor to praise him" (*ibid.*). It is interesting to compare Richard Grant White's *Introductions* with those of Hudson. Barring the extensive subjective criticism of the latter, nearly every point discussed at length by Hudson, is taken up and tersely stated by White, who usually agrees with Hudson's conclusions, altho often arguing them out more clearly and vigorously than Hudson. When not Hudson, then Knight, Collier, or Verplanck, were the suggestive basis. The only original work claimed by Richard Grant White in these *Introductions* is carefully set down in the "Table of Readings, etc." (vol. XII : A) :—*The Merry Wives of Windsor, Introduction* : "The order and date of the production of the Falstaff plays, and the evidence of the hasty writing of the first sketch of this comedy. The two parts of *Henry IV* were written as early as 1597 ; . . . *Henry V* was written in 1599 ; . . . the first sketch of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was written in some odd fortnight of 1598. It was enlarged and perfected in or after 1603, as appears from the allusion to the copious creation of knights by James I, which took place in that year ; and by the fine passage in the Fairy Scene alluding to Windsor and the Order of the Garter" (vol. 2, p. 207). *Measure for Measure* : "Period of the action. The period of the action of this play, which has been hitherto considered, and even pronounced, to be



undeterminable, is clearly defined [to be 1485] by the first few lines of the second Scene of the first Act, and by our knowledge of the source of the plot" (vol. 3, p. 9). *The Comedy of Errors*: "The manner and time of the production of the play. . . . In the extravagant Scenes, he deliberately imitated . . . the versification of the old play [a rude imitation of the *Menaechmi*] and perhaps adopted some of it with improvement; . . . this was done about 1589-90; and the play thus produced may have been somewhat rewritten by him in its first and last Scenes in the long period during which it remained unprinted in the possession of the theatre" (vol. 3, pp. 137 f.) *Much ado about nothing*: "That the motive of the play is much ado about *noting*; and that its name was accordingly pronounced: 'nothing' having been pronounced *noting* in Shakespeare's day." *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "Shakespeare the first to bring fairies upon the stage, and to call Robin Goodfellow Puck or Hobgoblin. This comedy probably one of author's early works." *Taming of the Shrew*: "Three hands traceable in it. The old *Taming of a Shrew* probably written by Greene, Marlowe, and perhaps Shakespeare." This sums up Richard Grant White's original contribution to the *Introductions*; but he concerned himself still further with an elaborate argument "on the Authorship of the three parts of King Henry the Sixth" (vol. VII, pp. 403-468). It had been originally printed for private circulation, twenty-five copies, slightly different, by the Riverside Press: H. O. Houghton and Co. Cambridge, Mass., 1859, and dedicated to Charles Eliot Norton. The result of the long dissertation is the conclusion that about 1587 or 1588, Shakespeare was engaged to assist Marlowe, Greene, and perhaps Peele, in dramatizing the events of *King Henry the Sixth's* reign; that by his talents in this line he gained promotion and about 1591 undertook to rewrite the three plays in which he had had so large a hand (vol. VII, p. 468).



Richard Grant White entertains only utilitarian views of Shakespeare's motives; "The whole tenor of his<sup>d</sup> life shows that he labored as a playwright solely that he might obtain the means of going back to Stratford to live the life of an independent gentleman" (*Memoirs*, vol. I, p. lxvi). "In writing the Histories he had the same purpose as in writing the Comedies and Tragedies; that purpose always being, to make a good play; and with him a good play was one which would fill the theatre whenever it was performed" (*Introduction to King John*, vol. VI, p. 7). "He wrote Histories because they suited the taste of the day" . . . "not to historical plan or instructive purpose of any kind" do we owe them (*ibid.*, p. 8), contrary to the opinion of Dr. Johnson and Knight.

Altho he merely touches upon the "growth" theory, he evidently believes in it: "The comparatively timid style and unskilful structure of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* show that it was the work of Shakespeare's earliest years as a dramatic writer" (vol. 2, p. 103). Contrary to Hudson, he does not believe that Shakespeare wrote with any moral purpose: "Many people have given themselves serious concern as to the moral influence of Shakespeare's plays; and critics of great weight, fulfilling their function, have gone down far, and staid down long, in the attempt to fathom the profound moral purpose which they were sure must be hidden in the depths of these grand compositions. But the direct moral influence of Shakespeare is nothing, and we may be sure that he wrote with no moral purpose. He sought only to present life; and the world which he shows us, like that in which we live, teaches us moral lessons according to our will and our capacity" (vol. I, p. ccxlv). However, in his *Life and Genius of Shakespeare*, 1865, a separate issue, with very slight changes, of the *Memoirs*, *Essay on Shakespeare's Genius and the English Drama*, from



volume I of his Edition, etc., p. 240, he says : "there is no moral taint in any of his [Shakespeare's] works,—nothing that can debauch the mind of the pure and innocent."

Richard Grant White had little patience with the German school of Shakespearian criticism : "In plays written as daily labor, by a man who composed sometimes in joint authorship, and who worked over the old material which lay nearest to his hand, and was best suited to his money-making purpose, always saving time and trouble as much as possible,—in such plays, as produced, what folly to seek, as some have sought, a central thought, a great psychological motive !" "From all that we know of Shakespeare and his circumstances, and all that can be extracted from his plays without torture we may be sure that the great central thoughts and inner motives which have been sought out for his various dramas, by critics of the German school, could he but come back and hear them, would excite only his smiling wonder." "Every worthy reader of Shakespeare must see that his peculiar power as a dramatist lies in his treatment of character. . . . *This* was his dramatic art, and this it was in which he had neither teacher nor model" (vol. I, p. ccxxxi). White believes in the absolute impersonality of Shakespeare's characters, with one exception : "Shakespeare *made* souls to his characters ; he did not give them his own." . . . Only in the sonnets "He pours out his own woes with a freedom in which he equals, but with a manliness in which he far surpasses Byron. It is as a dramatist that he is self-oblivious" (vol. I, p. ccxxxiv).

Speaking of Shakespeare's style, he says, "It is not to be defined at all ; it is a mystery."—"The man has never yet written, except Shakespeare, who could produce ten lines having that quality, which, for lack of other name, we call Shakespearian." "He is often undeniably incorrect, in consequence, partly, of the syntactical usage of his day, . . .



and partly of his own neglect to revise carefully that which he wrote so fluently. His occasional errors which are not of the former kind appear only in his plays; they are not found in the poems, which he wrote for perusal" (vol. I, pp. ccix f.). His versification was full of irregularities. "Yet of all English, as well as of all modern poets, Shakespeare, in respect to his versification as in all other respects is the supreme master" (vol. I, p. ccxix). And the climax of praise is reached in the following: "It is the second-rate men, great yet second, who form schools. . . . But the supremely divine is ever a mystery. This is especially true of Shakespeare" (vol. I, p. ccli).

Richard Grant White's edition met with a flattering reception. In the *North American Review* of January, 1859, shortly after the appearance of the first four volumes of the *Comedies*, E. A. Abbott devoted some nine pages to a consideration of their merits. According to Abbott, the value of an edition consists in the purity of the text and the character of the notes, and the first great claim of this edition on the public regard is its purity of text, the result of five years of severe revision. "As to explanatory matter, common sense is the characteristic of this edition, both in plan and execution. The first source of interpretation for a doubtful passage is to be found in the context" (p. 251), and Shakespeare is made to elucidate himself. Abbott, however, took White at his word and hence gave but a superficial criticism.

James Russell Lowell made a much more elaborate study of this edition, which he reported in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1859, January (pp. 111-121) and February (pp. 241-260). His demands for a perfect editor are not so simple as Abbott's: "(1) a thorough glossological knowledge of the English contemporary with Shakespeare; (2) enough logical acuteness of mind and metaphysical training to enable him



to follow recondite processes of thought ; (3) such a conviction of the supremacy of his author as always to prefer his thought to any theory of his own ; (4) a feeling for music, and so much knowledge of the practice of other poets as to understand that Shakespeare's versification differs from theirs as often in kind as in degree ; (5) an acquaintance with the world as well as with books ; (6) what is, perhaps, of more importance than all, so great a familiarity with the working of the imaginative faculty in general, and of its peculiar operation in the mind of Shakespeare, as will . . . enable him to understand fully that the Gothic Shakespeare often superimposed upon the slender column of a single word, that seems to twist under it, but does not,—like the quaint shafts in cloisters,—a weight of meaning which the modern architects of sentences would consider wholly unjustifiable by correct principle. It would be unreasonable to expect a union of all these qualifications in a single man, but we think that Mr. White combines them in larger proportion than any editor with whose labours we are acquainted " (vol. 3, pp. 120 f.). In fact, according to Lowell, he possesses all except the first requisite.

White's faults are thus stated :—" his very acumen sometimes misleads him into fancying a meaning where none exists, or at least none answerable to the clarity and precision of Shakespeare's intellect ; he is too hasty in his conclusions as to the pronunciation of words and the accuracy of rhymes in Shakespeare's day, and he has been seduced into them by what we cannot help thinking a mistaken theory as to certain words, as *moth* and *nothing* for example ; . . . he shows, here and there, a glimpse of Americanism, especially misplaced in an edition of the poet whose works do more than anything else, perhaps, to maintain the sympathy of the English race ; and . . . his prejudice against the famous corrected folio of 1632 leads him to speak slightly of Mr. Collier, to whom



all lovers of our early literature are indebted. . . . But after all these deductions, we remain of the opinion that Mr. White has given us the best edition [for substance, scope, and aim] hitherto published, and we do not like him the less for an occasional crotchet" (January, p. 121). "The chief matter must in all cases be the text, and the faults we find in him do not, as a general rule, affect that" (February, 1859, p. 244).

Mr. Lowell has taken his task very seriously, and painfully compared, "note by note, and reading by reading," White's edition with those of Knight, Collier, and Dyce (*ibid.*, p. 244). "We notice particularly his discussion of the authorship of the verses signed J. M. S. as a good example of the delicacy and acuteness of his criticism." (*ibid.*) "We cannot but commend highly the self-restraint which marks these brief and pithy prefaces, and the pertinency of every sentence to the matter in hand . . . Shakspeare himself has left us a pregnant satire on dogmatical and categorical aesthetics in the closet-scene between Hamlet and Polonius" (*ibid.*, p. 245). . . . "We are glad to see, likewise, with what becoming indifference the matter of Shakspeare's indebtedness to others is treated by Mr. White in his *Introductions*. There are many commentators who seem to think they have wormed themselves into the secret of the Master's inspiration when they have discovered the sources of his plots. But what he took was by right of eminent domain; and was he not to resuscitate a theme and make it immortal, because some botcher had tried his hand upon it before, and left it for stone-dead?" (*ibid.*, p. 245). . . . "The freshness of many of Mr. White's observations struck us with very agreeable surprise . . . we love the expression of honest praise, of sifted and considerate judgment, and we think that a laborious collation justifies us in saying that in acute discrimination of aesthetic shades of



expression, and often of textual niceties, Mr. White is superior to any previous editor" (*ibid.*, p. 246). For some of the many notes which please Mr. Lowell we can only refer to his list on p. 246 of February, 1859. "We quite agree with Mr. White and Mr. Knight in their hearty dislike of the Steevens-system of versification, but we think that Coleridge has misled both of them in what he has said about the pauses and retardations of verses. . . . Mr. White has in many cases wisely and properly made halting verses perfect in their limbs by easy transpositions, and we think he is perfectly right in refusing to interpolate a syllable, but wrong in assuming that we have Shakspeare's metre where we have no metre at all" (*ibid.*, p. 249). He notes two instances where White has altered the text for the worse (*ibid.*, pp. 250 f.): *Tempest*, Act III, Sc. 3, "to belch you up" [F]; and *Comedy of Errors*, Act II, Sc. 2, "thou one dishonoured." In both cases the first folio text might well stand. "We have said, that we considered the style and matter of Mr. White's notes excellent. . . . There are two or three which we think in questionable taste, and one where the temptation to say a sharp thing has led the editor to vulgarize the admirable Benedict, and to misinterpret the text in a way so unusual for him that it is worth a comment; *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Sc. 2, p. 329, note, And when was he wont to *wash his face?*" (p. 251).

Lowell also discovered that White was not accurate: "We have not been at the trouble of verifying every one of Mr. White's 'hithertos,' but we did so in two plays, and found in *Midsummer Night's Dream* four, and in *Much Ado* two cases, where the reading claimed as a restoration occurred also in Mr. Knight's excellent edition of 1842. These oversights do not affect the correctness of Mr. White's text, but they diminish our confidence in the accuracy of the collation to which he lays claim." "The chief objection which we



have to make against Mr. White's text is, that he has perversely allowed it to continue disfigured by vulgarisms of grammar and spelling" (p. 252). "We regret Mr. White's glossological excursions the more because they are utterly supererogatory, and because they seem to imply a rashness of conclusion which can very seldom be laid to his charge as respects the text. He volunteers, without the least occasion for it, an opinion that *abye* and *abide* are the same word (which they are not), suggests that *vile* and *vild* (whose etymology, he says, is obscure) may be related to the Anglo-Saxon *hyldan*, and tells us that *dom* is Anglo-Saxon for *house*, etc." (pp. 253 f.). "But it is after Mr. White has been bitten by the *oestrus* of Shakspearian pronunciation that he becomes thoroughly contradictory of himself, especially after he has taken up the notion that *Much Ado About Nothing* is *Much Ado About Noting*, and that *th* was not sounded in the England of Shakspeare" (p. 254). This notion Lowell proves false, and exposes many other of White's inconsistencies and fantastic ideas. "We have been minute in criticising this part of Mr. White's notes, because we think his investigations misdirected, the results at which he arrives mistaken, and because we hope to persuade him to keep a tighter rein on his philological zeal in future." Whatever he has to say in that line would better appear in a separate treatise (p. 258).

In conclusion Lowell says: "We have subjected his volumes to a laborious examination such as few books receive, because the text of Shakspeare is a matter of common and great concern, and they have borne the trial, except in these few impertinent particulars, admirably. Mr. Dyce and Mr. Singer are only dry commonplace books of illustrative quotations; Mr. Collier has not wholly recovered from his 'Corr. fo'-madness; Mr. Knight is too diffuse; and we repeat our honest persuasion, that Mr. White has thus far



given us the best extant text, while the fullness of his notes gives his edition almost the value of a variorum" (p. 259).

Thus wrote James Russell Lowell in 1859. In 1882 Karl Knortz in his *Shakespeare in America* could affirm: "Einer der tüchtigsten lebenden Shakespeare-Kenner ist unstreitig Richard Grant White in New-York, dessen 1857-65 erschienene kritische Ausgabe der Werke des englischen Dramatikers epochemachend war" (p. 43). And in 1889 the September number of *Shakespeariana*, p. 395, affirms: "The edition published by Little, Brown & Co., and known as White's *Shakespeare*, was and is one of the most admirable editions ever printed."

In what sense, however, White's edition was epochmaking, the writer fails to understand. His aim was purity of text, conformity to the first folio. But this was not new, even in America. Peabody, Verplanck, and Hudson, not to mention many European editors, had openly stated that to be their object also, and claimed to have made careful collations with the original text. White merely continued in the same line as his predecessors, but performed his task better than they had done, while his keenness of intellect and legal training enabled him to argue out a few unsettled points to a plausible conclusion.

JANE SHERZER.



#### XXIV.—POETRY, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION.

Some thirty years ago, Matthew Arnold, in one of those magnificently cumulative passages with which he so loved to dazzle his readers, said of the future of poetry: "The future of poetry is immense, because in poetry, when it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever surer and surer stay. There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve. Our religion has materialized itself in the fact, in the supposed fact, and now the fact is failing it. Poetry, on the other hand, attaches its emotion to the idea, the idea is<sup>1</sup> the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry."

A generation has passed since this prediction was made, a generation during which religion seems more than ever to have fallen into disuse, and poetry, at least latterly, to have become a lost art. Whether in that great body of poetry which has come down to us our race has found 'an ever surer and surer stay' would be difficult to determine. Statistics fail to show how many English readers have substituted Shakspeare for the Bible, and Wordsworth for the Prayer Book. But is the nature of poetry such that it is capable of becoming a substitute for religion? Coleridge once stated that "every poet, when he is a great poet, is also a great philosopher," and since every religion, however crude, has its philosophical aspects,—though religion is always more than philosophy,—this remark of Coleridge's offers a convenient approach to the issue raised by Arnold.

Poetry is unique among the arts, for the sensuous medium

<sup>1</sup> The italics are Arnold's.



of poetry is language, the natural vehicle of thought. For this reason poetry is able to present ideas of greater complexity than can any other art, and of developing such ideas more fully. The Divine Comedy is wider-reaching in its intellectual scope than any single painting, statue, symphony, or monument of architecture. Poetry, moreover, appeals to the understanding more directly than does any other art. To be susceptible to the full significance of the Sistine Madonna, one must be acquainted with the Christ Story. In a word, then, poetry touches human life at more points than does any other art, and may be more directly applicable. But to touch life at all points, and to be directly applicable would seem also to be the ideal of philosophy. Is not Coleridge right, then, and must it not be admitted that he only is a great poet who is likewise a great philosopher?

If the term 'philosopher' is to be taken in its widest possible meaning, this would indeed be true. Whenever a man directs his attention to the general problems of life, he is, for the time being, a philosopher. Thus, poetry which concerns itself with life,—and all poetry concerns itself more or less closely with life, must, as Arnold said, be criticism of life,—will, in this general sense be philosophy. But here the analogy stops. Not all thought concerning life will prove to be true when tested by life as seen in its larger aspects. Much philosophy-poetry when thus tested will fail, but it will fail only as philosophy. It will not therefore fail also as poetry. Coleridge himself said of philosophy, "The office of philosophical disquisition consists in just distinction." But he would have been the last to say that 'just distinction' was the office of poetry. Indeed, it is evident that Coleridge regarded philosophy much as we regard it to-day,—as the attempt, rigorously pursued, to find in the data of experience a principle, or principles, which shall enable us to give order to the knowledge gained by experience, and to



find in that order a reading of the universe. In a word, the hope of philosophy is to furnish us with what the Germans, with their genius for compounding words, so happily call a *Weltanschauung*. Certainly, however, it is not the function of poetry to provide a logically consistent *Weltanschauung*. That the poet who could do this under the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty would be great, no one would deny. But to reason from this, and to say that one's final estimate of poetry is to be based upon the adequacy of the philosophy it advances, would mean that the final estimate of poetry is to be based on standards which lie outside of poetry itself. The art which cannot find within itself the canons of its own criticism, is not art, but something else. But let the method be admitted, if only to see whither it leads.

If poetry is to be judged by the *Anschaung* it presents, then the greater part of what English-speaking peoples have been accustomed to regard as poetry is not poetry at all. Few of our greatest dramas could be called poetry, and none of our ballads. Dante, on this hypothesis, becomes, *Q. E. D.*, the only really great poet; while Shakspeare will fall far below Wordsworth, and Omar Khayyám. Yet some there are who venture to think Shakspeare fairly great, although his philosophy, when there is any, is mainly Positivism, and Positivism, denying, as it does, the possibility of a *Weltanschauung*, is, strictly speaking, no philosophy at all! Even if it be granted that Dante is the supreme poet, it certainly is not because of his *Anschaung*, that of Scholasticism, and the Mediæval Church,—one which for many of us to-day is already inadequate.

And now all that has been said of the relation of poetry to philosophy will hold true also of poetry and religion,—the *Anschaung* is again in the way. One cannot escape the fact that a religion must offer *some* view of reality. A religion may, indeed, lack a conception of God, yet there is no religion,



however primitive, which fails entirely either to offer some explanation of existence, or to designate personages or forces as objects of worship. In the primitive community, because of its limitations, it might indeed happen that poetry, for sheer lack of imaginative extension, would be forced to occupy itself with religious material. But the poetry of civilization should not be called upon to attempt the solution of the complex problems of its various religions. Still less would one care to assert that the multiple phenomena of repentance, conversion, redemption, and the like, were the most desirable subjects poetry could find, although poetry would not be debarred from utilizing these at its pleasure. But such poetic achievement would have to be judged as poetry, not by the criteria of religion. On the side of content, poetry cannot be identified either with philosophy or with religion. Yet the men whose opinions have been cited were poets of no inconsiderable power, one of whom possessed keen metaphysical insight, and the other, although disagreeing with accepted religious dogma, deep religious feeling. There is no one among English poets whose religious craving is so everywhere brought out as is Matthew Arnold's. *Dover Beach* could have been written only by a profoundly religious man, albeit a man whose religious yearnings had been eternally disappointed. Surely these poets either saw or felt some underlying, some perhaps generally hidden, connection between poetry and philosophy, and between poetry and religion. Is the connection one that can be analyzed?

In the first place, the relationship is twofold: on the one hand creative; on the other, appreciative. It is the poet only who experiences it on the creative side; all of us may feel it through appreciation. (Creatively, then, there is affinity between poetry, philosophy, and religion, for the impulse to philosophize, and to postulate religious ultimates, is, in its final analysis, one with the impulse towards poetic creation.)



The philosopher who is busy about the universe has but one end in view, to bring a seeming chaos into order by discovering those laws by which it may be rationalized and harmonized. To do this, he first must analyze the universe, and then resynthesize the results of his analysis. Coleridge pointed this out in the passage quoted from above. After saying that the office of philosophical disquisition consists in just distinction, he continues: "In order to obtain adequate notions of any truth, we must intellectually separate its distinguishable parts; and this is the technical process of philosophy. But having done so, we must then restore them in our conceptions to the unity in which they actually coexist; and this is the result of philosophy." But we must go yet a step further. The philosopher is himself a part of this order which he has established, he is in harmony with it.

More important still, it is a part of him, of his larger self. It is his will that has created it, and although his will has worked, not arbitrarily, but under the restrictions of logic, so that he is, as it were, but the lesser god which has carried out the work of forces larger than himself, nevertheless, since he is the one who, to use Coleridge's phrase, has "restored the conceptions to the unity in which they actually coexist," his relation to his world is that of a creator to his creation. Furthermore, he takes a certain kind of satisfaction in this world of his, for however much he might have liked, for moral reasons, say, to have been able to restore his conceptions to a unity of different internal arrangements, the fact that it is as it must have been, that it could not have been otherwise, is for him, when he regards himself as creator, completely satisfying. Pythagoras might have preferred, for purely extraneous reasons, to have found that the square on the hypotenuse should have been equal to something other than the squares of the other two sides; but his mathematical



will was completely satisfied when the result gave evidence on the face of it that it could only be so, and not different.

Just so with the religious man. To yearn after religious comfort, is to yearn for harmony with a principle outside of life, superimposed upon life, inclusive of all life; a principle that shall furnish a focal point on which all thinking can converge, an ultimate locus of human aspiration. There would seem, however, to be a slight difference between philosophy and religion, for a man is likely to regard his religious doctrines more or less in the light of revelation. But this offers no difficulty to the discussion. Philosophy becomes religion when the process is disregarded and the mind reposes upon the result. A religion is but philosophy until this repose is achieved. The only difference between the two is a difference in the nature of the faith demanded by philosophy and by religion. A man's faith in revelation rests upon extraneous grounds; the philosopher, like the mathematician, can demonstrate the bases of his confidence in the result. The logical results of philosophy, then, irrespective of their quality, may stand in the same relation to the human mind as the divine revelations of religion. This identity of relation, perhaps better, of function, irrespective of identity of content, is all that needs to be established. Thus it is that the religious man finds in his religion, and the philosopher in his philosophy, a peace that the world cannot give. The world is fragmentary, experience requires always a Beyond to make the experience complete,—it is the flower in the crannied wall. The ideals of philosophy and of religion are final, beyond them there is no Beyond. The strict Calvinist may not have enjoyed the prospect of Hell, but he could rejoice in being damned for the glory of God.

Now all that has been said of philosophy and of religion is likewise true of poetry, true in kind, at least, if not in degree. On the creative side, the poet is one with the



philosopher in that he gives to experience,—to imaginative experience, that is,—harmony, organization. For the time being, he is at work in a little world of his own, a world over which he is the ruling genius, one which he brings to order out of chaos, one which he is engaged in articulating. But his world may not be arbitrary, any more than the world of the philosopher may be arbitrary; for every work of art must show on the face of it why it is so and not otherwise, else it is not art. If the poet is master of his imagination, nothing which ought to have come into the ordered world of his poem will have been left out; nothing which ought to have been left out will have been brought in. The order will be perfect, the articulation complete.

It is in this consent of our æsthetic will to the will of the artist that the parallel of poetry with philosophy and with religion will be found to lie. (The satisfaction the mind derives from the contemplation of any view of life to which it gives its consent, and the repose it finds in religious faith, are identical in essence with the satisfaction with which the mind is filled when it yields itself to the spell of poetry. To be sure, we gain much from philosophy and from religion besides mere æsthetic satisfaction; we are roused by them to many sorts of intellectual and moral activities. And we may gain from poetry also more than mere æsthetic satisfaction. But, and here is the point which requires emphasis,—the element which is common to all three, is, not a coincidence of content, but this capacity for satisfying the æsthetic demand,—the demand, namely, that the object towards which our mind is directed shall require nothing outside itself for completion. We are satisfied æsthetically with an object when we are in harmony with it, when we can feel that had we willed it to come into existence we should have willed it to be just so and not otherwise. Thus the philosopher who is convinced of the finality of his reading of life, wills



life to be in harmony with that view; he is in æsthetic accord with his *Weltanschauung*. And the truly religious man is æsthetically in harmony with his religion, for, by submitting to what he regards as the will of God, he wills with God, so that, even if he be obliged thus to will his own destruction, there is for him satisfaction in that very act of will.

We have now worked out a theory which can withstand the tests before which the theory of identity through coincidence of content broke down. We can be in æsthetic accord with any poem whatsoever, irrespective of the content. The philosophy of the ballad may be the most naïve; from the drama, religion may be entirely lacking; yet should I be inclined to will both the one and the other, then are they, at least for me, identical with philosophy and a substitute for religion, for my philosophical and my religious instincts, in so far as these are æsthetic instincts, have been satisfied.

So much, then, for the æsthetic parallel. In one other respect, also, are poetry, philosophy, and religion comparable,—in certain aspects all three are non-temporal.

It is difficult for the man of affairs to free himself from the bondage of time, for the reason that he is engaged his life long in observing those changes upon which his very existence depends; and change is the essence of time. But the mathematician, the logician, the philosopher, the man who can lose himself in religious contemplation, the artist,—all these may come to realize that their relation to the object is essentially non-temporal. The truth of the Pythagorean proposition, for instance, is an eternal truth,—not because it can never be demonstrated false, but because it is non-temporal. To speak of it in terms of time would be a proceeding that would have no meaning. The manuscript of the poem may perish in to-morrow's fire; by to-morrow we may ourselves be no more. But if the poem was æsthetically a



true poem, then its truth was an eternal truth. And our relation to the poem, because it was one of æsthetic consent, was an eternal, because non-temporal, relationship. Browning's *Old Pictures in Florence* is interesting as the product of an artist and philosopher who was not sufficiently either philosopher or artist quite to see this non-temporal aspect of art. The reason is evident, Browning was ever an ethical teacher, and morality belongs to time. When he writes of works of art,

“They stand for our copy, and once invested  
With all they can teach, we shall see them abolished,”

he fails to realize that these, in their perfection, possess an eternality in the light of which his desire for a continuity of tumultuous existence is all but vulgar.

Life, in its final analysis, is will, for without will there would be no life. If, then, poetry, philosophy and religion can bring complete satisfaction to the will, then is that relationship non-temporal, for there is in the relationship nothing to mark change. If change is to occur, it must come from without, it cannot originate either in the object itself or in our relation to the object. Yet the mood so induced is far from being one of mere quiescence; it may be contemplative, but it is impassioned contemplation. It is a mood when, as Wordsworth says,

“ we are laid asleep  
In body, and become a living soul ;  
While with an eye made quiet by the power  
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy  
We see into the life of things.”

Poetry, then, may, purely by accident, have a philosophical or a religious content, but it is one both with philosophy and religion only because our attitude towards each is, in part at least, the æsthetic attitude, and because all three satisfy,



at least in a measure, the æsthetic demand. Obviously, however, poetry is not alone capable of satisfying this demand. Coleridge and Arnold found the parallelism in poetry because, being themselves poets, they could feel it in poetry when they could not feel it in the other arts. But the musician who cannot endure poetry, and the painter who cannot appreciate music, feels it, each in his own art. It is because the medium of poetry is language that the matter has become confused. It is the common purpose of the arts to bring order out of chaos, and to make real to the finite imagination of man that which is, in its essence, non-temporal. Poetry, therefore, can be identified with philosophy and with religion only in so far as all art can be so identified. Keats alone has been wholly right:

“Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.”

PERCY ADAMS HUTCHISON.



# APPENDIX.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,  
HELD AT  
YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
AND AT  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILL.,  
DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 1906.







# THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

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## THE ASSOCIATION MEETING.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., December 27, 28, 29, in accordance with the following invitation:

YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT,

December 12, 1905.

PROFESSOR C. H. GRANDGENT,

*Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America.*

*My dear Sir:—*

In behalf of Yale University, I have the honor to invite the Modern Language Association of America to hold its annual meeting in December, 1906, in New Haven. Such a meeting would be held under the auspices of the University, and we should do all in our power both for the enjoyment of the members of the Association and for the furtherance of the larger objects which it has in view.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR T. HADLEY.

All the sessions were held in Lampson Hall. Professor Henry Alfred Todd, President of the Association, presided at all but the last, when Professor Frederick Morris Warren, First Vice-President, took the chair.

Reduced rates were secured from the railways.

### FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The Association met at 3 p. m. The session was opened



# PROCEEDINGS FOR 1906.

V

## EXPENDITURES.

To Secretary for Salary,	.	.	.	\$	200	00	
" " " Printing,	.	.	.		29	45	
" " " Postage,	.	.	.		38	00	
" " " Expressage,	.	.	.		5	15	
" " " Typewriting,	.	.	.		45		
							\$ 273 05
To Treasurer for Salary,	.	.	.	\$	100	00	
" " " Printing,	.	.	.		66	30	
" " " Clerical Assistance,	.	.	.		14	50	
" " " Expressage,	.	.	.		1	50	
" " " Postage	.	.	.		4	54	
							\$ 186 84
To Secretary, Central Division,							
for Printing and Postage,	.						\$ 61 37
For Printing <i>Publications</i> ,							
Vol. XXI, No. 1,	.	.	.	\$	607	52	
" XXI, " 2,	.	.	.		572	93	
" XXI, " 3,	.	.	.		526	34	
" XXI, " 4,	.	.	.		696	59	
							\$2,403 38
For Printing Letter of March 5th,	.	.	.	\$	13	09	
" " Report, Committee on Pho-							
netic Alphabet,	.	.	.		77	70	
" " Program 24th Annual Meet-							
ing,	.	.	.		73	05	
							\$ 163 84
Guarantee to R. R. 23d Annual Meeting,	.	.	.			50	
Exchange,	.	.	.			4	90
							\$3,093 88
Balance on hand	}	Cambridge Trust Co.,	.	.	\$	579	62
Dec. 26, 1906,		" Savings Bank,	.	.		508	75
		Eutaw " "	.	.		1,391	45
							2,479 82
							<u>\$5,573 70</u>

On the nomination of the Executive Council, presented by the Secretary, Professor Eugen Kühnemann was elected, by a unanimous vote, an honorary member of the Association.

The President of the Association, Professor Henry Alfred Todd, appointed the following committees:



(1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors A. H. Palmer and B. F. Bowen.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors Calvin Thomas, J. B. Henneman, and C. von Klenze.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Laurence Sterne's Experiments in Farming at Sutton-on-the-Forest." By Professor Wilbur Lucius Cross, of Yale University.

[The paper was based upon local anecdotes, Sterne's letters, and an inspection of the Sutton parish-registry, memorials of deeds, and the awards under an enclosure act.—*Twenty minutes.*]

2. "The use of the Terms Idealism and Realism." By Professor Albert Schinz, of Bryn Mawr College.

[As employed in modern criticism these terms have various and confusing meanings. They may refer to the method of treating a subject, in which case they are almost synonymous with "subjectivism" and "objectivism." They may refer to an author's ethical inspiration, and from this point of view the same work may be characterized as idealistic or realistic according to the moral standard of the critic. Only by distinguishing the different uses of these terms, and by keeping in mind their relative value in each case, can several problems confronting the literary critic, such as the theory of art for art's sake, be clearly understood.—*Twenty minutes.*]

3. "Herder's *Ideen*, Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, and Taine's *Voyage en Italie*." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of Brown University.

[Herder's *Ideen zur Geschichte der Philosophie der Menschheit* (1784-91) was the first attempt on a large scale to correlate history and physical geography. Goethe, during the years immediately preceding his trip to Italy (1786-8) had renewed his intimacy with Herder. This intercourse encouraged Goethe's scientific habits of thought—conspicuous among which was his correlation of man with his physical environment. This habit of conceiving man as determined in large measure, at least, by his physical surroundings gives to Goethe's letters and diaries written in Italy (and con-



sequently to the *Italienische Reise*) a unique position in the evolution of Italian Travel in the 18th and early 19th centuries. What we miss, however, is any consistent application of such a "deterministic" method to the various types of art found in Italy. The dogma of Winckelmann and that of Mengs control the *Tagebücher* and the *Italienische Reise*.—Not until all historical phenomena had been studied in the spirit of modern science could a method of criticism spread which abolishes such absolute standards and tries to comprehend artistic phenomena as resultants of physical and especially historical forces. The first work in which the "deterministic" method appears as applied to every phase of Italian art is Taine's *Voyage en Italie* (1866). Hence Taine's *Voyage* is the complement of Goethe's *Italienische Reise*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

4. "Supplementary use of Dares Phrygius in later medieval versions of the Story of Troy." By Dr. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, of Princeton University. [See *Publications*, XXII, 1.]

[The anonymous author of a 15th century English prose redaction of Guido de Colonne, entitled the *Sege of Troye*, has, in addition to Guido, made, in at least four instances, supplementary use of Guido's ultimate source, Dares Phrygius. In like manner, Guido in his translation of Benoit, has, in at least two passages, reverted to Benoit's source, Dares. This supplementary use of Dares by Guido and his English redactor obliges the conclusion that medieval redactors of the story of Troy more frequently supplemented a proximate by an ultimate source than has hitherto been supposed.—*A ten-minute summary.*]

5. "The Character of Chaucer's Criseyde." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, XXII, 3.]

[The reader presented reasons for changing in some measure the current views regarding Criseyde.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At 8.30 p. m. the Association met in the Art School to hear an address by Professor Henry Alfred Todd, President of the Association, on "The Function of the Doctor's Degree in the Study of Modern Languages in America."



After the address, the members and guests of the Association were received by President and Mrs. Hadley in the Art School.

Later in the evening the gentlemen of the Association were informally entertained at the Graduates' Club.

#### SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The session began at 9.45 a. m.

6. "The Ballad of *The Bitter Withy*." By Mr. Gordon Hall Gerould, of Princeton University. [To appear in *Publications*, XXIII, 1.]

[This ballad, first printed by F. Sidgwick in *Notes and Queries* for July, 1905, has been found to embody materials of which the first suggestion appears in the Laurentian MS. of the Pseudo-Matthew. The development of the suggestion there presented was traced through other apocryphal gospels and various Romance and English versions of the *Childhood of Jesus*.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

7. "Means and End in making a Concordance." By Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of Yale University. [See *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Dante Society* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1906.]

[Criticisms which have been made of a recently published Concordance show that there is no agreement among scholars as to the proper method of arranging such a work. The reader discuss the function of a Concordance as distinguished from an index or a dictionary; various questions suggested by the criticisms above mentioned, and certain problems which had arisen during the preparation of a Concordance to the *Rime* of Petrarch.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors J. D. Bruner and C. H. Grandgent.

Professor A. S. Cook announced and described a project for the formation of a Concordance Society, whose



object should be the publication of concordances to great English authors. After some debate by Professor A. Cohn and Dr. P. W. Long, on motion of Professor J. D. Bruner, it was

*Voted*, That the Modern Language Association approves of the establishment of a Concordance Society.

On motion of Professor C. W. Hodell, it was then

*Voted*, That a time be designated by the Secretary for a conference on the formation of a Concordance Society.

[The hour of 2.30 p. m. on the same day was appointed, and the Society was successfully started. Further information can be obtained from Professor A. S. Cook, of Yale University.]

The reading of papers was resumed.

8. "Why Five Acts?" By Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University.

[There is no logical reason for five acts. Three acts conform to the Aristotelian division. Five acts were required in English because of the practice of Seneca and the precept of Horace, derived from observation of the later methods of Euripides. Accepted by the classicists first in Italy, then in France, and finally in England, the five act form did not capture the professional playwrights until Ben Jonson adopted it. Shakespere rejected it.—*Thirty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Dr. C. A. Eggert, Dr. K. D. Jessen, and Professors H. E. Greene, Brander Matthews, J. D. Bruner, and D. R. Keys.

9. "The English Comedians in Germany before the Thirty Years' War: the Financial Side." By Professor Charles Harris, of Western Reserve University. [See *Publications*, xxii, 3.]



[The information already published about the English Comedians in Germany gives us some notion of the size of the companies, their charges for admission, and the number of representations annually. Fynes Moryson, who saw some of these comedians at Frankfort, adds incidentally to our knowledge of them by his careful statistics relating to the cost of living and travel at that time. It is therefore possible, by combining both sources of information, to arrive at some definite conclusions concerning the financial returns of these theatrical ventures.—*Thirty minutes.*]

In accordance with an announcement on the program, a discussion of Simplified Spelling followed. It was opened by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, who read a paper on the origin, principles, and purpose of the Simplified Spelling Board. The debate was continued by Professor Calvin Thomas, who offered these resolutions:

I. That the Modern Language Association hereby approves the plan of campaign adopted by the Simplified Spelling Board in its effort to promote the gradual simplification and rationalization of English orthography, namely, to recommend to the public, from time to time and in the case of selected words and groups of words:

(1). The dropping of useless silent letters, as the *ue* in *catalogue*, the *ugh* in *though*.

(2). The bringing of meaningless anomalies into line with the prevailing analogies of the language, as *metre* into line with *diameter*, *thermometer*, etc., and *centre* and *theatre* into line with the great multitude of words like *letter*, *river*, *father*.

(3). The reduction of unphonetic combinations of letters to simpler terms, as the *ed* in *dropped* to *t*, the *ae* in *mediaeval* to *e*, the *ph* in *phantom* to *f*.

II. That the members of the Association be requested, while reserving the right to reject any proposed simplification that they do not approve, to manifest their interest in the cause by using and encouraging the use, so far as they can, of such simplified forms as they do approve.

III. That the forms recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board in its published List of three hundred words be used hereafter in the publications of the Association, except that the author of a monograph shall always have the right to direct that his work be printed in the spelling which he prefers.

On motion of Professor W. K. Gillett, it was decided



to consider the resolutions separately. A long and earnest debate ensued, in which Professors A. Cohn, A. Schinz, Brander Matthews, and Dr. P. W. Long participated. Professor H. E. Greene, on behalf of the Committee on Spelling, read another set of resolutions, of similar general tenor to those offered by Professor Thomas; he declined, however, to move them as a substitute, preferring to leave the field free for those first presented.

For the first resolution a show of hands was called for. It was past by a vote of 72 to 44.

The second resolution was carried by a *viva voce* vote.

To the third Professor J. W. Cunliffe proposed an amendment. After some discussion, in the course of which Professor Cunliffe consented to a change of phraseology, the amendment, thus altered, was accepted by Professor Thomas and incorporated into his resolution. The resolution in its amended form was read to the Association as follows:

That the simplified forms recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board in its published list of three hundred words be adopted in the publications of the Association. The author of a monograph shall, however, always be consulted beforehand and shall have the right to direct that his work be printed with the spelling that he prefers.

A show of hands being demanded, the resolution was carried by a vote of 56 to 31.

[The American Dialect Society held its annual meeting at 2 p. m. in Lampson Hall.]

### THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The session began at 3.20 p. m.

At the previous annual meeting, on motion of Professor L. A. Loiseaux, it had been



*Voted*, That consideration be given, at the next meeting, to the subject of a uniform terminology in grammars.

In accordance with this vote, the first part of the third session was set apart for this purpose. The discussion was opened by Professor Loiseaux, who was followed by Mr. A. Remy, Mr. J. M. Kagan, and Professor A. Cohn. After a brief debate, it was moved by Professor Loiseaux

That a committee consisting of fifteen representatives, three each for English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, be appointed by the Executive Council of the Association.

That such committee devise a uniform system of grammatical terminology—or as nearly uniform a system for each language or group of languages as can be contrived—and report to the Association at its next meeting or as soon as practicable thereafter.

The Secretary moved that this Committee be further instructed to recommend such changes as may be needed in the lists of text-books suggested by the Association in its report. The amendment was accepted by Professor Loiseaux, and the motion, thus amended, was carried.

[The Executive Council subsequently appointed the following committee:

*For English:*

Professor J. M. Manly, University of Chicago.

Professor J. W. Cunliffe, McGill College, Montreal.

Dr. L. Whitaker, Northeast Manual Training High School, Philadelphia.

*For French:*

Professor L. A. Loiseaux, Columbia University, *Chairman of the Committee.*

Mr. W. B. Snow, English High School, Boston.

Mr. W. D. Head, Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.

*For German:*

Professor H. Collitz, Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. E. Spanhoofd, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.

Miss Helene H. Boll, Hillhouse School, New Haven, Conn.



*For Italian:*

Professor B. L. Bowen, State University of Ohio.  
 Professor Mary V. Young, Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.  
 Mr. E. H. Wilkins, Harvard University.

*For Spanish:*

Professor E. C. Hills, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.  
 Dr. W. H. Chenery, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Mr. F. W. Morrison, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.]

On motion of the Secretary, it was voted that the necessary expenses of this Committee be borne by the Association.

The reading of papers was resumed.

10. "A Survey of the Literature on Wordsworth." By Professor Lane Cooper, of Cornell University. [To appear in *Publications*, XXIII, 1.]

[The paper offered a rapid survey of existent apparatus for the interpretation and criticism of Wordsworth; with an attempt to show in what direction this apparatus should first be supplemented. It set forth the immediate need of a concordance to Wordsworth, and, next, the need of special studies on his principles of criticism, on his relation to prior English poets, and on his debt to the Greek and Latin classics.—*Twenty minutes.*]

11. "*You all* as used in the South." By Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of North Carolina. [Printed in *The Uncle Remus's Magazine*, Atlanta, Ga., July, 1907.]

[The discussions of this idiom have proceeded on the supposition that it is incorrect to follow *you* or *we* with *all*. The provincialism of the idiom, however, lies not in the position of *all* but in the accent and meaning given the phrase. When used as a distinctive Southern idiom, the stronger accent is on *you* and the words mean not *all of you* but *you folks*, *you people*, as distinguished from the speaker. The expression is not used as a singular. Citations were adduced to show that the germs of the idiom may be found in English usage.—*Twenty minutes.*]



This paper was discust by Professors R. H. Fife, B. J. Vos, H. E. Greene, C. A. Smith, and W. A. Nitze.

12. "A Name for Spenser's Rosalind." By Dr. Percy W. Long, of Bryn Mawr College.

["Rosalinde," the "feigned" name of Spenser's unidentified early love, is an anagram of Eliza Nord,—probably Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas North, the translator of Doni and Plutarch. The "Northpartes," then, were the so-called highlands of south-eastern Cambridgeshire, where the Norths resided in familiarity with Leicester, Smith, and other friends of Harvey. In June, 1579, the month which Spenser devotes to Rosalind's faithlessness, Elizabeth married.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor J. W. Cunliffe and Dr. P. W. Long.

In the evening the gentlemen of the Association were entertained by the Local Committee at the Graduates' Club.

The ladies were received, at the residence of Professor A. S. Cook, by the wives of the University instructors in Modern Languages.

#### FOURTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session began at 10 a. m.

The Auditing Committee reported that the Treasurer's report was found correct. The Treasurer's report was accepted.

The Nominating Committee reported the following nominations:

*President.*

Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan.



*Vice-Presidents.*

Frederick Morris Warren, of Yale University.

Charles Harris, of Western Reserve University.

James Douglas Bruce, of the University of Tennessee.

The candidates nominated were elected officers of the Association.

[The Executive Council subsequently chose Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri, to fill the place in the Council left vacant by the election of Professor Harris to the Vice-Presidency. The Council also selected Columbus, Ohio, as the place for the next meeting.]

Professor L. F. Mott offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to President and Mrs. Hadley and the governing boards of Yale University, to the Governors of the Graduates' Club, to the Local Committee, and to the wives of the instructors in Modern Languages for their liberal and carefully planned entertainment, which has rendered this meeting so eminently successful and enjoyable.

The resolution was carried by a rising vote of the Association.

The reading of papers was resumed.

13. "The 'Exciting Force' in the Drama." By Professor James D. Bruner, of the University of North Carolina.

[Present theories of the nature, function, and position of the "exciting force" or "moment" in the drama contain contradictory elements. Two entirely different things are made to apply to one definition. The "exciting cause" and the "exciting force" should be rigidly separated. The "box on the ears" and Rodrigue's resolution to avenge his father's insult cannot both be the "exciting force," which should be restricted to the actual beginning of the dramatic action. This "exciting" or "initial moment," usually a resolution of the protagonist or principal antagonist, occurs at



or near the end of Act I of a regularly constructed drama, as Macbeth's "I am settled," etc. Each action, whether primary or secondary, has its own "exciting force," the "exciting force" of a subordinate action sometimes usurping the place of that of the main action, as in *Hernani*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

14. "A View of *Historia Regum Britanniae*." By Mr. William Wells Newell, of Cambridge, Mass.

[Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, prepared in the early months of Stephen's reign and under the imminence of civil war, by a writer residing in England and to all intents and purposes Anglo-Norman, had reference to the political circumstances of the year 1136. The author designed to show that the prosperity of a state is ensured by peace and order, while civic dissension opens a short road to ruin; the History, which is essentially a series of *exempla*, tho avowedly describing an alleged ancient British Utopia, in reality refers to contemporary conditions in England.—*A ten-minute summary.*]

15. "Certain Songs and Ballads Heard and Collected in Eastern North Carolina." By Professor John Bell Hennemann, of the University of the South. [To appear in *Publications*, xxiii, 1.]

[The students of the University of the South coming from a number of States all over the South, the Professors have frequently the opportunity of collecting and comparing material derived from very different sources. A student of the English classes, interested in ballads and folk-speech, while doing mission work in vacation in Eastern North Carolina, happened there upon a number of Songs and Ballads, which he reported upon his return to the Professor of English. These were sung and repeated by an elderly woman, who while illiterate, was taught them by her mother, who, in turn, had received them by oral tradition from her home in England. They were set down from repetition, as nearly as possible in the words used, on Feb. 5, 1906, by Mr. H. W. Ticknor, a student of the University of the South. They comprise: (1) The Turkish Factor, (2) The Prince of Morocco, (3) Lord Beham, (4) Lord Lovinder, (5) Lord Thomas, (6) The Seventh King's Daughter, (7) Beautiful Susan, (8) Johnnie Dye, (9) Johnny German; and (10) Paul Jones, a Revolutionary Ballad.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Mr. G. H. Gerould.



16. "Italian Prototypes of the Masque and Dumb Show." By Professor John William Cunliffe, of McGill University. [See *Publications*, xxii, 1.]

[Contemporary evidence of Italian origin.—Italians at the English Court.—Early allegorical representations in Italy.—A so-called *Farsa* of Sannazzaro's (1492) has all the characteristics of the later English Masques.—Development of the *Intermedii*.—Some notable examples.—Their effect upon foreign visitors.—Relation to the English Dumb Show.—Summary of conclusions.—A *ten minute abstract*.]

17. "*Ambulare—Andare—Aller*." By Dr. Charles A. Eggert, of New Haven, Conn.

[During the rule of the Longobards in Italy *ambulare* was used in the sense of *dare*, to denote violence. This similarity of use is founded on various meanings of *dare*. The people must have used *dare* more or less for *ambulare*. Hence its substitution in *andare* for whatsoever development of (*am*)*bulare*. In French the change to *aller* was regular.—*Ten minutes*.]

18. "The Renaissance Treatises on Honor, and their Influence on European Letters." By Professor Joel Elias Spingarn, of Columbia University.

[During the second half of the sixteenth century there appeared in Italy a series of formal treatises on Honor, and analogous works followed in Spain, France, and England. The purpose of this paper is to call the attention of scholars to the importance of these treatises and to their influence on letters and social ideals in Spain and England during the following generation.—*Twenty minutes*.]

#### FIFTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The fifth and last session began at 2.05 p. m.

19. "Dryden's Conversion to the Roman Catholic Faith." By Dr. Robert K. Root, of Princeton University. [See *Publications*, xxii, 2.]

[An attempt to prove that Dryden's conversion was due not, as Macaulay and others have maintained, to an unworthy desire to



ingratiate himself at court, nor yet, as Johnson and Scott believed, to any deep religious conviction, but rather to a sincere political conviction that an infallible church offered the only permanent safeguard against dissension and civil war.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discusst by Professor H. E. Greene.

20. "The Relations of Poetry to Philosophy and to Religion." By Dr. Percy A. Hutchison, of Harvard University. [*See Publications. xxii. 4.*]

Poetry is unique amongst the arts, for poetry, because its medium is language, can develop ideas to a greater degree of complexity than can any other art. This has led in the minds of some to an identity of poetry with the most complex and subtle of human pursuits, namely, philosophy and religion. Coleridge identified poetry with philosophy; Matthew Arnold, with religion. Philosophy seems to furnish us with a Weltanschauung; religion, with an ultimate aim for all thought and emotion; most of what we call poetry can furnish us with neither. But why should we judge poetry by standards which have not their origin in poetry itself? (Poetry) we are should be judged by other than its own canons; if the nature of poetry have not yet been found, it is the duty of the critic to search for them. On the side of content, then, we may identify poetry neither with philosophy nor with religion. Looked at from another point of view, however, such an identity can actually exist. The impulse to philosophize, and to postulate religious ultimate, is one with the impulse to poetic composition; and the satisfaction the mind derives from the contemplation of a Weltanschauung, and the repose it finds in religious faith, is one with the satisfaction that it discovers when it yields itself to the spell of poetry. But this is not because they happen to have a content in common, that can be but accidental: it is because the common impulse is primarily, the esthetic impulse, and the satisfaction is primarily, aesthetic. Poetry becomes one with philosophy and with religion because as art, it shares with them the common purpose of giving order to chaos, and of making real to the finite imagination a world that which is, in its essence, non-temporal. This is, however, the purpose of the other arts also; poetry, therefore, is to be identified with philosophy and with religion only so far as all are in it to be identified.—*Twenty minutes.*]

21. "The Superman." By Professor Thomas Stockham Baker, of the Jacob Tome Institute.



[The word and its history.—A new phase of transcendentalism.—Recent interest in the subject; the theories of Max Stirner; Guyau and his significance; Nietzsche and the Superman; the cult of the Superman in Germany; the increasing importance of Nietzsche for literature; Nietzsche's influence outside of Germany; English borrowings from his philosophy.—The permanent and ephemeral elements in his teachings.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

22. "The Use of Contrasts in Sudermann's Plays." By Professor Clyde Chew Glascock, of Yale University. [See *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1907.]

[The attempt will be made in this paper to show that, in some of Sudermann's dramatic work, so extraordinarily well balanced contrasts have been employed as to be offensive and produce the effect of artificiality. The data presented are intended as an aid in disclosing the character of Sudermann's technique.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The Association adjourned at 3.45.

#### PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only:

23. "Arbaces and Cethegus." By Mr. Eugene C. Alder, of the William Penn Charter School.

[Felix Dahn (*Erinnerungen*, III, 336, 337, 349, 360 f.) enumerates the sources of *Ein Kampf um Rom*. All important personages are historical except Cethegus, the Prefect. This character, which Dahn styles a composite creation of his own, bears in descent, appearance, life, philosophy, aspirations, and death a striking similarity to Arbaces, the Egyptian, in Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii*, a work with which Dahn was familiar (*Erinnerungen*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 455).]

24. "Antijacobinism." By Dr. George M. Baker, of Yale University.

[The influence of Antijacobinism in turning the tide of public opinion against German literature in England in the last decade of the 18th century.—(a) Summary of the literary and political conditions in England in the year 1797.—(b) Outline of the inun-



dation of the English stage by the German drama.—(c) The Anti-jacobin criticism (1) in the *Examiner*, (2) in the *Antijacobin Review*, (3) in Robeson's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, the Abbé Barruel's *Memoirs*, and sundry publications.—(d) Influence of this criticism on the monthly reviews and public opinion.—(e) The Antijacobin criticism focussed upon the revolutionary propaganda in German literature as the determining factor in the rejection of this literature.]

25. "Doni and the Jacobeans." By Dr. John M. Berdan, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, XXII, 2.]

[Doni exemplifies the Anti-Petrarchistic School. Almost unknown, surviving only in the places where they ought to have perished, in themselves his works are worth little. But as his life was so diversified that he became intimately acquainted with all shades of Italian critical opinion, his work shows the general theory of the school, the sacrificing of manner to matter. His *De la Speranza d'Amore* is an example of the new treatment. His *Marmi* justifies by the social conditions the grotesque nomenclature of the Jacobeans; in the *Mondi* he outlines the conception which Phineas Fletcher afterwards worked out in the *Purple Island*. Thus the careful reading of Doni is of interest to a student of the so-called "Metaphysical School."]

26. "The Development of John Dryden's Literary Criticism." By Dr. William Edward Bohn, of the University of Michigan. [See *Publications*, XXII, 1.]

[Dryden's criticism presents a peculiar problem. There entered into it practically all the mutually antagonistic elements characteristic of the literary theorizing of the last half of the seventeenth century. These various elements combined and recombined, appeared and disappeared, with an apparent irregularity which seems to throw Dryden's critical theory into confusion. Hitherto there has been discovered in it no principle of development: one scholar, in fact, definitely denies the existence of such a principle. The present paper is an attempt to show that Dryden's critical work divides itself into five periods, and that in each of these periods his literary theory bears a well defined relation, on the one hand, to his non-critical works and, on the other, to the circumstances of his external life.]

27. "The Relations of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism." By Professor Gertrude Buck, of Vassar College.

[The field of rhetoric has successively shifted from grounds of



mere practice or empirical art to those of applied science and thence to those of pure science or theory. A similar shift of the field of literary criticism is discoverable. The materials of rhetoric and criticism are partially coincident, their methods must be substantially identical and their results mutually serviceable.]

28. "Notes on the Language of Martin Opitz." By Dr. Paul Gustav Adolf Busse, of the Ohio State University.

[The paper is intended as an initial step toward a general study of the conditions of German grammar during the first half of the seventeenth century. The opinions of such grammarians as Behaghel, Kluge, Rinkert, etc., differ considerably regarding the development of High-German during this period. Martin Opitz took the initiative against the prevailing conventionalism in the language of his time. By a study of his application of his own rules and by word-lists, comparing his grammatical forms with those of Luther's later writings,—e. g., *Wider Hans Worst*,—the paper attempts to show in what respects Opitz developed the language beyond Luther and also to what extent he drew on the forms of the chancery-style.]

29. "A French Poetic Revolution." By Professor Charles Cameron Clark, Jr., of Yale University.

[The influence of the Revolution of 1789 upon literature in France.—Reasons for its influence not having been manifest in Poetry till as late as 1870. Romantic school not radical. Individualism and the so-called Decadent or Symbolist Movement. Essential character of this movement. Two main reasons why it has appealed to foreigners and not to Frenchmen. Its failure due to its violation of French tradition as to Clearness and Metrics.]

30. "The Irish Version of the Old-French Chanson de Geste, *Fierabras*." By Professor Joseph Dunn, of the Catholic University.

[The name *Fierabras*.—The Irish not an original composition.—Relation of the several Irish to the Romance and English versions.—Latin loan-words and proper names in the Irish version.—Anglo-Saxon words.—In some respects, the Irish is closer to the Provençal than to the Old-French version.—Original of the Irish version was none of the known Old French versions.—Probability of a Latin original.]

31. "Two Inedited Letters of Jean de Boyssonné." By Dr. John L. Gerig, of Columbia University. [See *Revue de la Renaissance*, December, 1906.]

[These Latin letters, addressed by the Poet to Maclou Popon, a



jurist of Dijon, date from 1550. There were two other personages of the name of Jean de Boyssonné at Toulouse during this period: the rector of the university expelled from Parliament in 1509, and replaced by Jean de Langeac in 1511; and the *Seigneur de Bouteville* whose son Giraud became counsellor in Parliament in 1554.]

32. "German Influence on Religious Life and Thought in America during the Colonial Period." By Professor J. Preston Hoskins, of Princeton University. [See *Princeton Theological Review*, January and April, 1907.]

[This paper is the first of a number which will endeavor to trace historically the influence which the German race, German religion, German education, and German literature have exercised upon American culture. Specifically it aims to show the points of contact between the Pietistic movement in the Lutheran Church of Germany, the rise of Wesleyanism in England, and the Great Awakening in America, and to prove that the change from the Puritanic to the Methodist type of Christianity, about 1740, was due directly to elements borrowed from German Pietism and German Moravianism.]

33. "The Legend of the Forbidden Apple." By Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

[According to a legend widely diffused in medieval and modern literature, the name of the fruit that Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat was the apple. The object of the present study is to try to show that this legend owes its origin to the difference between the meaning of Latin *pomum* (=fruit in general) and its French derivative *pomme*, both forms having been used in describing the forbidden fruit. In the Vulgate the fruit in question is designated by *fructus*. However, Ambrosius Ausbertus uses *pomum* in referring to this fruit, and in the Old French descriptions of the Garden of Eden *fructus* is replaced by *pome*.]

34. "The Ancestry of Chaucer." By Professor Alfred Allen Kern, of Millsaps College. [Printed as a Johns Hopkins dissertation by the Lord Baltimore Press, 1906.]

[An attempt has been made to give not only all that is now known of the poet's ancestors, from his father to his great-great-grandfather, but also a history of the various guesses through which the truth has been reached. This collection and comparison of statements and records has resulted in the discovery of additional facts in the lives of the Chaucers and in the correction of several misstatements concerning them which occur in authoritative works upon



the poet. The discovery of about forty new records having relation to the poet's forebears has widened our knowledge of them, especially in the direction of the trial of the Staces *et al.* for the abduction of John Chaucer and the deputyship of Richard and John Chaucer.]

35. "A Social View of Language." By Mr. George Philip Krapp, of Columbia University. [See *Forum*, October, 1907.]

[The influence of theoretical studies upon practical opinion.—Illustration from the field of sociological research.—The character of social institutions, with special reference to politics and language.—Discussion and illustration of the anarchistic, the aristocratic, the oligarchic, and the social-democratic point of view in language.—Application of the discussion.]

36. "Pössneck, the Scene of *Hermann und Dorothea*." By Professor Charles Julius Kullmer, of Syracuse University.

[The theory of Sintenis, based largely on Goethe's diary, that Pössneck forms the setting of *Hermann und Dorothea*, was investigated in Pössneck, and corroborated by the discovery of striking parallels in localities, characters, and incidents.]

37. "The Date of *ai* in *Connaitre* and *Paraitre*." By Mr. H. Carrington Lancaster, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[A demonstration by ninety-four examples from thirteen plays that the *ai* writing of these verbs was not first introduced in 1675, as now commonly held, but that it had been already used in them as a good variant for *oi* during the period from 1630 to 1639. The indications that this early occurrence of *ai* for *oi* is due to analogy between these verbs and *naitre* and *paitre*, where the *ai* is an etymological product.]

38. "Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One*." By Dr. Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

[The play of this name published in 1601 bears internal evidence of having been written late in 1594 or early in 1595, soon after the murder of Beech, upon which one of its plots is based. Hence it cannot be regarded as a revision of Haughton and Day's tragedy on the same theme, written for Henslowe in 1599. Evidence for the earlier date is strengthened by the borrowing of certain lines almost bodily from plays known to have been acted in 1594.]

39. "The Story of Grisandole:—a Study in the Legend of Merlin." By Dr. Lucy Allen Paton, of Cambridge, Mass. [See *Publications*, xxii, 2.]



[This paper discusses the sources of an episode in the French prose romance of *Merlin*, its relation to certain episodes in the Latin poem, the *Vita Merlini*, and its testimony to a form of the Merlin legend anterior to the latter.]

40. "A Study of Skelton's *Magnificence*, with special reference to its Place among the Moral Plays." By Dr. Robert Lee Ramsay, of the Johns Hopkins University. [See *Magnificence, a Moral Play by John Skelton*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, xcvi, 1907.]

[Introductory to a new edition of the play. Part I: The text and earlier editions. Structure of the plot. Grouping of the *dramatis personæ*. Staging, costume, localization. Versification: variations in line and rime-scheme, and use of these variations for dramatic characterization. Indebtedness to Aristotle's *Ethics* and to the *Ship of Fools*. Methods of characterization, and use of fools as "vices." Date, and historical relations; interpreted as a political satire against Wolsey. Part II: As the last of the "moral plays." Parallelism of the changes in staging and in the length and number of actors in the moral plays. The development of metrical technique in the moral plays. The various plots employed, and their successive modifications. Development of the primitive morality cast and of its various groups, and the changes in characterization.]

41. "Parallelism and Repetition of Motives and Diction in Schiller's Dramatic Fragments." By Professor Edwin C. Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin. [To appear in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.]

[A number of dramatic motives re-occur in several fragments, with more or less incisive changes; for *Demetrius* especially Schiller draws with marked frequency on his *Warbeck* and *Die Kinder des Hauses*. From this we may draw inferences concerning his method of work, and re-examine the conjectures as to which subjects would finally have been abandoned. Striking similarities in the wording of certain passages may be utilized also in determining dates of composition.]

42. "*Persiles y Sigismunda*: II. The Question of Heliodorus." By Dr. Rudolph Schevill, of Yale University. [See *Modern Philology*, iv, 4.]

[The plots of the last romance of Cervantes and of the *Theogenes and Charikleia* are compared and the latter's influence pointed out. The object is to show that Cervantes did not follow Heliodorus so much as has been claimed hitherto.]



43. "Romanticism: the Shaping of a Definition." By Professor Laura J. Wylie, of Vassar College.

[The explanation of current definitions of Romanticism is to be found (1) in the principles developed in defence of the poetry of the early nineteenth century; (2) in the fuller development of these principles as they were generally adopted. Pater's definition, in which this discussion culminated, must be reconstructed to be useful to the student, according to the present esthetic theory.]

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## THE CENTRAL DIVISION MEETING.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., December 27, 28, and 29, 1906. All the regular sessions were held in Mandel Hall.

## FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p. m. by Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, chairman of the executive committee, Professor E. P. Baillot, the chairman of the Division, being absent in Europe. On motion of Professor Jenkins, Professor Gustaf E. Karsten was appointed chairman *pro tempore*. The secretary, Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, presented his report, which was adopted. It was moved and carried that the executive committee be requested to appoint a time for the discussion of "simplified spelling," whereupon the committee selected Friday forenoon, December 28.

The chairman announced the following committees:

On nomination of officers: Professors George O. Curme, Neil C. Brooks, Laurence Fossler, John M. Manly, Glen L. Swiggett.

On place of meeting: Professors S. W. Cutting, D. K. Dodge, C. W. Eastman, Otto Heller, H. A. Smith.

On auditing the secretary's accounts: Professors F. G. Hubbard, C. H. Handschin.

The reading of papers was then begun.



1. "Transition in English Prose." By Professor J. Scott Clark, of Northwestern University.

[The value of smooth transition as an element of good style; the difficulty in causing young writers to acquire it; some methods of cultivating it; some comments on the favorite methods of transition employed by specific writers of eminence.—*Ten minutes.*]

2. "Studies in the Technic of the Modern German Novel." By Professor Charles H. Handschin, of Miami University.

[The assertion on the part of several eminent literary critics that there is no German technic of the novel was discust. In what does the technic of the art of writing novels consist? The prevalence, at different times, of certain types of novels, or of certain styles of writing, shows the influence of the technic of one author, or of one school, upon another most palpably. The progress of technic in the German novel is shown by comparison of the older and present day methods of handling the materials and the means of the novelist, such as conversation, etc.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors Glen L. Swiggett and Gustaf E. Karsten.

3. "Lamartine's *Le Crucifix*." By Professor Glen Levin Swiggett, of the University of the South.

[Lamartine and Italy. A discussion of the relation between Mme. Charles and Lamartine. A literary source for the poem in a legend concerning Tasso.—*Ten minutes.*]

4. "American Criticism of Shakespeare." By President Jane Sherzer, of Oxford College for Women. [See *Publications*, xxii, 4.]

[American criticism of Shakespeare as found in American editions to 1866. European texts, only, reprinted from 1795, date of first edition, to 1857-66. Reed's Johnson & Steevens' to 1831; Singer's, 1831, then Read & Singer's to 1844; 1844 Collier's (through Verplanck); 1857-66, the 1623 folio emended by Richard Grant White. Peabody, Verplanck, Hudson, and White the only editors worth mentioning



from 1795-1866. Peabody and White, textual and verbal critics; Verplanck and Hudson, subjective critics.—A ten minute abstract.]

This paper was discust by Professor Gustaf E. Karsten.

5. "Hauptmann's Treatment of Germanic Myths." By Professor Paul H. Grumann, of the University of Nebraska.

[This paper was, in a sense, an amplification of Richard M. Meyer's statement that the correct interpretation of *Versunkene Glocke* must be found through *Hannele*. An attempt was made to define Hauptmann's individualistic conception of superstitions on the basis of Wundt's theories. In the light of these theories a number of the supposed obscurities of *Versunkene Glocke* were discust.—Twenty minutes.]

This paper was discust by Professors George O. Curme, Gustaf E. Karsten, Otto Heller, and the reader.

At this point the chairman called to the chair Professor F. A. Blackburn, who presided during the remainder of the session.

6. "The English Sonnet in the Eighteenth Century." By Professor Edward Payson Morton, of Indiana University.

[An attempt to account for the disuse of the sonnet in the first half of the eighteenth century; a discussion of the date and sources of its revival toward the middle of the century; some account of the extent and character of this revival; with quotations from significant prefaces.—Twenty minutes.]

7. "*The Virtuous Octavia*." By Professor Arthur M. Charles, of Earlham College.

[*The Virtuous Octavia* entered on Stationers' Register (1598) as a Tragicomedy done by Samuel Brandon. Author possibly of Lady Pembroke's circle. His drama apparently a companion piece to her *Mark Antony* and to Daniel's *Cleopatra*. Shows Senecan influence in theme, plot, form, and characters; in substitution of epic for



dramatic elements; in the observation of the unities, stage decencies, etc.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

8. "Spenser's Lost Poems." By Mr. Philo M. Buck, Jr., of McKinley High School, St. Louis, Mo. [To appear in *Publications*, xxiii, 1.]

[The following poems by Spenser are generally supposed to have been lost:

I. Mentioned in Shepherd's Calender: 1. English Poet; 2. Court of Cupid; 3. Sonnets; 4. Pageaunts; 5. Legends; 6. Dreams; 7. Translation of Moschus' Idyl of Winged Love.

II. Mentioned in the Harvey Correspondence (1579-1580): 8. My Slomber and other pamphlets; 9. Stemmata Dudleiana; 10. Nine Comedies; 11. Epithalamion Thamesis; 12. Dying Pelican; 13. Dreams.

III. Mentioned in Preface to Complaints, 1590: 14. Sennights Slomber; 15. Hell of Lovers—His Purgatorie; 16. Translation of Ecclesiastes and Canticum Canticorum; 17. Seven Psalms; 18. Sacrifice of a Sinner; 19. Hours of the Lord.

Of these 1 is probably found in Sidney's *Defence*; 2, 4, 5, and 11 probably worked into *Fairie Queene*, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, *Virgil's Gnat*, etc.; 6, 8, 13 and 14 (the same poem) probably found in *Visions of the World's Vanity*, and in the latter part of *Ruins of Time*; 9 probably worked into *Ruins of Time*; 10 probably identical with *Tears of the Muses*; 15 probably identical with the *Hymn in Honor of Love*. The remainder were probably brief, and we can hardly regret their loss.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

9. "Studies in the Language of Christine de Pisan." By Professor Lucy M. Gay, of the University of Wisconsin.

[While Christine is a daring neologist, using words still credited to the sixteenth century, she is at the same time conservative, having a rich vocabulary of old words. In her use of diminutives she rivals R. Belleau of the sixteenth century. Louis Meigret's criticisms of the orthography of his time might have been made with slight reservation upon Christine's. In her pronunciation,—*eil*: *euil* is of special interest. The old imperfect *iere*, *ere*, *ert*, is found twenty-six times in a single poem. Other forms, such as *iez* as the regular ending of the present subjunctive, are more modern than those credited by Nyrop to her time. Still others, such as the present indicative *I* of verbs of the *partir* and *vendre* type with the analogical *s*, not recognized by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter as the rule



in the sixteenth century, are the prevailing forms in Christine.—  
*Read by title.]*

## SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The session began at 8 p. m. An address of welcome was delivered by Dean Nathaniel Butler. The assembly was also honored by addresses in French and German respectively by M. Henri Merou, the French Consul, and Dr. Walther Wever, the German Consul. Adjournment was then taken to the Quadrangle Club, where a reception was given by the University of Chicago.

## THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The session began at 9 a. m.

10. "On the Conservatism of Language in a New Country." By Professor Frank E. Bryant, of the University of Kansas. [See *Publications*, xxii, 2.]

The paper discust the familiar doctrine that a language is more conservative in a colony than in the mother country. While admitting that there is an important element of truth in the theory, the paper sought to show that this element may be easily exaggerated and that mere transplanting in itself is not a cause for language-conservatism. Twenty minutes.]

This paper was discust by Professors R. J. Kellogg, J. Nicolson, Gustaf E. Karsten, George O. Curme, and F. A. Blackburn.

11. "A Structural Classification of French and German." By Professor Robert J. Kellogg, of James Millikan University.

1. The sentence and its structural components. 2. Structural types of language: incorporation (sentences as words), polysynthesis (sentence members as words), holophrasm (phrases as words), in-



flection and isolation in sentence structure. Agglutination, or transparency of structure. Structurally blended types of languages. The so-called "analytic" languages. 3. Internal structure of significant terms. Derivatives, compounds, and groups. Functional vs. significant structure. 4. Types of structure obtaining in French. Pronominal and verb systems, derivatives, etc. 5. Types of structure obtaining in German. Adjectival and pronominal declensions, compound verbs, derivatives, and composition, etc. 6. Summary of structural classification of French and German.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors F. A. Blackburn and Gustaf E. Karsten.

12. "The Approaches to Wiclif." By Professor William Peters Reeves, of Kenyon College.

[Whether the point of view be historical, political, literary, or linguistic, the study of Wiclif offers peculiar difficulties. Contemporary sources are marked by political and religious animus, usually unfriendly, but often respectful. While in papal bulls Wiclif is classed with Marsiglio of Padua, no connection with him, or with any other writer of the kind, has been established. His authorship of the English works, even of the early version of the Bible, rests upon cumulative evidence; and the manuscript remains have not been so collated as to warrant the statement of a canon.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor W. H. Hulme. After the discussion Professor J. T. Hatfield was called to the chair.

13. "Herder's Views on Folk-Song and Melody." By Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, of the University of Illinois.

[Herder's views on folk-song were the organic outgrowth of his speculations on ethnical, linguistic, and literary evolution; they developed early, and they remained essentially unchanged throughout his life, the emphasis only shifting from one point to another according to the emergencies of his literary feuds. His utterances on melody gain a new significance in the light of Sievers's and Rutz's recent observations on speech-rhythm and melody.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors J. T. Hatfield,



S. W. Cutting, R. J. Kellogg, H. M. Belden, and the reader.

After the discussion Professor S. W. Cutting was called to the chair, and presided during the remainder of the session.

14. "A Test of the Comparative Influence of Central French and a Northern Dialect on English." By Professor Stephen H. Bush, of the State University of Iowa.

[A study of the English words which show the Central French development *ch* before Latin *a*, as compared with those words from the dialect of Northern Normandy and Picardy where *c* remained unchanged before Latin *a*.—Fifteen minutes.]

This paper was discussed by Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins.

15. "Frenssen's *Hilligenlei* and Rosegger's *I. N. R. I.*" By Dr. Warren Washburn Florer, of the University of Michigan.

[The paper contained a general *résumé* of a comparison of *Hilligenlei* and *I. N. R. I.* The principal points emphasized were the *Weltanschauung* of the poets, their attitude to the New Testament, to Christ, and to the present religious reformation in Germany, as seen in these works; the preparation of the characters Kai Jans and Konrad; the style and language; the influence of the books.—Fifteen minutes.]

This paper was discussed by Professors George O. Curme, W. H. Hulme, and the reader.

16. "Early Reviews of *The Essays of Elia*." By Professor Daniel Kilham Dodge, of the University of Illinois.

[General attitude of the reviews towards Lamb before and after 1823. Uncomplimentary references to the reviews in Lamb's letters. Lamb and the "Cockney Poets." Favorable notices in *The Athenaeum*. Reasons for these. Causes other than personal for the



neglect of *The Essays of Elia* by most of the critics.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

17. "Notes on Roumanian Songs and Folk-Lore."  
By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa.

[The paper opened with a brief statement of the work of Helene Vacaresco and Elisabeth, Queen of Roumania, in the field of Roumanian songs and folklore. An attempt was then made to explain the differences between the Roumanian songs and folk-lore and the Bulgarian, and to prove that the Roumanian show more simplicity, more poetic sympathy with nature, and more joy in an ideal of justice and of beauty.—*Read by title.*]

In accordance with previous action, the discussion of "simplified spelling" was then taken up, and the following resolution was finally adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America recommend the use by the editorial committee of the spellings recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board, except in papers whose authors object to their use.

At half-past twelve on Friday, the members and the guests of the Central Division, by invitation of the University of Chicago, took lunch in Hutchinson Hall.

#### FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

This session, which assembled at 2.30 p. m., was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing English, Germanic, and Romance languages and literatures.

#### ENGLISH.

The English Section met in the reception room of the Reynolds Club and was presided over by Professor H. M. Belden. Professor F. G. Hubbard read a paper on "The Undergraduate Curriculum in English Literature" [to



appear in the June number of the *Publications* for 1908]. The paper set forth the classes of students to be reached, and the organization and classification of the work in literature in thirty typical institutions of this country. It recommended that the emphasis in undergraduate courses be placed upon the interpretation rather than upon the technique and history of literature; and that a more progressive arrangement of courses be attempted. The discussion of the paper was opened by Professor John M. Manly, who was followed by Professor A. E. Jack. The subject was then opened for general discussion, in which Messrs. Lynn, Pyre, Baldwin, Dodge, Lewis, McClintock, Chase, Briggs, Clapp, Hulme, Blackburn, and Buck took part. The discussion being still in progress when time came for adjournment, it was moved by Professor John M. Manly and voted that the same topic be made the order of business for the next meeting of the Section.

#### GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

The Germanic Section was presided over by Professor S. W. Cutting, and met in a room of the Reynolds Club.

Professor Laurence Fossler read a paper on "The Work of the Third and Fourth Year in the High School," after which the subject was discussed by Messrs. Hatfield, Florer, Scholl, Kellogg, Curme, Cutting, Wiehr, Misses Jacobs, Jones, and Gildner, and the reader.

Professor Paul O. Kern read a paper on "The Importance of Phonetics in Modern Language Instruction," whereupon the subject was discussed by Messrs. Roessler, Prokosch, Fossler, Grumann, Karsten, Kellogg, Cutting, Curme, and Miss Kueffner. The discussion resulted in the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Germanic Section of the Central Division of



the Modern Language Association of America request the various universities holding summer sessions to consider the advisability of offering courses in scientific and practical phonetics especially adapted to the needs of teachers of modern languages.

A paper on "What Should be the Minimum Preparation for Teaching German in American Secondary Schools?" prepared by Professor W. H. Carruth, was read, in his absence, by Professor J. T. Hatfield. The subject was discussed by Messrs. Florer, Evans, Scholl, Mosher, Karsten, Grumann, Eastman, Fossler, and Kellogg, and Miss Gildner.

The Germanic Section voted to bring the following resolutions, prepared by Professor Otto Heller, before the next union meeting:

*Whereas*, It is one of the principal duties of the Modern Language Association of America to work for the constant improvement of the instruction in the foreign modern languages in the high schools and colleges of this country; and

*Whereas*, The thoroughness and efficiency of modern language teaching depend in a considerable measure upon the use of text-books the quality of which shall reflect the best modern scholarship and pedagogical skill; and

*Whereas*, Under existing circumstances, the Modern Language Association of America is not, as a body, exercising with regard to the methods of composing, editing, and publishing school and college text-books an influence commensurate with its representative position;

*It is hereby resolved*, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America conjointly with the general association take steps toward the establishment of a commission, to consist of not less than five nor more than eleven members, representing the various grades of institutions in which foreign modern languages are taught, the purpose of which commission shall be to improve still further the standards of school-book authorship and editorship, to aid teachers in a wise selection of text-books, and to co-operate with publishers to the end that considerations of a scholarly and educational kind may enter more fully than heretofore into the decisions of publishers concerning the choice of books for publication and the internal make-up of such books.



## ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

The Romance Section was presided over by Professor John R. Effinger, and it met in a room of the Reynolds Club, where the following program was presented:

1. The committee appointed to consider the advisability of vocabularies in advanced French and Spanish texts made a final report, which follows below. By the Chairman of the committee, Professor Hugh A Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

2. The committee on intermediate French texts reported progress. By the Chairman of the committee, Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

3. "The Necessary Preparation for Teachers of French and Spanish in Secondary Schools." Discussion introduced by Professor Thomas E. Oliver, of the University of Illinois.

4. "Student Organizations, Literary, Dramatic, and Journal Clubs, etc., as an Aid to Class-Work in Romance Languages." Discussion introduced by Professor Stephen H. Bush, of the State University of Iowa.

The Romance Section adopted the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the Germanic Section looking toward the improvement of text-books, and suggested that the matter might be referred for preparation for the union meeting to the joint committee provided for in the second resolution which follows, and thereupon the Romance Section adopted the three following resolutions:

*Resolved*, (1) That the present very common practice of printing advanced texts in French and the other Romance languages with



vocabularies is unnecessary and unwise and tends to interfere with the best development of the student and to cheapen the study of literature;

(2) That a joint committee with the Germanic Section, composed of four members, two from each section, be appointed by the general chairman to draft resolutions to present to the next union meeting of the Modern Language Association suggesting that a circular letter be sent by the Association to all members (and to such others as may seem desirable) who are teachers of Germanic or Romance languages, urging them to request from the publishers advanced texts without vocabularies for the use of classes especially in colleges and universities and to use their influence in any other way to discourage the further editing of advanced texts with these useless and expensive appendages;

(3) That copies of these resolutions be sent to the publishers.

Friday evening, December 28, the gentlemen were entertained at a "smoker" at the University Club. Professor John M. Manly read a letter from Rudyard Kipling on a possible source of *The Tempest*. The ladies were entertained at a theater party.

#### FIFTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The meeting was called to order at 9 a. m. The first business was reports of committees.

The committee on nomination of officers for the year 1907 presented the following names:

For Chairman: Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, of the University of Illinois.

For Secretary: Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa.

For Executive Committee: Professor Paul H. Grumann, of the University of Nebraska, Professor Arthur Graves Canfield, of the University of Michigan, Professor Richard Jones, of Vanderbilt University.

These gentlemen were unanimously elected to the respective offices.



The auditing committee reported that the Secretary's accounts were correct. The report was adopted.

The committee on place of meeting reported in favor of holding the union meeting either in Columbus or in Cleveland. Report approved.

The following report was presented by the committee authorized at the last annual meeting. The report was referred to the Executive Council for further consideration.

The committee appointed, at the closing session of the eleventh annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America (University of Wisconsin, December 29, 1905), to inquire into ways and means of eliminating, as far as possible, the danger of several candidates for the doctor's degree at different institutions working at the same time on the same subject for their dissertations, begs to submit the following report.

To prevent any misunderstandings concerning the spirit and intention of the original motion, the chairman of the committee desires to state, emphatically, that it emanated from purely humane motives, viz., consideration for the candidates themselves who, after many months, sometimes years, of patient and hard labor, may see their work rejected because another candidate, more fortunate, has just brought out in print a dissertation on the same subject, with perhaps identically the same results, even though the workmanship of this printed dissertation may be inferior. This happens considerably oftener than a great many academic teachers seem to be aware, and the chairman was led to think of a possibility of obviating it only by trying and grievous experiences of his own and a number of his friends and acquaintances. The chances of duplication are, at least in the field of foreign languages, greater in this country than abroad,—paradoxical though this may seem, considering the smaller number of candidates for the Ph. D.,—because the equipment of our American institutions is more uniform and certain lines of work, such as research in manuscripts, dialect investigations, etc., are practically out of the question. Duplication of work cannot, of course, be avoided completely, and perhaps it should not be, but for the reason stated should be lessened. The fact that even if all possibility of two or more doctoral dissertations colliding could be removed there still remains the danger of collision between a dissertation and a monograph by a scholar, does not argue against the purpose for which this committee was appointed; if anything, it would tend in the opposite direction.



To obtain a general idea of the sentiment prevailing in this matter, the committee, some time ago, sent out a circular letter to sixty professors in different institutions granting the degree of Ph. D., inviting opinions and suggestions as to the best mode of reaching the end desired, especially as to whether publication of titles of theses undertaken should be resorted to, or the "bureau" or "clearing house" method should be used. A similar inquiry was addressed to fifty German university professors representing our field of work. Thirty-seven answers were received from American scholars, twenty-six from Germany. Of the Americans thirty-three are in favor of some action, four are doubtful. *Twenty-three* suggest the publication of titles (seven propose the *Modern Language Notes*, three the *Publications of the M. L. A.*, two the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* as the best medium), one proposition urging the semi-annual publication, in November and March issues of *M. L. N.* The committee desires to express its appreciation of the readiness of the editors of all these publications to give space to any such announcements in their pages. The *bureau* method is advocated by *nine* professors; *bureau and publication* by two. One answer suggests that the librarian of every institution be made the source and centre of such information, as the person best suited to this work. Another is of the opinion that each institution have a list of dissertations under preparation printed for exchange with others. The advantages claimed for the bureau method are that it works more promptly and efficiently, also more quietly than publication by print, that institutions with few candidates would feel less averse to sending their lists to the central institution than to publish a short list, and that if a candidate wishes to treat a theme cognate to one already under way, he might learn more about the exact delimitation of the subject of the first chooser. The defects of the bureau method have been stated variously, one answer apprehending that the institution entrusted with the work would be hard to choose, none being the natural and inevitable station for it, and that when once selected, it would enjoy peculiar advantages; another reply fears that no university would be willing to undertake such an additional burden, for which clerical help would have to be hired,—the suggestion is made to charge a fee for every information,—still another thinks that any such elaborate machinery would tend to mechanize the matter and establish undeserved rights of monopoly and priority. Most of the objections raised against the bureau method are on the ground that the greatest possible publicity should be aimed at.

Of the German scholars ten are in favor of doing something in the direction indicated (Muncker, Foerster, Minor, Sauer, Koester,



Hoops, Brenner, Paul, Braune, Holthausen); the last named suggests that titles be published as soon as proposed by the professor or undertaken by the student; Brenner is anxious to see this done in all cases where extensive preliminary work of a more or less mechanical nature has to be done, the repetition of which would involve a waste of energy and time. Most of the scholars named would publish the titles only after the work has sufficiently progressed to promise completion, since students often try successively several subjects or drop their work altogether. Koester would prefer a bureau which should manifold or print the titles furnished and send the lists to the heads of departments, seminaries, etc., but without publishing them. Minor suggests a combination of bureau and publication.—Fifteen answers are in the negative, about half of them because the writers do not believe in the feasibility of any plan of work, altho they would welcome it if efficient. The objections urged chiefly are, first, that when a subject is first suggested to a candidate, it is often not accurately defined, but only the approximate direction of research is given, also that many a student makes something entirely different out of it from what was at first intended;—secondly, the same subject usually leads to different results if undertaken by two; Roethe flatly denies the possibility of duplication, on the ground of the great difference among students, teachers, scientific tendencies, and institutions, and thinks that if two dissertations make each other superfluous, both candidates have not earned their promotion; he would not take part in, nor hold himself bound by, any concerted action;—thirdly, it would be better to have the same subject treated several times over than, by announcing its title prematurely, stake out a claim and keep a piece of what might be fertile soil barren for years;—fourthly, subjects are often abandoned, and it would be difficult to fix a period within which they would have to be finished (Brandl calls the list of subjects suggested that he keeps in his seminary “den Gottesacker der Dissertationen” and declares that any subject is open to anybody when he has not heard for six months from the first man to undertake it);—fifthly, the value of these first pieces of original investigation must not be overrated, their authors usually profiting more from them than science, and the conclusions reached are rarely definitive;—sixthly, competition, while sometimes highly annoying, is on the whole a blessing for science (Minor, on the other hand, speaks of the “distressing competitive investigations running directly counter to the principle of division of labor on which modern science rests”). Several answers complain of the custom, gaining in vogue, of printing only a part of the thesis, and indicate that whosoever will afford the luxury of a promotion ought to be



willing to pay for the publication of the whole work. Only one reply received from Germany was undecided.

Several of these objections treated here in connection with the replies from abroad were advanced also by American scholars. One of them, at least two members of this committee believe, is likely to be overrated, viz., that in most cases science profits from duplication. In most cases it is a waste of time and energy, except where from the start the work is done from different viewpoints, on agreement. If the work was worth doing at all, the reviews will generally supply what is missing and correct the defects.

One thing, however, is worthy of special note, viz., that most German universities seem to be willing to accept a thesis, tho it may be what for short we shall continue to call a duplicate. If our American institutions were willing to adopt the same practise, the chairman of the committee would be entirely ready to withdraw his motion for any further action, it having become "*gegenstandslos*," and a discussion of this very point *in pleno* would be desirable. But even then, he thinks, the publication of titles would have many advantages for our science.

In conclusion, it should be said that the matter has entered into an entirely new phase, to which Professor Thomas kindly called the committee's attention. The Association of American Universities expects to devise machinery for disseminating knowledge as to dissertations in progress, and as the work of different departments interlocks and overlaps more or less, that body is the one from which final action must be expected—which, however, would not necessarily exclude any special agreements between the modern language scholars of this country and Europe. Professor Thomas therefore suggests a recommendation that, provisionally and pending the adoption of a comprehensive plan, the institutions represented in the Association be requested to print—say in the month of January—a list of all the dissertations they have in progress in linguistic and literary lines and send the same by mail to one another, each institution to send its own list to all the others.

These points are respectfully submitted for a full discussion *in pleno*.

E. C. ROEDDER,  
F. G. HUBBARD,  
T. ATKINSON JENKINS.

### Reading and discussion of papers.

18. "Did Victor Hugo Visit the Rhine in 1838?"  
By Professor Arthur Graves Canfield, of the University of Michigan.



[In *le Rhin* the letters forming the main part of the work and narrating the journey from Cologne to Speyer are ascribed to the year 1838. But they are to be identified with the *Journal* of 1840. The only evidence for a Rhine journey in 1838 is in letters in the *Correspondance*. But these have been wrongly dated by the editor. The preparations for the production of *Ruy Blas* then going on render so long an absence from Paris improbable. Internal evidence shows that Hugo had not seen the Rhine before 1839.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At this point Professor J. T. Hatfield was called to the chair.

19. "August Wilhelm Schlegel and Goethe's Epic and Elegiac Verse." By Dr. John William Scholl, of the University of Michigan. [To appear in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.]

[Attempts to estimate the kind and degree of influence which August Wilhelm Schlegel exerted upon the development of Goethe's theory and practise of the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, using as a basis the critical apparatus contained in the Weimar edition, and as control a careful study of the evolution of Schlegel's prosodic theory and practise. Results indicate a very slight influence upon Goethe's notions of what is permissible in the thesis of a dactyl, and possibly a slight contribution to his knowledge of the *cæsura* and its uses.—*A ten-minute abstract.*]

This paper was discusst by Professor R. J. Kellogg.

20. "Das Theater in Schiller's Balladen." By Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University.

[Schiller's ballads are remarkable, among other things, in that the strong dramatic bent of their author is discernible in certain structural qualities not inherent in the ballad nor in any other form of poetry. One such peculiarity was treated in this paper. The actual theatre, pit and stall and gallery, with setting, machinery, and a full equipment of "properties," haunts Schiller's imagination when composing these poems, and contributes an important element to their technic.—*Read by title.*]

21. "The Relation between Ballad and Folk-Tale." By Mr. Arthur Beatty, of the University of Wisconsin.



[Professor Gummere holds that the known facts of festal communal life and communal labor establish the priority of poetry over prose, because rhythm arises from both and is the essential fact of poetry. The folk-tale, being in prose, is thus much later. The name "folk-tale" implies telling, or reciting, with the idea of a very prominent distinction between the reciter and his audience. So far as the facts are taken cognizance of this seems established, but the theory needs supplementing in order to meet the demands of other facts. The Twa Sisters, for example, in all the *ballad* forms show a later form of story than the *folk-tale* forms. That is, judged by content, the folk-tale, embodying more clearly the primitive belief of the change of the drowned girl into a tree, is clearly a primary form and the ballad is rather a secondary form. With regard to area, too, the tale is almost world-wide, while the ballad is restricted to northern Europe. Now, there is no possibility of doubt that the central incident of the story is connected with a vast body of beliefs and customs which have prevailed in all times and cultures. Therefore, the tale, being on the whole more primitive and being much more widely diffused than the ballad, must be at least as early as the ballad. A more general question arises: Is the *story* told first in metre or prose? The facts about this particular story seem to point to the priority of the prose form, as the story is told in Africa in the prose form only. Moreover, the primitive song does not tell a story, but rather consists of the repetition of meaningless words (Gummere); so we may ask, How did the *story* get into the ballad? From the facts of present day savage life it would seem that story appears first in a prose form, and that song takes up meaning and plot from prose forms, which have had their origin in customs and beliefs. Thus, the priority of prose would not get rid of the folk, as Mr. Gummere fears; it simply shows that neither festal communal life nor labor can account for all the facts, but must be supplemented by a study of custom, belief, ceremonial, and ritual.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors R. J. Kellogg, A. H. Tolman, F. C. L. van Steenderen, Dr. H. S. V. Jones, and the reader.

At this point Professor Gustaf E. Karsten resumed the chair.

22. "An Error in the Date of Certain Conversations with Goethe." By Professor James Taft Hatfield, of



Northwestern University. [To be published in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1908.]

[A number of paragraphs in the first and third editions of Burkhart's work, *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler Friedrich von Mueller*, as well as in Biedermann's collection of *Goethes Gespräche*, are assigned to January 26, 1825. Reasons were given for doubting the correctness of this date, and proof was offered to show that the date must be changed to September 23, 1827.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discusst by Professor Gustaf E. Karsten.

23. "*Schnaphan*, a Satire on Franz von Sickingen of the Year 1523." By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin. [Published in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VI, 2.]

[This satire in dialogue form is directed against Sickingen. His followers are represented by five different persons, representing as many different classes of people. 1. Bucer, an evangelist, learned, but morally bad. 2. Steyninger, an evangelical knight, who does not dare to come out openly for Sickingen, but who sends him secretly enforcements. 3. Berner, an innocent nobleman, who joined Sickingen, but who is sick of his bargain and only waiting for a chance to break away. 4. Eysenclat, a degenerate nobleman, who degrades his class as a robber-knight and common robber. 5. Siegler, a poor evangelical priest, frightened out of his wits for fear that he may lose his livelihood. Bucer, i. e., Martin Bucer of Strassburg, where he introduced the reformation, was very much annoyed by this pamphlet, and in a vindication, published the same year (Panzer II, 171), complained bitterly about this farce and the unwarranted attack upon his character.—*Read by title.*]

#### SIXTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session was called to order at 2.30 p. m.

24. "Beowulf's Dragon Fight and the Second Part of the Poem of *Beowulf*." By Professor Frederick Klaeber, of the University of Minnesota.



[Conflicting views as to the sources of the *Beowulf* legends and the genesis of the poem. Summary of those results of previous investigations which may be regarded as fairly certain. Discussion of the relation between *Beow(a)* and *Beowulf*. Analysis of the second part of the poem with a view to finding out its constituent elements.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors Gustaf E. Karsten, F. A. Blackburn, H. M. Belden, Mr. Josef Wiehr, and Dr. Arthur Beatty.

Professor W. H. Hulme was called to the chair, and presided during the remainder of the session.

25. "Relics of Franco-Provençal in Southern Italy." By Dr. Alfonso de Salvio, of Northwestern University. [To appear in *Publications*, xxiii, 1.]

[1. History of the colony of Celle and Faeto. 2. Specimens of their dialect. 3. Discussion of the same.—*A fifteen minute abstract.*]

This paper was discust by Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins and the reader.

26. "Analogues of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*." By Dr. H. S. V. Jones, of the University of Illinois.

[An attempt to classify the folk-tales analogous to Chaucer's poem and to indicate certain resemblances between the Old French *Cleomades* and the "Skilful Companion" cycle.—*Twenty minutes.*]

27. "Further Observations on the Use of Alliteration and Rime in Colloquial English and German." By Professor Charles R. Keyes, of Cornell College.

[A definition of the field of research and method of procedure. The various types of alliterative and riming couplets. Use of alliteration and rime in compound adjectives, in comparison, and in proverbial and set expressions. Popular nature as shown by commercial, political, and other uses. The psychological basis.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors T. Atkinson Jenkins, R. J. Kellogg, and F. A. Wood.



28. "The Relation of Shakespeare's *Pericles* to Wilkins's Novel, *The Painfull Aduentures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre*." By Mr. Harry T. Baker, of Beloit College. [To appear in *Publications*, XXIII, 1.]

[The title-page of Wilkins's novel (1608) shows that it was in some respects founded upon a play (1607?) dealing with *Pericles*. It does not follow closely, however, the drama which we now know as Shakespeare's, either as to language or treatment of characters. At several points it reveals striking similarity to Laurence Twine's *Patterne of Paineful Aduentures* (1576, reprinted 1607). Probably Wilkins was reproducing in the form of a prose romance an unprinted play of his own (circa 1607) which he had sold to Shakespeare's company and which the great dramatist had revised and partly rewritten. One feature, however, is difficult of explanation: there are at least nine passages of blank verse—printed as prose—in the dialogue portions of the novel. These may be from Wilkins's own play or from a lost 16th century drama.—*Twenty minutes*.]

29. "Concerning the Plot of Schiller's *Braut von Messina*." By Professor Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, January, 1908.]

[The purpose of the paper was to show in the light of the text of the drama (a) that Schiller's conception of Destiny is here, in spite of all formal resemblance to the *Oedipus* of Sophocles, practically identical with that embodied in his own *Wallenstein*; (b) that the Tragic Guilt here in question is not, as Carruth maintains, simply "secretiveness" but "secretiveness and reckless impetuosity;" and (c) that several serious inconsistencies and psychological improbabilities hitherto urged by critics against the play, do not exist in the light of Schiller's own clearly stated presuppositions.—*Read by title*.]

30. "The Bernese Vocabulary in Jeremias Gotthelf's Works." By Professor Edwin C. Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Comparison of the extent of the peasant vocabulary in Gotthelf's writings with the presentation given in the first volume of Emanuel Friedli's *Baerendeutsch*, according to categories; notes on the relative



frequency of words and phrases; and comparison with the vocabularies of other German dialects. Continuations of the paper are planned, extending the work to Anzengruber, Rosegger, and Hansjakob.—*Read by title.*]

The following resolution was presented by Professor E. C. Baldwin, and unanimously adopted:

We, of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, desire to express our grateful appreciation of the kindly hospitality of our hosts, of the University of Chicago, a hospitality the more enjoyed because so graciously bestowed.

There being no further business, the meeting for 1906 was declared adjourned.



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## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, IN NEW HAVEN,  
CONN., AT THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BY HENRY ALFRED TODD, PH. D.

### THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE IN THE STUDY OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

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In seeking, for the present occasion, a subject that might have an equal appeal for all the departments of study represented in the Modern Language Association, and as well for the eager recruits as for the chastened veterans of our profession, there has been left to me little room for hesitation. With the vigorous impulse of the present-day college graduate to press on toward the goal of the highest achievement to which the university invites; with the growing demand, in all colleges and universities, for young men and women furnished with the best equipment for careers as educational leaders; with college presidents, trustees and heads of departments more and more insisting, as a matter of settled policy, on the stamp of a definite discipline by way of prerequisite for promotion in the ranks of their younger instructors, attention is coming to be increasingly fixed on all the phases and functions of the highest degree conferred in course—the degree which by common consent is regarded as the university handmark of fitness. For something like a quarter-century our universities (using the title in its distinctive sense) have been addressing themselves to the problem of the wise adminis-



tration of the degree of doctor of philosophy. Within this period much has been accomplished toward establishing sure foundations; but there is reason to believe that everywhere there still prevails no small amount of outward indefiniteness or even of inward uncertainty, in regard to some of the most vital of the questions involved. It is in the unassuming spirit of one seeking to analyze and formulate the results of personal observation, experience and reflection, not only for the possible benefit of a direct application of thought-out conclusions to the practical needs of his individual work, but also, and more especially, with a warm desire to stimulate and broaden interest in an important theme, that the topic chosen for consideration will be presented this evening.

The postulates of university training which I conceive to be fundamental in preparation for the highest degree, are three: breadth of view, soundness of method, constructive power. Let us briefly glance at these in the order named. Other requisites, such as temper of mind, on the one hand, or mental discipline on the other, are either innate, or dependent on earlier education; they need not claim our attention here.

(1). Breadth of view. It may be taken for granted that candidates for the doctor's degree in the Modern Languages have already received a substantial college education. As a matter of fact, most candidates who present themselves in our field are well grounded in essentials; for it seldom happens that one who has not been inspired, strengthened and matured by his college course is tempted to make trial of the higher walks. It is cause, in particular, for congratulation, that the temporary tendency that prevailed for some time previous to the end of the recent century, to push aside the study of the ancient languages in secondary education, in favor of an exclusively modern



basis of discipline, is already giving way to a new-born enthusiasm in the direction of the study of Latin. The fitting schools and high schools are now alive with the Latin spirit, and the colleges are already reflecting the beneficent reversion. In how far the cultivation of Greek—to its votaries, the beautiful, the loved, the potent, the revered—is likely to recover from the unheeding relegation of its charms to the uncovenanted mercies of election without predestination, may not be easy to forecast. But one thing is certain: that its votaries of the time to come are sure to be recruited from the ranks of the choicest spirits to be produced in future by the faithful cultivation of the modern tongues.

However, the breadth of view which comes preëminently, in our civilization, from loving familiarity with the letter and spirit of the ancient and modern classics, and which is well-nigh synonymous with the calm survey and catholic judgment of the cultivated man of the world, is *not* distinctively that technical breadth of view which I have here especially in mind. For our present purpose it should be clearly set forth that the point of view, and hence the range of vision, of the educated college graduate entering, albeit with well-stored mind and faculties alert, on his first year of university work, is now to become essentially, and sometimes perplexingly, different from that which he has occupied before. Heretofore the student has been wisely preoccupied with the training and fulfilling of his powers through multifarious modes of assimilation and active manipulation of the world's best intellectual results. Henceforward, even during his university apprenticeship, his joy and proud endeavor must unfailingly be to take the new-found viewpoint, not of the well-drilled acquirer and ready purveyor of great men's products and lesser men's by-products, but that of the



discoverer, diviner and discloser of the unknown facts and truths of mind or matter;—the vantage point that helps to penetrate the cloudy veil—forever reintegrating while receding—which hides those mysterious and fascinating processes of things that go by the modern name of evolution. To some minds the aptitude for seeing and apprehending only what they are told to see and only because they are told to see it, readily becomes inveterate. The doctor's grade, and the doctor's career, are not for such. Let us not, then, through fear of seeming affectation or assumption, fail or hesitate to emphasize the nature and significance of this fundamental difference between what, for convenience, we may call the undergraduate and the graduate point of view. Far from being fanciful, the distinction is most practical and important. Failure on the part of either master to inculcate or disciple to discern it, leaves both under the strange and fruitless misconception that to "specialize" in a given field of knowledge means to pass from a state of some general to one of much minute information with regard to it; leaves both guide and follower all unmindful and unconscious of the inspiration that comes of the opportunity of standing together at the point of outlook, and scanning in turn the expanse of the known and the borderland of the unknown, in the confident expectation of conquering together some appreciable portion of them both.

(2). Soundness of method. Intimately associated with correctness of attitude and outlook, will naturally be the method of attack to be employed. First of all, teacher and learner will from the outset put themselves in each other's place in a sense and to a degree scarcely dreamed of at any earlier period of the student's mental evolution. The régime is no longer one of lessons, nor even, primarily, one of lectures, but rather one of "meetings" for con-



ference and inspiration. A beginning will be made with inquiries more fundamental than the youthful seeker has perhaps ever asked himself or been asked before. What is the nature of the problems to be investigated, and what is the use of investigating them at all? What, in a most general way, are the problems that have already been resolved, what are the problems now in process of solution? What are the problems to which we ourselves, or our contemporaries, may hope to contribute a solution; which are the problems, and what their nature, that will doubtless always continue to baffle human endeavor? What does all this matter to human welfare, to the welfare of the individual, after all?

And to much that is involved in this last and most searching inquiry, admission must be frankly made—since free confession is good for the soul—that now we see only in part. Even so broad-minded and clear-visioned a soul as James Russell Lowell was moved, in his Cambridge address as President of this Association—an address now included in his collected works—to raise a query as to the ultimate place in the order of the universe, of a semester devoted, at the Collège de France, to the history of the development through the ages of a single vowel sound. But even so we can well afford to believe, with the poets and the seers, that in the case of things of minutest and obscurest implication, no less than of those freighted with the weightiest and most obvious import, our restless human occupations are ever tending onward in the shadow of

“ . . . one law, one element,  
And one far off, divine event.”

But solid ground is waiting ready for our neophyte to stand upon. It consists of the foundations laid by the great army of the toilers past and present—the tangible



output of the world's best scholarship. Into direct, if only preliminary contact with this great body of science, the student must now be brought. And this must be done in such a way as to save him from dismay at the enormousness of its bulk, while fostering his dutiful respect for the productivity of his predecessors, and his desire to enter, by due process, into the fruits of their labors. From a brief initiation into the wealth of the world's output of special learning, as embodied in the multifarious collections of the learned societies and public institutions of the Old World and the New, their journals, transactions and serial publications of all sorts, the student will come readily to understand not only the temporary need but also the immediate inadequacy of all or any of the available compendiums of his subject. He will perhaps even be prepared to accept without a qualm of surprised misgiving, his leader's accompanying comment, to the effect that no man may now expect to control effectively all the advances even of his own profession. Not much later will arrive the student's discovery that his work is to consist not so much of "reading up the best authorities" as of grasping underlying principles and testing the manifestations of these by all the available—and especially the hitherto unavailable—criteria. Often he will be impressed by the frequency of his professor's confessions of ignorance, but perhaps oftener he will be surprised at the readiness with which the difficulties of his new awakening can be met and dissipated.

(3). Constructive Power. It needs scarcely to be said that the power of synthesizing the results of general study or of special investigation in such a way as to utilize their vital import, is the culminating triumph of a happy combination of native gifts and skilful training. The successful application of this power to the elucidation of



some problem or series of problems in the line of a student's university discipline, is the most important if not the final test of his measuring up to the necessary standards. Just here we reach the crucial point where the professor's intervention is of slight avail, for it is the point where flashes betwixt methods and results the hidden fire of the scholar's "scientific imagination." It is from the scientifically charged storage-battery of the imagination that there must ever spring the vital spark that is to start the dynamic circuit that leads to original and valuable results. No matter how minute and dry-as-dust the data, no matter how petty or humdrum the process—even if that process be reduced to the last resort of intellectual mediocrity, the mere counting of examples (the so-called statistical dissertation) if the play and interplay of a firmly controlled imagination can be brought to bear electrically upon the crude ore that, to all appearance, has been stupidly heaped together, no one can foresee how much precious metal there will be to show as the result of an otherwise purely mechanical operation. To speak more plainly, it can never be made too clear how absolutely essential is the application of a trained imagination, with all its powers of divination and interpretation, in seeking to lay bare the potential significance inherent in a body of ingathered facts.

Thus have been briefly presented a few considerations which may be regarded as indicating the general spirit in which the specific questions affecting the doctor's degree in the Modern Languages should be approached. If these considerations have appeared thus far to be soaring somewhat above the plane of everyday applicability, it is at least my desire, in the remainder of these remarks, to be correspondingly definite and practical. Assuming then that the general requirements for the doctor's degree



prevalent in our leading universities are in the main satisfactory—a time requirement of ordinarily three years spent in graduate work, with at least one year of actual residence at the institution conferring the degree; concentration on a principal subject of study with subsidiary attention to at least one subject outside of the chosen department; participation in seminar work; submission of a dissertation founded on the candidate's own investigation and embodying original results; and finally the passing of certain examinations—taking for granted these general requirements, what are the aspects of the situation that call for present consideration?

A convenient starting point for a review of the practical issues of interest to candidates in Modern Language work, is the question of the choice of universities. Whatever may be true in general, the circumstances in our field clearly indicate the desirability of a part of the university work being done abroad. Even for the study of English philology and literature, it appears to me that much the same considerations hold true. Though I speak here rather as a layman and hence with timidity, I conceive that most of the advantages to be derived from residence and advanced study in Germanic or Romance countries by specialists in the language and literature of these, are available for American students of English by a period of study in England, viz., the advantages that come from dwelling in the atmosphere and amid the associations, the manners and the customs of an unbroken tradition, while at the same time enjoying the benefits of high scholarly training. As regards the spoken language in particular, it is an important fact that the English race on the mother soil has ever been peculiarly amenable to what may be called the unreasoning genius of the English tongue, as against the well-meant but often pettyfogging



interference of grammarians, dictionary-makers and compilers of manuals called "Don't,"—a condition precisely the reverse of that which has commonly prevailed in America. (An Englishman says, *e. g.*, "it's he, it's she, it's *me*," because the best usage he hears has come to have it so; why should he concern himself with what the thripenny grammar has to say of it? And that, I take it, is a wholesome atmosphere for the historical student of English speech.)

If we admit, then, that at least a year of the student's time may most profitably be spent abroad, which of the years of his apprenticeship should this be? In most cases the second year, and this for cogent reasons. First, because the whole of his first year may well be turned to account as a preparation for utilizing foreign opportunities. Indeed, it seldom happens that an American college graduate is immediately in a position to take the best advantage of foreign study. I have even known a young man of fine all-round equipment, but uninformed and uninstructed in the true aims and ideals of university work, to spend three whole years attending lectures on the Continent of Europe without once coming into direct contact with the leaders of philological or literary investigation, or having a taste of seminar and *privatissime* work. The same man had later the wisdom and the self-abnegation to take three more uninterrupted years at an American university in preparation for a doctor's degree. Again, if a student plans to take his second year abroad, it may well be possible for him to gather from the inexhaustible library treasures of the Old World suitable material for the doctor's dissertation which he will elaborate in a third year under his American professor at home. In fact, most important of the relations between professor and student in his first year is that which centers in the quest



for and choice of a suitable topic to become the nucleus of a future dissertation. And, in particular, if he is not already aware whether his predilections and capacity tend rather to the linguistic or to the literary side of his chosen field, a semester or at most a year will serve to make this clear to him. When once this question is satisfactorily settled, what are sometimes erroneously regarded as the conflicting claims of the literary and linguistic sides of the student's work are by no means difficult of practical adjustment. It may be said moreover—as I have recently set forth somewhat fully in another place<sup>1</sup>—that the proper function of philology is precisely to bring into their true relations the problems of literature and linguistics. And the first prerequisite for the establishment of sound relations between the two in the mind of the student, is the frank and sincere recognition of the difference of appeal between the two, and then of the absolute importance of each to the other in the equipment of every student,—but also of the subordinate importance of each, according as the other becomes the object of predilection. It is doubtless true that no devotee of linguistics is devoid of at least a lurking love of literary study, while it may easily happen that a votary of literature believes himself to be wholly impervious to the appeal of linguistics. If, however, the latter student can be brought to feel that philology is the handmaid of both linguistics and literature in interpreting the one to the other, and that the services of philology in this direction are not only of real value to him but are not insisted on beyond the proper measure of that value, the reconciliation easily becomes complete; and he comes to understand that while the linguistic student should be broadened by a liberalizing acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> Before the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Science.



with the development of literature, it is equally essential that the literary investigator should be equipped with accurate and true insight into the linguistic vehicle of the literature in which he deals. Sadly futile is the work and the teaching in literature of the man whose command of the language in which it is embodied is inadequate or only second-hand.

Wrapped up with the question of preponderance of linguistic or literary work is that of the choice of the minor subject required. As university courses in a given department multiply, it is becoming more and more accepted that at least one of the minor subjects may be chosen as a sub-division of the major field. In making choice of a second subject outside the major field, it may as well be frankly avowed that, taking account of prevailing tendencies, the student's lot is likely to be a trying one, and for two reasons: first, because of the difficulty, with a crowded curriculum in his special subjects, of adjusting the time schedule to his actual needs and personal preferences; but still more, secondly, because of the sometimes inordinate demands of the outside departments in the way of hours and amount of work required—an excessive requirement that cannot well, perhaps, be controlled by statutory enactment, but which, to my way of thinking, works injury to the interests of the graduate student by compelling him to do a disproportionate amount of work outside the line of his direct purposes.

There will be no better place in these remarks than here, to enter a general and a generous plea for the administration of the doctor's requirements in the broadest spirit of real regard for the candidate's individual needs, remembering that his work for the degree affords him the last opportunity he is likely ever to have to enjoy the freedom of university privileges, and that outside the onerous and



exact claims of his principal subject what he most needs is the broadening of his horizon, contact with different men of different minds and with varying methods and modes of inspiration. From the first day to the last of his university career, the candidate should be made to feel that his own personality and his special needs—apart from the simple accessories of businesslike administration—are the foremost consideration, alike with officers of administration and instruction.

With the student now fairly launched in his course of study, it will be his early and very genuine concern to become enlightened as to how much or what part of the immense domain of knowledge that stretches out before him, he is to be expected to command. The answer should be frankly reassuring, "Only what may reasonably be accomplished by a student possessing the requisite qualities of mind,"—and it will be the professor's serious responsibility to help the student, by encouragement or discouragement, to decide whether to bend all his energies toward the achievement of a doctorate of philosophy, or to be content with the less precarious venture of a mastership of arts. Whether the promising candidate for the degree of Ph. D. should be recommended to stop for an M. A. on the way, may well depend upon the circumstances, but probably may oftener be answered in the negative. In any case, every consideration of wisdom, fairness and human kindness, points to the duty of discouraging a candidate from continuing his exertions for the highest degree, when all the chances appear to be clearly against him. It is hard enough to be a party to the failure of those who, of their own indecision or procrastination, allow themselves unnecessarily to drop out by the way, without engaging wittingly in the defeat and disappointment of any self-deceived inefficient. Even so, cases will



now and again occur of the persistently unsuccessful, who will not allow themselves to be dissuaded.

We come to that most important of the relations subsisting between professor and candidate which arises when the quest for a suitable subject for a dissertation is begun, and which continues in ever closer degree until the thoroly revised and proof-read work—even to the typographically adjusted and corrected title-page—has triumphantly issued from the press.

By way of brief preliminary to the discussion of this phase of our subject, let us delay for a moment to emphasize the significance of this particular bond of helpful sympathy between the two. Since ever teacher and learner first came into relation with each other—and down even to the Phi Beta Kappa address on “Some Modern College Tendencies” delivered by Mr. Charles Francis Adams (at Columbia University, in June, 1906), the earnest cry has been heard for some strong and effective bond of intimacy between master and pupil. Sometimes, indeed, this sense of need on the part of the student has been somewhat a matter of affectation, and sometimes a very genuine desire of the student has been only sparingly responded to on the part of his instructor; but there can be no doubt that when a genuine piece of dissertation work is under full headway, there is no excuse for an absence of intimate relations between student and professor—always provided, of course, that what I take to be the true theory prevails as to the proper attitude of the professor toward his student’s dissertation. This theory is that from beginning to end the work on the dissertation is to be made an object lesson to the student in all the methods and processes of original scholarship, including the details of bibliographical research, collection of material, marshalling of results, drawing of conclusions, and disposition of



matter, down to such minor yet important considerations as the proper relations of foot-notes, appendices, paragraphing, indexing, etc., to the subject-matter of the treatise, and even to the minutest details of proof-reading and of all the other pitfalls of the printing-press and the publication house. It is accordingly a theory which recognizes and acts upon the belief that competent guidance in all these matters is of the most vital usefulness to the future contributor to the world's scholarship. The other theory of the professor's relation to the dissertation work need only be characterized by saying that it regards the dissertation simply as one of the tests of the candidate's ability to meet fixed requirements and unless he can rise unaided to the needs of the situation, so much the worse for him. Should it appear, when these two theories are brought face to face, that there is danger of the former entailing undue burdens on the professor and corresponding relief and loss of independence on the student, it may be pointed out that guidance and stimulus are measured not so much by expenditure of time as by direction of effort, and that much of the help afforded is furnished in connection with the regular activity of the seminar, which is the workshop of the department. It is likewise to be remembered that as far as possible the student will be left to his own independent choice of subject and of methods. For it is an immense advantage to have him feel that the expedition on which he is embarking is really one of his own preference. At this point, every precaution will be employed to preclude the later disheartening discovery that the field has already been exploited. Yet, in spite of every known care, it is not always possible to avoid cruel disappointments. Most difficult of all is it to provide against the possibility that the same subject is simultaneously under investigation at more than one university;



and a project is at present under way in this country, which is to undertake the public announcement of subjects chosen for dissertations, in order to secure immunity from duplication. The practical working of such a scheme is not altogether easy. In order to prove effectual, it would call for coöperation on the part of all universities throughout the world, and would result in the announcement of many subjects the treatment of which—being so to speak protected by preëmption—would be indefinitely delayed or abandoned.

At any rate, happy is the student and happy his professor, when a congenial and promising theme has been decided on. Henceforth the problem will be largely one of the adaptation of means to ends, and as the work progresses there will be a growing likelihood of discovering that the original plan was too large and too ambitious, and intelligent care will be required to determine the wisest lines of restriction and development.

We are here brought fairly to the question of what constitutes the best ideal for a dissertation in compass and general treatment. In the Old World there may be said to prevail two contrasting types: the comparatively brief and special monograph of the German universities, usually submitted after about six semesters of residence; and the voluminous *thèse* of the French universities, which is generally the outcome of a good many years of concentrated labor, and often does not appear until the author is approaching middle life. (I do not mention here the Latin thesis.) As between the sometimes flimsy German dissertation and the often over-extensive French thesis, we may for the American universities unhesitatingly decide in favor of a distinct compromise between the two. Or, to look at the question from a different point of view, we may say that, while there is no objection



to the elaborate French thesis when circumstances favor, yet the more normal and useful type is that of the briefer German dissertation. In the first place, the number of students reached and formed by the German system is immeasurably greater, and the consequences to the higher education more far-reaching. Again, the influence on the future intellectual activity of the individual scholar, by the production, under university guidance, in the period of youthful ardor and enthusiasm, of a comparatively circumscribed yet well-conducted and original contribution in some limited field of knowledge, is of the most marked and useful character. And well it may be, because the system proceeds upon the assumption that the dissertation, instead of being a culmination of the mature scholar's productive effort, is rather at once an occasion for the training of his youthful powers and the earnest of his capacity to do still better things in the future. In my opinion, no inconsiderable part of the intellectual productivity of Germany is attributable to the stimulus provided by the experience in original work that comes of the unformidable, promptly undertaken and promptly elaborated doctor's dissertation. I should accordingly advocate, in our American universities, the policy of holding the ideals of the doctor's dissertation within and not beyond the grasp of the capable and well-equipped young men who frequent them. Instead of fostering in them a futile superstition for the high requirements and other more or less artificial obstacles standing in the way, I should strive to bring their courage to the sticking place, by making clear that if begun, continued and ended with vigor and diligence, and with a prompt utilization of the professor's readiness to counsel and to guide, an acceptable dissertation ought to be pushed to completion within a single year.

Incidentally I have spoken of the coöperation between



professor and student not being ended until the last proof-sheet of the dissertation has been read by both. This was by no means a figure of speech. It involves what I regard as one of the most important features of the dissertation requirements, viz., that the dissertation should be actually published as a prerequisite for the conferring of the degree. In taking this stand I have nothing but full appreciation of the position of some of our first universities in not making this requirement; but none the less the considerations in favor of this view must be considered as paramount. If I were asked for the most practical criterion of the acceptability of a doctor's dissertation, I should reply, "That it be good enough to print, with credit to the candidate, and without discredit to his professors and to the university they represent." Any test short of this is likely to be one that, in the actual administration of it, is in danger of admitting work that is not completed, revised and polished to its minutest details, and hence also is in danger of coming short of training the candidate in that accuracy of form and finish which is essential to the highest and best scholarship, and of which the young student of vigorous and brilliant attainments is perhaps more likely to stand in need than his more commonplace companions. Precisely here, viz., in the point of form and style, I would emphasize the importance of our American universities setting a distinctly higher standard than prevails in Germany. And if we may bring France again into the comparison, I would say that we should, in the matter of the dissertation, set before us the ideal of combining the solidity and thoroness of German research with the sanity, the clearness and the charm of French elucidation. This is a standard that we have not thus far fully attained, but there is no reason why we may not attain it within a reasonable future. If it should be feared that, under



such a system of supervision as I have advocated, the intervention of the professor may become too prominent and even subversive of the student's originality, the true answer appears to me to be that, in spite of all that the professor, with the multifarious other claims upon his time and energy, is likely to accomplish, the event is only too apt to prove that he has still accomplished in this direction all too little. Moreover, in favor of the enforced publication of the dissertation it should be urged that, if the work is important enough in its results to justify the conferring of the degree, then surely those results should be made accessible to scholars, and the student himself be put in the way of receiving the recognition due to his exertions.

Just one other function of the doctor's degree in our American universities, and I have done. It has long been my desire and my hope to see our greatest American institutions of learning, with their ever-growing equipment of men and material, becoming more and more the Mecca of the resourceful and ambitious spirits in that great company of American teachers and professors who have not had the graduate advantages of a great university, but are still responsive and still are gazing star-ward, and yet are beyond those early years when a triennium of university life can still be planned for. Why should not men and women such as these lay out their lives ahead under university advice so as to accomplish in advance of university residence virtually all the requirements except those of the dissertation and the examinations—and even, under favorable conditions, a part of the dissertation work? Why should they not then enter for a year into the great brotherhood of some one of our universities, not to sit humbly at the feet of any one, but to find free intercourse of scholarship, the inspiration of seminars, of great librar-



ies, of public and private lectures, of clubs, societies and circles, of the teeming intellectual and artistic life of a great community, with a doctor's degree at the end of all as a stimulus to earnest work and a recognition of honest merit? Our great universities are not yet such centers in this respect as they might become, and as they must become if they are to continue to justify the enormous cost, in intellectual life-blood and in money, of their upkeep. Let us look forward to the day when the halls of our greatest universities shall be thronged, not only by a virile company of youths intent on storming early the ramparts of high university achievement, but when a goodly fellowship of maturer learners—resting for a little from the heat and burden of the time—shall find refreshment and re-invigoration for a while in enjoyment of the classic shades of some new twentieth-century Academe.



## CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903.

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### I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

### II.

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigations by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

### III.

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary and Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life



member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successive years. Distinguished foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council.

## IV.

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer; an Executive Council consisting of these six officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members; and an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and two other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold office until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

## V.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may



be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

#### VI.

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

#### VII.

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.



3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

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## MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE  
ASSOCIATION.

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